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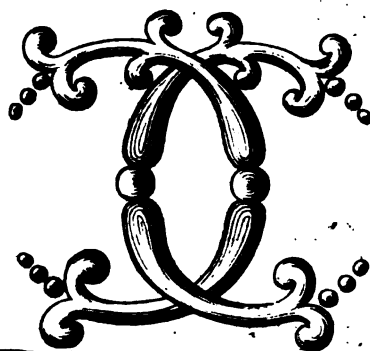
**NON
CIRCULATING**

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T H' E
HISTORY
OF THE ¹²¹⁸⁵⁸
CIVIL WARS
O F
FRANCE;

Written in *ITALIAN*,
By ^{edited} *H. C. Davila* ^{authentic} DAVILA.

Translated out of the *ORIGINAL*.
The *Second* Impression, whereunto is Added a *TABLE*.



In the *SAVOR*,
Printed by *T. N.* for *Henry Herringman*, at the *Blew
Anchor*, in the *Lower Walk* of the *New Exchange*,
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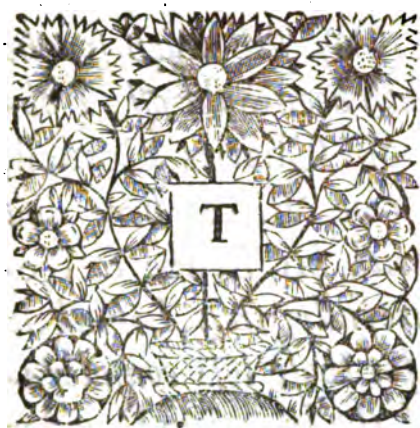
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1678



TO THE
READER.



HIS AUTHOR is so Generally Esteemed in all Countries, that those who understand not the Italian, are glad to Converse with him by an Interpreter; and even in France, after so many Histories as be there of the same Times, several Impressions of this in their Language have been bought off; whereby we may judge, they think Him to be Impartial, and as worthy of Credit, as the best of their own. Nor hath He wanted a due value here, for, our late King, of ever Glorious Memory, by whose Command, at Oxford, this Translation was Continued and Finished (though not begun) read it there, with such eagerness, that no Diligence could Write it out faire, so fast as he daily called for it; wishing he had had it some years sooner, out of a Beliefe, that being forewarned thereby, He might have prevented many of those Mischiefs we then groaned under; and which the Grand Contrivers of them, had drawn from this Original, as Spiders do Poison from the most wholesome Plants. The Truth is, their Swords had already Transcribed it in English Blood, before this Pen had done it in English Inke; and, it were not hard to name the very Persons, by whom many of the same Parts were Acted over again

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in

To the READER.

in the Civil Wars of England ; the Faction of our Presbyterians in that Long-Parliament, outvying those of the Hugonots and of the Holy-League put together. Yet, when they had followed the steps of them both, as exactly as they could, they were out-vied themselves by the Independents, who far transcended them all, in an unexampled Conclusion, by the Horrid Murther of our Royal Martyr, and by enslaving the Kingdom under several Tyrannies, till His Son's Miraculous Restauration to His Just Rights, Restored His Subjects also to their Much-wish'd-for Liberties. But, I am not to Write a Preface, and therefore all I shall add, is, That finding this BOOK still much sought for, since the former Impression hath been Sold off, I obtain'd the Right of the Copy from Sir Charles Cottrell, (whose WORK it was, all but some Pieces here and there in the First Four Books) with his Leave to Reprint it, as I have now done, so carefully, that I think it hath not many gross Faults; and, for those less considerable, I doubt not but the observation of the Ingenious Reader will easily find, his care Correct, and, I hope, his Candor pardon them.



LICENSED, Nov. 24. 1678.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The FIRST BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

IN this First Book is set down the Original of the French Nation: The Election of their first King Pharamond: The Institution of the Salique Law: The Rights and Prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood: The Succession of their Kings to Lewis the IX. surnamed The Saint: The Division of the Royal Family into two distinct branches, one called Valois, the other Bourbon: The Jealousies between them, and in time the suppression of the House of Bourbon: The original, and raising to greatness of place in the rooms of the Princes of the Blood, the Families of Guise and Momorancy: The Emulations, and Occurrences between them, in which the Guises prevail. King Henry the Second is killed by accident in a Tournament: Francis his Son, a Youth of weak Constitution, succeeds to the Crown: He gives the Government to his Mother Queen Caterine, and the Guises: The Princes of Bourbon are offended thereat: The King of Navarre, chief of the Family, upon that occasion goes to Court, prevails little, goes from thence, and retires into Bearn: The Prince of Conde his Brother resolves to remove from the Government of the Queen-Mother and the Guises: He is counselled to make use of the Hugonots: Their Beginnings and Doctrine: La Renaudie makes himself chief of a Conspiracy; and the Hugonots resolve to follow him: The Conspiracy is discovered: The King chuseth the Duke of Guise for his Lieutenant-General, who without much difficulty doth break, take and chastise the Conspirators.



He Civil Wars, in which for the space of forty years together the Kingdom of France was miserably involved, though on the one side they contain great Actions, and famous Enterprizes, that may serve for excellent Lessons to those that maturely consider them; yet on the other side, they are so confused and intangled in their own revolutions, that the reasons of many businesses do not appear, the counsels of many determinations are not rightly comprehended, and an infinite number of things not at all understood through the partiality of private Interests, which under divers pretences hath obscured the truth of them: True it is, that many excellent Wits have endeavoured to

make of these a perfect Story, by bringing to light such things as they have gathered together with great diligence, and commendable industry: Notwithstanding the difficulties are so many, and the impediments prove to be of such consequence, that in a multitude of accidents (all great and considerable, but hidden and buried in the vast ruins of civil dissensions) his pains will not be less profitable to posterity, who labours to digest them into an orderly method, than the endeavours of others formerly have been. Wherefore, being in my infancy by Fate, that destined me to a restless life, transported into the inmost Provinces of that Kingdom, where, during a long space of time which I lived there, I had the opportunity to observe, and be an eye-witness of the most secret and notable circumstances of so remarkable passages; I could not chuse a more worthy matter, nor a more useful Study wherein to imploy my present Age, now come to maturity, than to write from the very beginning, all the progress and order of those troubles. And although the first taking up of Arms, which hapned in the year 1560. was indeed before my time, so that I could not be present at the beginning of those Civil Wars: nevertheless I have diligently informed my self by those very persons who then governed the affairs of State; so that with the perfect and particular knowledge of all the following events, it hath not been hard for me to penetrate to the first root of the most ancient and remote causes of them.

This Story will contain the whole course of the Civil Wars, which brake forth upon a sudden after the death of King *Henry* the Second; and varying in their progress, by strange and unthought-of accidents, ended finally after the death of three Kings, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth. But to form the Body of this Narration perfectly, it will be convenient for me to look back some few periods into the Original of the French Monarchy; for the seeds of those matters which are now to be related, taking their beginnings from times long since past, it is necessary to lay a foundation, and to explain all difficulties, that we may with more clearness come to the perfect knowledge of modern things. But if in the performance of this my so painful undertaking, I be neither accompanied with eloquence of words, nor richness of conceit; yet being free from those affections which usually byass the Pens of many Writers, I hope I shall be able to reach the proper order, and natural unfolding of those things which (having been many years conversant in the Courts of Kings, and always active in the first Files of Armies) I have learned of my self by Experience and Action.

Whilst the Roman Empire, with the terrour of Arms, upheld the Majesty of her Monarchy, (which with a large compass embraced the greatest part of the known World) those few Nations, who, either defended with the generous fierceness of their own courage, or by nature invincibly fortified, felt not the general yoke of slavery, being restrained within those Confines which necessity prescribed them, studied rather how to preserve their own liberty in their native soil, than forcibly to invade the rights of others. So in the East, the Parthians had for a bridle to their fierceness the banks of *Euphrates*; so in the West, the Germans for the most part contained the force of their Arms beyond the *Rhine*. But afterwards, when the Dominion of the Romans, through its own unbounded greatness, first disunited it self, or through change of ancient customs, began manifestly to decline; the barbarous Nations, (that for a long time had for their own defence only kept a Guard upon their Confines) the bridle being broken, and the bonds of fear shaken off, assailing on all sides the Roman Provinces, gave beginning to new Principalities, and new Kingdoms. Hence it was that the fame of so many warlike people, till then wholly buried in its own obscurity, began powerfully to spread it self in the World; and hence likewise it came to pass, that stranger people, emulously getting possession of the most fertile and best Regions of the Universe, in a short time changed them, not only in their Habits, Language and Customs, but also in their manner of Government, in their condition, and in their names: so that all parts being invaded by new Nations, and new Masters, not only *Britany* from the *Angli* that usurped it, took the name of *England*; not only *Pannonia* from the *Huns*, that ruled there, took the denomination of *Hungaria*; but infinite other Provinces in all parts of the World had the like change; and even within the Confines of *Italy* it self, the Longbeards gave the form and name to the State of *Lombardy*.

But amongst all those people, who, abandoning their native Country, endeavoured to get new possessions, and usurped others rights, there is not any one that for greatness of Empire, well-policied Government, and unconquered Valour in Arms, and above all, for length of time and continuance, can be compared to the French Nation.

For

For notwithstanding the famous incursions of the *Ostrogoths*, the *Vistgoths*, the *Huns*, the *Vandals*, and the *Longbeards*; yet some of them vanished like a flash of lightning, which dazzling the sight with a sudden and unexpected light, passes away in a moment, almost unperceived: others had so small a progress, that in a short time they lost both their power and their greatness. But the Franks, after they had fought with, and vanquished the most glorious Nations, and made themselves Lords of one of the most noble and best parts of *Europe*, powerful in people, flourishing in riches, renowned for great and magnanimous actions, and glorious with a Majestick Succession of Empire, after the course of a thousand and two hundred years, do continue at this present uncorrupted in the same kind of Government which at their first beginning was by a formal and natural Law established amongst them.

These people which now call themselves Frenchmen, and were formerly called *Franks*, whether they came long since from the most remote parts of *Asia*, (as some among many modern Historians have thought) or else had their first beginning in the bosom of *Germany*, (as the best Writers have reasonably held;) certain it is, that when the Roman Empire first declined, they inhabited that Country towards the North which lies upon the *Rhine* between *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and that *Franconia* to this time bears the name of that Nation. These people at first, through terror of the Romans, kept themselves together within their own Country where they were born, and streightned in a narrow Territory, with great pains, provided necessaries for life: but in progress of time, (as commonly those which inhabit a cold Climat multiply without measure) they were increased to such a number, that their little ill-built Cottages could no longer contain them, nor so small a Country afford them nourishment. Wherefore (all fear of the Romans being now ceased) invited thereunto by the example of their other neighbours, they resolved, by common advice, to separate and divide themselves into two distinct People; one of which should retain the wonted care and possession of their common Country; the other, exposed to hazard, provide by force of Arms greater Commodities of living, and a more large and fertile Habitation.

This Consultation had no interruption in the end to which it tended, and the division was made by a voluntary consent of every one. Those to whose lot it fell to leave their Country, although through generosity of courage accustomed to the toils of War, they feared not the danger of so great an enterprize; yet nevertheless they believed it was not a design to be remitted wholly to chance, but to be governed by mature deliberation, and weighty counsels. Wherefore being all assembled in the fields near the River *Sala*, to consult of those things which were necessary for such an expedition, and knowing well that a tumultuous and unsettled kind of Government could not conduce to the effecting their ends, they determined, before any thing else, to establish by universal consent the form of their future Government. And, as people accustomed for many Ages to live under the sole rule of one Prince, knowing also perhaps, that the qualities of a Monarchy are most agreeable and best proportioned to those that aspire to great achievements, and enlargement of Empire, they resolved to chuse themselves a King, upon whom should be conferred the whole authority of all. To so great a power was added this privilege; That the Kingdom should be hereditary in the descent of him that was to be chosen; wisely foreseeing, that if from time to time they should make a new election, it might easily breed Civil discord amongst themselves, which without all doubt would hinder the success of any enterprize whatsoever. So (as the beginnings of things use for the most part to be directed with sincerity of mind to their proper end, the publick good) all ambition and private interests laid aside, they chose by common accord for their King, *Pharamond*, one of the sons of *Marconir*, a Prince, not only by descent, (being of the same Blood, which that people were used for many Ages past to obey) but in vertue also; being singularly valiant, and most deeply wise in the Government of affairs; consenting, that to his posterity should descend the same power and the same name, until a legitimate descendent of his failing, the right should return to the people of chusing a new Lord.

But because Authority without limitation commonly converts it self into destructive licentiousness, at the same time that they elected their King, they would establish certain Laws, which were to remain perpetual and immutable in all times, and in which should be comprehended in brief the general consent, as well in the succession of the Kings, as in every other part of the future Government. These Laws proposed by their Priests which were anciently denominated *Salii*, and decreed of in the fields,

The *Franconians*, a people of *Germany*, not being able to subsist in their own Country, issue out in armed multitudes, and possess themselves of the *Gallia's*.

Pharamond chosen first King of the French at the river *Sala*, and the *Salique* Law established.

The *Salii*, Priests,

419.

The Franks began to invade the Gallia's in the year 419. being then possessed by the Romans.

Clodian the second King, made himself Master of Belgica, and this was first conquered.

Merove the third King, continues his Conquests as far as Paris, and unites the two Nations into one.

Princes of the Blood.

The Assembly of the States hath the power of the whole Kingdom. The pre-eminencies of the Royal Family's Inheritance, and Administration.

which from the river *Sala*, take the same name, were called *Salique Laws*; and (after the establishment of the Kingdom) original and fundamental Constitutions. After this principal foundation, all other things resolved on that were necessary for the present Government, and advantageous to the design in hand, having passed the *Rhine* under the conduct of their first King *Pharamond*, they betook themselves to the conquest of the *Gallia's*, about the year of our Salvation Four hundred and nineteen, leaving the Dominion of *Franconia* to the old Prince *Marcomir*.

The *Gallia's* were as yet possessed by the Roman Emperours, but much declined from their first strength and greatness, partly through Civil dissensions, partly through the incursions of divers barbarous Nations, by whose fury they had been long time much wasted and spoiled; which was the cause that the Franks Army found much less difficulty in their conquest than the Romans did formerly. Nevertheless they were not subdued without great resistance, and much time spent. For the Roman Legions appointed to guard that Province, being joined, for their own defence, with the *Gauls* themselves, held the first King *Pharamond* at a bay, till his end drawing near, he left the care of the whole enterprize, and of the people, to his son *Clodian*. This man, of a fierce courage, in the first flower of his age, having many times fought with the inhabitants of the Country, and having overcome and driven out the Roman forces, began to master that part of *Gallia*, which lying nearest to the *Rhine*, is by common consent of Writers called *Belgica*. To him succeeded *Merove*, whether brother or son to *Clodian*, is not certain; but out of doubt, nearest to him, and of the same race, conformable to the *Salique Law*. He with happy success advancing into *Gallia-Celtica*, propagated the Empire of the Franks as far as to the City of *Paris*: And now thinking he had gotten enough to maintain his people, and to form a compleat moderate Empire, stayed the course of his Conquests; and having conceived thoughts of peace, joined both Nations under the same name; and with moderate Laws and a peaceful kind of rule, founded and established in the *Gallia's*, the Kingdom of the French.

This was the first original and foundation-stone of that Monarchy; in which, as the descent of their Kings hath ever constantly remained in the same Progeny, so in all Ages the first rules of Government have been most religiously observed, neither power of Command, nor authority of Laws losing any thing, through time, of their first observation, and ancient splendor. Those Laws ordained in the beginning by the universal consent of all the people, exclude the Female Sex from the Royal Succession, and admit only to the inheritance of the Crown the nearest Males; by which means, the Empire of that Nation, by a continued and uninterrupted Succession, always remaineth in the same Blood. From the disposition of this Law, the Princes of the Blood derive their name and priviledges; for being all capable through default of the next heir, in their order to succeed to the Crown, they have in that consideration great interest in the State, and the priviledges of their families preserved with great reverence from the people; no time nor distance of degrees prejudicing the conservation of that order which Nature prescribes them to the Succession of the Kingdom. For which cause, though in the course of time, divers families, through sundry accidents, have changed their names; as some have taken the surname of *Valois*, others of *Bourbon*, others of *Orleans*, others of *Angouleme*, others of *Vendosme*, others of *Alanson*, and others of *Montpensier*; yet for all that they have not lost the trace of their Royal Consanguinity, nor the right of succeeding to the Crown; but the pre-eminencies of their Blood, and the same priviledges are ever from time to time preserved to all.

And because it is evident how much they are all concerned in the custody and preservation of so great an inheritance, of which they are all successively capable, it hath therefore ever been a custom, that the next of Blood should be Guardian to the Pupils, and Governour of the Kingdom, during the minority or absence of the lawful King. Reason willing, that the Government should not be committed to strangers, or those altogether Aliens, who might endeavour to destroy and dismember the Union of so noble a Body; but to such, who, born of the same stock, ought in reason to attend the preservation of the Crown, as their own birth-right. Nor is this Prerogative a custom only, but the States-General of the Kingdom (which Assembly hath the power of the whole Nation) having often confirmed it with their consent, and ordered it to be so; it is since become as a decreed Law, and a firm-established Constitution.

The Royal House then enjoys two Pre-eminencies: the one in matter of Inheritance; the other, of Administration: that, when any King dies without male-children; this, when

when the absence or minority of the Prince requires some other person for the Government and management of the State. These two Privileges that are always inherent in those of the Royal Line, have been a cause that the Princes of the Blood have ever held a great authority with the people, and had a great part in the Government of the Kingdom. For they themselves have ever been very vigilant in the administration of the Empire, which they esteemed, reasonably enough, as their own; and the people, conceiving the Government might, at some time or other, fall into their hands, have ever had them in great veneration; and so much the rather, because it hath often been found by experience, that the eldest Line failing, the Crown hath been devolved upon the younger family.

So the Regal Authority having an orderly succession in the race of *Meroves*, afterwards in the family of *Carolins*, and lastly in that of the *Capetts*; after many Ages, *Lewis* the Ninth of that name possessed the Kingdom; He who for innocency of life, and integrity of manners, was after his death deservedly written in the Kalendar of Saints. Of him were born two sons; *Philip* the Third, surnamed *The Hardy*; and *Robert*, the younger, Count of *Clermont*. From *Philip* came the eldest Line, which enjoyed the Crown more than three hundred years, with the surname of *Valois*: from *Robert* descended the House of *Bourbon*, so called (as it is a custom among the French) from that State of which they bare the Title, and enjoyed a long time as their own inheritance.

The Royal races; The *Meroves*, *Carolins*, *Capetts*, and *Valois*, *St. Lewis* the Ninth.

The Crown continued in the House of *Valois* three hundred years.

Now whilst the House of *Valois* possessed the Crown, the House of *Bourbon* held by consequence the rank of first Prince of the Blood, and enjoyed all those privileges which we said before by Law and Custom belonged to that quality. This Family, great, not only through nearness to the Crown, but also in large possessions, abundance of treasure, reputation in war, and fruitfulness of off-spring; producing likewise frequently men of a liberal nature, and popular civility; easily exceeded the limits of a private life; and with the sinews of its own strength; together with the favour of the people, established it self in an excessive state of greatness: which begetting jealousy, and envy in the Kings, who were displeased at so great an eminence and authority, bred many occasions of hate and suspicion; which sometimes also brake forth into open war. For *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of France, made war upon *John*, Duke of *Bourbon*, in the war intituled, *For the Commonwealth*; and *Lewis* the Twelfth (though before he came to the Crown) tried the success of Arms with *Peter* of *Bourbon*; and so, what by open defiance, what through secret malice, the Kings of France grew daily more and more jealous of the Authority of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

At the length, *Francis* the First came to the Crown; who in the beginning of his Reign, led by the ardour and facility of youth, began with great demonstration of affection, to confer honour upon the chief Princes of the Blood; it seeming a thing suitable to that magnificence he shewed towards all men, and to the greatness of his mind, that those Lords most nearly allied to him, should be most exalted, both for the honour of the Royal Line, and for his own particular reputation: And having observed in *Charles* of *Bourbon*, (who was the first Prince of the Blood) a generous courage, and a genius fit for any employment, he promoted him to be High Constable of France; and resolved that all the weighty affairs and principal charges of the Kingdom, should pass only thorow his own hands, and those that were nearest of relation to himself. But when he came to age more mature, the fervour of youth being past, and finding by being conversant in affairs, the reasons by which his Predecessors guided their counsels, with how much greater earnestness he strove formerly to raise the House of *Bourbon*, with so much the more anxiety of mind he laboured now to abate their excessive greatness.

1515. The House of *Bourbon* being next to the Crown, and grown to a monstrous greatness, was hated, kept under, and suppressed by the King.

Nor did fortune fail to present an occasion, wonderfully proper for the execution of his design. For there being a Process at that time between *Louise*, the Kings Mother, and *Charles* of *Bourbon*, for the same Duchy which he then held, the King thought with himself, that if he caused Judgment to be given in favour of his Mother, and deprived the House of *Bourbon* of their fundamental revenues, the Duke would easily fall from that power and dignity which was chiefly upheld by so splendid a fortune.

Francis the first advanced *Charles* of *Bourbon*, and afterwards suppressed him; whereupon he rebelled.

But *Charles*, having (by the preceeding of his business) discovered the deceitful practices of the Chancellor *Antonio del Prato*, by the Kings instigation, against him, disdain of the injury, and fear of ruine, which was inevitably prepared, so much prevailed over him, that joyning secretly with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the

the

the Eighth of *England*, he began to conspire against the Kingdom, and the very person of the King. Which being discovered, he was constrained to flee, and afterwards bare Arms against him; and continuing that course, it so fell out, that he was last of all General to *Cesar* in the Battel at *Pavia*; where, after a bloody slaughter in the the French Army, the King, invironed by divers Squadrons of Foot, was at length taken prisoner. For these facts *Charles* being declared Rebel, and all his estate confiscate; and having within a short time after, at the taking of *Rome*, lost his life also; the House of *Bourbon* fell from that envied greatness, which had caused such jealousy in the King.

This was not sufficient to stop the persecution now begun: for although *Charles* were unhappily dead without children, and though the others of the family did in no way partake of his counsels; notwithstanding, the King, more swayed with revenge of the injuries past, than the force of reason; all the Lords of that House, more through hate of their name, than any delinquency in their persons, were utterly deprived of all favour at Court, and wholly removed from the management of affairs. And although this rigour was in time somewhat lessened, and the Kings mind so far mitigated, as to forget things past, and to lay by the ill opinion he had conceived of them; notwithstanding he continued studiously to endeavour to cut off all means whereby those Princes might return to their former honour, and that power to which they were formerly with so much favour advanced.

This secret intention of the Kings was very well observed by *Charles Duke of Vendosme*, the chief of that House. Wherefore forcing himself with moderation of mind to overcome the suspicion and jealousies that so oppressed his family, he refused, during the Kings imprisonment, to pretend to the Regency which of right belonged to him; and after the King was delivered, having retired himself to the quiet of his own domestick affairs, sought not to be recalled to any part in that Government in which he knew himself so much suspected. The rest of the same House following his example, to shew how much they were strangers to the wicked counsels of *Bourbon*, by being such ready Executors, though to their own diminution and prejudice, of the Kings inclinations, voluntarily withdrew themselves from all business that might breed any suspicion of them; and standing retired, little troubled themselves with the charges and commands at Court; among which, despising the little ones, they already perceived it was impossible for them to attain to those dignities which they knew belonged to the greatness of their birth.

The House of *Momorancy* descends from one of those who issued out of *Francia* with the first King *Pharamond*, and pretends to be the first that received Baptism,

Anne de Momorancy, after the death of *Bourbon*, made High Constable.

The House of *Guise* descended from that of *Lorain*, reckons in the male-line of their ancestors *Godfrey of Bullen*, King of *Jerusalem*; and shews a pedigree from a daughter of *Charles the Great*,

The House of *Bourbon* thus suppressed, and removed from the affairs; there sprang up under *Francis the First*, two great families, which within a short time got the whole business of the State into their own hands; *Momorancy* and *Guise*, neither of them any way allied to the House Royal, but both the one and the other of very eminent Nobility. That of *Momorancy* keeps a venerable record of the eminency of their Ancestors; for they do not only shew a right descent from one of those Barons that accompanied the first King *Pharamond* in the Salique Expedition; but prove also, they were the first among the French Nation, that received Baptism, and the Christian Faith: wherefore among other marks of Nobility, those of that family give this device: *Deus primum Christianum servet*, as an undoubted testimony of the antiquity and piety of their Predecessors. From this stock came *Anne de Momorancy*, a man of great quickness of wit, but a moderate disposition; who, besides his natural dexterity and gravity, being accompanied with a singular industry, and exceeding patience in the various changes of the Court, he knew so well in what manner to gain King *Francis* his affection, that having passed thorow other great charges, he was first by him promoted to the Office of Grand Master, and a little after the death of *Bourbon*, to the dignity of High-Constable, and had then the Government of the War, and Superintendency of the Affairs wholly in his own hands.

But the House of *Lorain*, from which are descended the Lords of *Guise*, deriving their original from great antiquity, reckon in the male-line of their Predecessors, *Godfrey of Bullen*: He who being General of the Christians at the recovery of the holy Sepulchre, attained in *Asia* by his Piety and Arms, the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and by the Mothers side, shews a long continued pedigree from a daughter of the Emperour *Charles the Great*. In this Family, flourishing in wealth, and powerful in possessions, *Anthony Duke of Lorain* obtaining the Sovereignty over his own people, *Claudian* the younger brother, (a Prince of excellent vertue, and no less fortunate) going some little time after

after into *France*, to take possession of the Dutchy of *Guise*, gave such clear testimony of his conduct and valour in the Wars, that after the Battel of *Marignan*, wherein he commanded the *Almans*, being found most grievously wounded among thickest of the dead bodies, and almost miraculously recovered, he ever after held the first place of reputation among the French Commanders. But though both these Families had deserved so well, as it was not easie to judge which should have the pre-eminence: yet as *Guise* was superiour in birth, and large possessions, so the Constable had the advantage of the Kings favour, and chief management of the affairs. The truth is, as the condition of the Court is ever various and unconstant, so both of them towards the end of *Francis* his Reign, passed thorow many accidents of great hazard and difficulty. For the Constable, who was a chief instrument in perswading the King to credit the promises of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and to give him a safe conduct when he was forced in haste to pass quite thorow the Kingdom unarmed, to suppress the Rebellion at *Gannet*: afterwards the Emperours deeds not any way corresponding with his words, fell into such disgrace with the King and Court, that being noted by every one for a light faithless man, he was forced to absent himself, and retire to a private life, to be secure from the persecutions of his adversaries. And the Duke of *Guise* having without Commission carried some Companies of souldiers within the Kingdom to aid his Brother, the Duke of *Lorain*, in the War against the Anabaptists, so incensed the King, that he was likewise forced, by withdrawing himself, to give place to the adversity of fortune.

Anne of Memorancy and the Duke of Guise fall into disgrace with King Francis.

The Constable and the Duke of *Guise* thus gone from Court, there came in their places to the Government of the affairs, *Claud d'Annibaut Admiral*, and *Francis*, Cardinal of *Tournon*; men that by long experience and industry had acquired a great reputation of wisdom; but of such private condition for their birth and fortune, that they could never ascend to that suspected greatness, which the King, as dangerous, abhor'd in any subject.

Some are of opinion, that the King, a Prince of exquisite sagacity in timely discovering the natures and inclinations of men, at such time when through passed adversities, he was grown to be of a difficult and jealous nature, made it his study to suppress and banish from Court the Constable and the Duke of *Guise*, whom before he so much loved, and so constantly favoured; supposing he could never reign absolutely, nor rule as he listed, whilst he had men about him of such power and reputation, who were in a manner able to balance his will. And as in the Constable, that which most offended him, was his great experience, and too much knowledge, through which he believed he could not conceal from him his most secret and hidden designs: so in the Duke of *Guise*, he was displeased not only with the eminency of his birth, but also the restlessness of his thoughts: perceiving in those of that Family a disposition and inclination ready to embrace any seasonable opportunity; and withal, an ability not unfit to manage any whatsoever weighty or dangerous design. They add also, that towards his end he gave secretly this advice to his Son *Henry* the Second, *That he should beware of the excessive greatness of his Subjects; but particularly of the House of Guise; who, if they were suffered to grow too high, would without doubt molest the quiet of the Kingdom.* Which, though I dare not affirm, having no other testimony than publick Fame, which often proceeds from malice; yet it is certain, the things which since hapned have added great credit to that report.

But howsoever it were, *Francis* the First being dead, the new King *Henry* the Second (inclined rather to follow the appetite of his own will, than the advertisements and so late example of his father) removed at first dash from Court, and from their places, all those that before had any part in the Government, and substituted into their rooms the same men whom the deceased King had taken occasion to discharge of their trust. Presently were dismissed from all employment the Admiral, and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, both of them privy to those secrets which for many years were negotiated by this Prince, and his Predecessors; in whose room were called to the principal charges of State *Anne de Memorancy* High-Constable, and *Francis* of *Lorain*, Son to *Claud* Duke of *Guise*. These being made as it were Moderators of the Kings youth, and Arbitrators in the Court of all businesses of consequence, though they had several thoughts, several ends and inclinations, yet in power and authority were in a manner the same. For the Constable, a man ripe in years, a friend to peaceful counsels, and of a long practical experience in the Art of Governing, grew to an exceeding opinion of wisdom, and

1547.

Memorancy and Guise are recalled to the management of the affairs by Henry the Second.

Emulation between the Constable and the Duke of Guise.

and held the first place in the management of the affairs of State. But the Duke of *Guise*, being in the flower of his age, strong of body, of a noble presence, full of vivacity of courage, and of a ready wit for any generous notable action, had the air and favour of the Court; was admitted by the King to a familiarity of conversation, and as it were a companion in all his pleasures and youthful exercises: so that his affection to the Constable was rather respect, and his inclination to the Duke of *Guise* might rather be called acquaintance. Their ways also were very different; for the Constable loving parsimony and moderation, with a certain kind of pride that usually accompanies old age, slighting the applications of strangers, oftentimes opposed with his authority the Kings liberality, and full of austerity, and severe constancy, little esteemed the popular applause. But quite contrary, the Duke of *Guise*, affable of speech, and popular in his actions, with ostentation of liberality and pleasantness, laboured to win the affections of all the souldiers; and by taking into his protection those that were in necessity, sought to gain the dependency and affections of strangers. Hence began (as it often happens) to rise an emulation betwixt them; for finding they were equally loved and credited, they both laboured with all their power to get the advantage of each other in the Kings favour, and administration of affairs. Wherein, beside their natural inclination, they were upon all occasions animated by their nearest Allies: The Constable by *Jasper de Coligny*, Lord of *Chastillon*, his sisters son, who after the death of *Annebaut*, was created Admiral of *France*; a man of subtil wit and esteemed valour: and the Duke of *Guise*, by his brother *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorain*; who though he were singular in learning and gracefulness of speech, those excellent endowments received no little lustre from his dignity and noble presence.

Fortune was not slack in opening a large field to stir up this emulation: For the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth preparing a mighty Army to besiege *Metz* a place of strength, which they pretend belongs to the Empire, but placed upon the Frontiers, serves in a manner as a Bulwark to *France*: and the greatness of the preparations striking a terrour through all the Kingdom, it appeared fit that one of the Kings Favourites should be chosen to manage the troublesome command of that War. But the Constable being now aged, being above sixty years old, desiring rather to continue about the Kings person, than to expose the reputation he had already gotten to new hazards, seemed silently to refuse the weight of so great a charge. On the contrary, the Duke of *Guise*, who saw there was no other way left to raise himself in favour and reputation above *Momorancy*, but by arms, being of a warlike genius, and great courage, sought openly that employment. So the Constable, glad of the advantage, to see the life and reputation of his Rival exposed to such danger, either giving consent, or not contradicting it, the defence of *Metz* was wholly committed to the Duke of *Guise*; who with his valour and conduct having fully answered the expectation of all men, discharging himself with great honour in so doubtful an enterprise, remained in such reputation both with the King, and all the French Nation, that afterwards, a General being to be sent into *Italy*, to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, there was no doubt but that charge should be conferred upon him. And although the War of *Italy* was altogether without success, or but of little advantage, not by the Dukes fault, but partly through the ordinary defect of the French Souldiers, partly through the unconstancy of Confederates; he nevertheless grew in greater authority and reputation than happily he would have done by a victory.

For *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, to whom his Father *Charles* the Fifth had surrendered the Government of his Kingdom, having brought an Army upon the confines of *France* out of *Flanders*, and to divert the War of *Italy*, invaded *Picardy*, the Constable who was Governour of that Province, was forc'd to absent himself from the King, and once more, against his will, to try the fortune of War, when losing the Battel of *S. Quintin*, and being taken prisoner by the Spaniards, to the evident danger and great terrour of all the adjacent Provinces, the Kings Council thought it necessary to recal out of *Italy* the Duke of *Guise* to oppose the fury of the Enemy, and to provide against those dangers, and repair those losses which the overthrow given to the Constables Army had occasioned: Which expectation was so fully answered, not only by the expedition he made thither; but by the memorable sieges of *Calais*, *Guines*, and *Thionville*, that he was ever after without scruple thought as far superiour to the Constable, as the Victor ought to be above the vanquished.

But the Constable being in process of time freed from his imprisonment, and returned

to Court, it soon appeared, that the King began to renew his former inclination towards him: for, attributing his late misfortune to the uncertain chance of War, he received him into the same nearness as before, and again made use of his counsel, by which he was eased (being wholly addicted to his pleasure) of the intolerable burthen of business. Whereupon the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the one in War, the other in Civil matters, of great reputation and credit, doubting he would easily recover his former power, if there were not some stratagem or impediment laid in his way; they resolved to side with *Diana*, Dutcheſs of *Valentinois*; and so joining interests and a strict league of friendship, under the protection of her favour to maintain their own greatness. This *Diana* was of a noble Family, and descended from the Counts of *Poitiers*, endowed in her youth with rare and singular beauty, of a courtly, lively, and graceful behaviour, of a flowing sprightly wit, and indeed adorned with all those qualities that render young Ladies esteemed and favoured. She was married to the Seneschal of *Normandy*, and by him having had two daughters, in a short time after became a widow; then that yoke shaken off, letting her self loose to the pleasures of the Court, she presently became so absolutely Mistress of the Kings affections, that she disposed of him as she pleased; and not degenerating from her womans nature, governed so licentiously, and with such greediness appropriated all the riches of the Crown, that she became intolerable to the whole Kingdom, and universally hated of all men. For the Queen (although she made shew of the contrary) through disdain of being rivalled, was inwardly her bitter enemy; and the Nobility, who through her womanish malice and practices, were many of them ill used, and disoblighd, could not endure to submit themselves and their fortunes to her peevish humour; and the people ceased not to curse her covetousness perpetually, attributing the cause of all their Taxes which they so groaned under, only to her avarice.

But the *Guises*, solicited only with the fear of falling from their greatness, to which they had climbed thorow so many difficulties, having no regard to this universal hate, much less to any other respect, resolved to secure themselves under her protection and favour; which in a short time grew so partial on their side, that having married one of her daughters to the Duke of *Anjou* their third brother, they united all their powers to one and the same end. But the Constable soon perceived the subtil practices of the *Guises*, and not absolutely relying upon his own strength, nor the Kings favour, thought likewise of making his addresses to the same *Diana*; and, as the *Guises* had allured her with the greatness of their alliance, to win and draw her to his party by satisfying her covetousness, a passion by which he perceived she was no less swayed than by her ambition: Wherefore beginning to use her with great respect, to gain her the sooner, at the same time he gave her many rich presents, and was so far transported with the desire of effecting his purpose, that, all greatness of spirit laid aside, he resolved to take for his daughter-in-law, a Niece of hers, whom he married to his second Son *Henry* Lord of *Danville*; which was so much the more unadvisedly done, by how much *Diana* already streightly united with the *Guises*, really endeavoured to maintain their power, and favour'd the Constables designs in appearance and shew only.

From henceforward it was in vain any longer to oppose the greatness of the *Guises*. For besides the merits of their actions, in the same time that this contention was at the highest for superiority; *Francis* the Daulphine of *France*, and the Kings eldest son, took to wife *Mary*, only heir to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who was daughter to *James Stuart*, then lately deceased, and *Mary* of *Lorain*, sister to the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal; so great an alliance, that they seemed now to have the same interest with the Crown; in so much, that nothing remaining to the Constable and his, but the Kings usual countenance, and some natural propensity of kindness to him; nor to the other Lords and Barons of *France*; but only the charges and offices of less consequence; the three brothers of *Guise* got into their hands all the principal dignities and chief Governments of the Kingdom, together with the Superintendency of all the affairs both Martial and Civil.

Whilst these things, which busied the minds of all men, were agitated at the Court, the House of *Bourbon*, next of blood, and nearest allied to the Crown, contrary to the custom of the Nation, being in a manner deprived of all honours and dignities, seldom appeared, unless called upon by the necessity of war, or in the exercise of their charge in those few small Governments which yet remained in their Family. And

The three brothers of *Guise* made absolute administrators of the politick and military Government, by reason of their alliance with the Daulphine.

though the Prince of *Anguin*, one of the same House, so advanced himself by his valour and generosity of spirit, that the King was content to bestow upon him the Government of his Army in *Piedmont*, where he won the victory at *Cerisola*, and in divers other occasions gained still greater credit and reputation: Notwithstanding, he not living long, his good fortune but little advantaged the oppressed and still-persecuted House of *Bourbon*; for he once dead, it remained absolutely deprived of all manner of greatness or favour at Court. The chief of this House were *Antony* Duke of *Vendosme*, and *Lewis* Prince of *Conde* his brother, both sons to that *Charles* of *Vendosme*, who after the Rebellion of *Bourbon*, and the imprisonment of *Francis* the First, by his modesty and retiredness, in great part appeased the hate which so violently raged against the whole Family.

Those of *Bourbon* seeing themselves thus overtopped in power and authority by the House of *Guise*, (being but strangers newly come out of the House of *Lorain*, which lies between *France* and *Germany*) were not a little troubled to see themselves not only deprived of all privileges belonging to their blood, (except that which could not be taken from them, the right of succession) but, whereas by the natural course they used always to hold the first place about the King; to be now, contrary to all reason and justice, the last: And their condition was yet more deplorable, by reason of the Kings resoluteness and violent nature, not at all to be moved by the complaints of those who seemed in any way to oppose his natural inclinations. In so much, as the Court losing in a manner its natural unconstancy, kept still the same face and form of things; the *Guises* ruling all so absolutely, that none durst oppose their power. The Constables greatness afflicted them not so much; but on the contrary, they exceedingly grieved to see him so much fallen from his former height, and left in such a state, that he was scarce able to uphold himself. For being joined with him not only by alliance, but in friendship and interests, they had yet hope by means of his favour to rise again; at least to some tolerable condition, if not to the power and authority their Predecessors had formerly enjoyed. So that now deprived in a manner of all hope, (which is usually a comfort to those in affliction) they became so much the more sensible of the hardness of their present fortune.

Antony of *Vendosme* of the House of *Bourbon*, he that was father to *Henry* the 4th, married the daughter of the King of *Navarre*, by whom he inherits the pretensions of that Kingdom.

The birth of *Henry* the 4th, Dec. 13. 1554. in the Territory of *Pau*, in the Viscounty of *Bearn*, a Free State.

But amongst these, *Antony* of *Vendosme*, a Prince of great goodness, (and of a facile quiet nature) bare his misfortunes with an excellent temper; his thoughts being for the most part busied about greater matters: for having married *Jane* of *Albert*, only daughter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and after his father-in-laws death, assumed the Title and Arms of King; he took upon him not only the care of the Principality of *Bearn*, at the foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, (where he was absolute Sovereign) but also used all manner of endeavour by way of accord, to recover his Kingdom, which the *Spaniard* had long possessed by force, ever since the Wars between *Ferdinand* the Catholick King, and *Lewis* the Twelfth. But the King of *France*, by whose means it was lost, had often, though to no purpose, (being so nearly joined to *Spain*) attempted the regaining of it by force. Wherefore now these two great Kings being about a Treaty for a general peace, he hoped likewise so to be comprised in the Articles of Agreement, that his own state should be restored to him; or at least changed for some other lands of like value. He grew more passionate in that desire, because the Queen, his Wife, had brought him a Son, who, in remembrance of his Grandfather on the mothers side, was called *Henry*; the same, who after the revolution of many miseries and irksome Wars, by success of victory obtaining the Crown, is now by general consent surnamed *The Great*: He was born upon the thirteenth of *December*, in the year of our Salvation 1554. in the Town of *Pau*, in the Viscounty of *Bearn*, which is most deliciously situated at the foot of the *Perinees*. This birth, as it greatly rejoiced the Parents, so it spurred them on, with all eagerness, to pursue their designs for the recovery of *Navarre*; and withal the King *Antony* of *Bourbon* thinking he should easilier interest the King to include his restoration in the Treaty, than obtain as Prince of the Blood any dignity or Government in *France*, with so much the greater patience and meekness, suffered the injuries cast upon his Family. And although the King, either still of the same mind to lessen the Princes of the Blood, or else meerly in anger to *Antony*, because he refused to change his Signiory of *Bearn*, and the rest of his possessions in those parts, for other Cities and Lordships in the Kingdom of *France*, dismembered his Government of *Guienne*, which he enjoyed as first Prince of the Blood, and separated from it all *Languedoc*, a large and populous Province, together with the City of *Toulouse*, and

and assigned the Government of them to the Constable: he notwithstanding, deſerting ſo great an affront, without any ſhew of being at all ill ſatisfied, conſtantly perſe-
vered in his deſign.

But *Lewis of Conde* his brother, full of high thoughts, and of an unquiet ſpirit, not
awed by ſuch pretences, finding the narrowneſs of his fortune could not maintain the
greatneſs of his birth, ſpitefully vexed at his preſent condition, could not conceal the
malice and envy he bare to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, which in a manner devoured all the chief
employments of the Kingdom. Beſides his own intereſt, the diſgraces laid upon the
Conſtable, made not a little impreſſion in him: for having married his Neece *Elizab-
de Roye*, and made a firm League of friendſhip with him and his ſon *Montmorancy*, he
eſteemed the ſuppreſſion of that Family an increaſe and accompliſhment of his own miſ-
fortunes. Theſe unquiet thoughts were ſtill nourished in him by the Admiral of *Cha-
ſillon*, and his brother Mounſieur d' *Andelot*: The firſt, of an ambitious nature, but
withal, cautious and ſubtil, let paſs no opportunity by ſtirring up troubles, to raiſe
himſelf to an eminent degree of power: The other of a fiery diſpoſition, raſh by na-
ture, and perpetually involved in factions, endeavoured by his example and perſwa-
ſions, more to exaſperate the Princes fury, which already had kindled ſuch a fire in his
breſt, that burning with hate, and made as it were deſperate, his mind was wholly ſet
upon innovation.

Such was the ſtate of things, ſuch the emulations and enmities amongſt the great
ones, diſpoſed upon every little occaſion to break out into open diſſention, when upon
a ſudden ſuperſeived the death of *Henry the Second*, in the month of *July*, 1559.

This Prince had in the War proved the variousneſs of fortune: and deſiring at the
laſt to eaſe his Kingdom of thoſe great expences and troubles, he was perſwaded, join-
ing with the Neighbour Princes, to eſtabliſh a general Peace: to confirm which with
the moſt laſting bonds that might be, at the ſame time he married his eldeſt daughter
Elizabeth to *Philip the Second* King of *Spain*, and *Margaret* his only ſiſter to *Philibert
Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*. But whiſt theſe Marriages were celebrating, with all Royal
magnificence, and an univerſal joy in the City of *Paris*: Behold, the laſt day of *June*,
in a publick ſolemn Tournament, running with headed Launces againſt *Gabriel* Count
of *Montgomery*, Captain of his Guard, by accident the Vizor of his Helmet flew open,
and the ſtaff of his adverſaries Lance hitting him in the right eye, he was preſently
carried away to the *Hoſtel des Tournelles*, where, his wound being mortal, the tenth of
July he paſſed out of this life, much lamented of all men.

Henry the 2d.
killed in a
Tournament
by Montgomery.
Francis the 2d.
his Son, being
16 years old,
ſucceeds to the
Crown.

Henry the Second being deceaſed, there ſucceeded to the Crown *Francis*, Dolphin
of *France*, his eldeſt Son, being about ſixteen years of age, a Youth of a languishing
ſpirit, unhealthful and of a tender conſtitution, under whoſe Government all things
ran on in ſuch a precipitate way to the foreſeen end; that hidden diſcords brake out
into open enmities, and ſoon after came to the reſolution of Arms. The Kings youth,
or rather his natural incapacity, required, though not a direct Regent, (for the Kings
of *France* are at fourteen years of age out of minority) yet a prudent affiduous Gover-
nour, till his natural weakneſs were overcome by maturity of years. The ancient
Cuſtoms of the Kingdom call'd to that charge the Princes of the Blood: amongſt
which, for nearneſs and reputation it belonged to the Prince of *Conde*, and the King
of *Navarre*. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, nearly
allied to the King in relation of the Queen his Wife, pretended to have this Dignity
conferred upon them, as due to their merits, and great ſervices done to the Crown;
and, which moſt imported, becauſe they in effect enjoyed it during the life-time of the
deceaſed King. Amongſt theſe, *Katherine of Medicis*, the Kings Mother, for near-
neſs of Blood, and according to many examples in former times, pleaded the right to
be in her; and her hopes were ſo increaſed through the diſſention among the Princes,
that ſhe doubted not eaſily to compaſs what ſhe deſired. The fear that one faction had
of another, facilitated her deſign, inſomuch that the *Guiſes*, knowing they had not the
Qualification of Blood that was required to obtain the Government of the State, and
foreſeeing how much the authority of a Mother was like to prevail with the unexper-
ienced youth of a Son; reſolved to join and unite themſelves with her, dividing into
two parts that power, which they doubted they could not wholly obtain for them-
ſelves. And in like manner the Queen, a woman of a manlike ſpirit and ſubtil wit,
knowing the Princes of the Blood are ever naturally againſt the Government and great-
neſs of the Queens; foreſeeing alſo, that as an Italian and a ſtranger, ſhe ſhould need

the support of some potent Faction to establish her self; willingly condescended to make a League with the *Guises*, who, she saw, would content themselves with a share only of the Government, which the Princes of *Bourbon* pretended to belong wholly to them.

A great obstacle to this Union, was the mutual interest of the *Guises* and the Dutches *Diana*, whom the deceased King loved extremely even to his last; but the business requiring it, delays not being to be used in such great designs; The Queen on the one side, who in her Husbands life-time had with most commendable patience indured a Rival, was inclined with the same moderation to forget all injuries past; And the *Guises* on the other part, wholly fixing their thoughts upon the present occasion, easily consented she should be abased, and removed from the Court; provided, she were not absolutely deprived of her estate, which after her was come to their third Brother the Duke of *Anjou*. Wherefore their common interest accommodating their present Union; and all matters concerning *Diana* settled to the Queens liking; they began unanimously to lay the basis of their intended greatness.

The Obsequies of King *Henry* the Second, last 33 days.

The King by the persuasion of his wife, commits the management of the affairs to his Mother, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*.

The King of *Navarre* was absent, little satisfied with the King and the Court, because in the Capitulation with *Spain*, no regard was had of his interest for the recovery of his Kingdom. The Constable was employed in the Obsequies of the King, which were on purpose committed to his care: for, that solemnity continuing with the same pomp three and thirty days together, it is not lawful for him that hath the charge of it to depart from the place where the dead body lies, and the Ceremonies are kept, which was in the *Hôtel des Tournelles*, very far distant from the *Louvre*, whither (as the manner is) the new King was brought to reside. So that all those obstacles removed, partly by industry, partly by fortune, it was no difficult matter to get the King, who was likewise more than ordinarily led by the beauty and allurements of the Queen his Wife, to remit his whole authority into the hands of their nearest Allies. So to the Duke was committed the care of the *Militia*; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queen-Mother the superintendence of all.

The causes of the Constables disgrace at Court, and his exclusion from the affairs.

Things thus settled according to their own will, they began to take surer footing; and there being none present who by complaints or practice could work the King to open a way to alterations, they presently entred into consultation how to remove all such as might in any way oppose their designs. There was no doubt but their first attempt would be upon the Constable, as one whose authority and wisdom the *Guises* most apprehended, and the Queen-Mother long, though secretly, hated. The *Guises* feared him by reason of the ancient emulations that had ever been between them, and because the opinion of his wisdom, though he had lost his power at the Court, preserved him still in great credit with the people. But the Queens hate of him proceeded from many causes, and particularly because when she was first married, he used all manner of endeavour to perswade the King to repudiate her as barren; and afterward, when she proved to have children, he never ceased to speak scandalously of her, saying, *Of all the Kings children not any one resembled him, but only Diana his bastard-daughter, who was destined for wife to Francis of Momorancy, one of his sons*: which speeches (though not directly) cast a blemish upon the Queens honour and chastity. Nor besides these injuries, could she easily forget, that he (as he was naturally averse to strangers) had obstinately persecuted all those Florentines who through relation either of Blood or Country had recourse to her Court; and as if he pretended to an emulation with her herself, had ever used what means he could possible to affront and keep under all her dependants. All which things in her Husbands life-time she either patiently overcame, or wisely seemed not to take notice of, as indeed she was a woman of a most inscarchable mind, and a most profound dissembler. But now that there was an opportunity, they made her easily to consent to the desire of the *Guises*, which was under other pretences to deprive him of all Government in the Kingdom, or favour at Court. Wherefore in private discourse, cunningly falling into that Argument, they with one accord represented to the King the too great authority of that man; that if he remained at Court, he would pretend to keep him like a Child, under Government, and the lash of his Discipline; and that being straightly united with the Princes of *Bourbon*, (always enemies to those that possessed the Crown which they had long looked after) it was not fit in any manner to trust him, lest through that means his Majesty might expose both his own life and his young brothers to the treacheries of those men, who being suspected by reason of their restless ambition, were by the Kings his Predecessors always kept

kept under, and at a distance. These Arguments easily making an impression in the Kings weakness, (as those that know little are naturally jealous of those that know more) they resolved upon a dextrous manner to license him from the Court. Wherefore his fathers Obsequies ended, receiving him with great expressions of kindness, he told him, that being not able any other way to reward the greatness of his merits, and the pains he had undergone in the service of his Predecessors, he was determined to ease him from the cares and weight of the Government, which he knew now were burdenson, and disproportioned to his age, which he would not oppress with the excessive toil of business, but reserve him for some great occasion; and that therefore he might retire himself to his ease where best pleased him, he being resolved not to wear him out as a servant, or a vassal, but always to honour him as a father. By which speech the Constable knowing it was no time to dispute the matter, but that it would be best for him to accept that for a reward which otherwise would turn to a punishment, having thanked the King, and recommended to his protection his sons and nephews, retired himself to his Palace of *Chantilly*, ten leagues from *Paris*, where he had formerly been sheltered from the persecutions of the Court.

The Constable
retires the se-
cond time
from the
Court.

The Constable thus sent away, the next thought was how to remove the Prince of *Conde*, whose arrogancy and animosity appeared every day more prompt to take hold of any whatsoever occasion to attempt innovations, and to disturb the form of the present Government. But there being yet no means found to remove him, by reason of his quality of Prince, and for want of a just pretext, it was thought a good expedient, to send him out of the way, until such time as the foundation of their new-formed Government were settled. Wherefore being appointed Ambassador to the Catholick King, to confirm the Peace and Alliance contracted at the end of the last Kings Reign, departing from the Court, he left them the Field free to perfect their purposed designs.

In the same manner they proceeded with all other persons. For the Queen and the *Guises* having resolved formerly to establish their commenced greatness, they thought it would happen according to their desire, if reducing by little and little, the Fortresses, Souldiers, Treasure, and Sinews of the State, into their own power, all the essential important businesses of the Kingdom were either managed by themselves, or else committed to the trust of their nearest followers and adherents. But they were not so wholly governed by their interests, that they had not still a regard to the publick good, and their own reputation. For they advanced not, as the common course is, men of little merit and abject condition, thinking they would be more trusty because of their obligation; but were industrious to get about them persons of known worth, noble birth, and above all, of good reputation among the common people; by which they obtained two ends at the same time; the one, that the people were commonly pleased, and their ill-willers could have no just exceptions; the other, that crediting persons of honour and sincere intentions, they were not cozened nor deluded in their trust, as often those are that in great business rely upon men of base extraction, or of vicious life.

According to which Maxim, they recalled to the exercise of his charge *Francis Olivier*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, a man of tried integrity, and severe constancy in the Government; who for too much freedom, or too much persevering in his opinions, was at the beginning of *Henry's* Reign, by the Constables perswasion, dismissed from the Court. Likewise they recalled to the Council of State, and near to the Kings Person, the Cardinal of *Tourmon*; he who in the time of *Francis the First*, Grandfather to this King, had the principal Authority in the State: by which means, being men of tried and known goodness, and enemies to all impositions which oppressed the Commonwealth, they not only satisfied the desire of the common people, and publick expectation; but being disgraced, and as it were cast out by the Constable, and now recalled with much credit to the present Government, they served also (by their counsels and industry) to establish the foundation of their commenced greatness. Like dexterity and like artifices were used to fetch in the rest. But with the House of *Bourbon* and the House of *Montmorancy*, they proceeded not with such moderation: on the contrary, the *Guises*, transported, with a desire, as much as was possible, to abase their old enemy, and the splendour of the Royal Family, readily embraced any occasion to diminish their reputation, or otherwise to prejudice them. *Gasper de Coligny* the Admiral, was possessed of two several Governments, the Isle of *France* (so that Pro-
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Francis Olivier
the High
Chancellor,
and the Car-
dinal of *Tour-
mon*, are re-
called the se-
cond time to
the Court.

vince is called wherein *Paris* is situated) and *Picardy*: and, because the Laws of the Kingdom prohibit any one to have two charges, the late King had resolved to give the Government of *Picardy* to the Prince of *Conde*; thinking by that means, in some measure, to pacifie his mind, which he knew, through his oppressions, was much incensed. To which he was the rather induced, because his father having long enjoyed that Government, and after him the King of *Navarre* his brother, he not only very much desired it, but had also some just and reasonable pretences to it. But the Admiral having, in consideration of the Prince surrendered it, and the King dying almost at the same time, *Francis*, not regarding his fathers purpose, though already declared, at the instance of the *Guises*, conferred the same Government upon *Charles de Cossé*, Marechal of *Brissac*, a Captain of great reputation, and no less vertue; but who taking his rise from the fortune of the House of *Lorain*, and straitly united with those Princes in all things, depended absolutely upon them. The same respect was born to *Momorancy*, the Constables eldest son: For he having married *Diana*, bastard-daughter to *Henry*, with promise to have the Office of *Grand Maître* conferred upon him, which his father had enjoyed many years, the Duke of *Guise*, as soon as *Francis* came to the Crown, got it for himself; it being his chief end, to add to his new greatness, new authority, and new lustre, and to deprive that family of it, which he desired to bring as low as was possible. Thus the Duke, and much more the Cardinal, when any opportunity was offered to depress their adversaries, and advance themselves, most greedily entertained it. But the Queen-Mother, who knew such excessive covetousness, and great animosity, must of necessity, at one time or other, produce some great evil, and wished they would proceed with more dexterity, and dissimulation, was so bold as in the beginning to oppose the counsels and resolutions of those, by whose power her own authority was chiefly upheld. Now the Princes of *Bourbon* in this manner excluded from any part of the Government, and almost from the Court, and from the Kings ear, began at last to weigh the estate of their own affairs; and considering the proceedings of their adversaries, (who, not content with their present authority, contrived all means to establish themselves for the future) they resolved no longer to stand by as idle spectators of their own disgraces, but to find out some remedy for the time to come, which might recompence their past losses, and stop the precipice of their future ruine, which they saw undoubtedly lay before them. To this end, *Antony*, King of *Navarre*, having left his young son to the care of the Queen, his wife, in *Bearne*, in a manner secure from that fire, which he saw now kindling to consume the Kingdom of *France*, came to *Vandosme*, where met him the Prince of *Conde*, then returned from his Embassy, together with the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chatillon* his brothers, *Charles* Count of *Roche-faucault*, *Francis* Vidame of *Chartres*, and *Antony* Prince of *Portian*, all near Allies and Friends; with whom came divers other Gentlemen, ancient dependents and adherents to the Families of *Bourbon* and *Momorancy*. Nor did the Constable (who, under pretence of retiredness and a quiet life, secretly gave motion to all the wheels of this attempt) fail to send thither his old Secretary *Dardres*, that by assisting at the Assembly, he might represent to them his judgment concerning the present business.

Secret Assembly of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and other discontented Lords.

Now entering there into a debate what (as things stood) was fittest to be done; they all agreed in the end, but were of different opinions concerning the means: For they all knew the great indignities received by the Princes of the Blood; who were not only put by the first place in the Government, but deprived of those few charges that remained amongst them: likewise they clearly foresaw how great a ruine suddenly threatened both the Princes of the Blood themselves, and their whole party; the suppression of which, they saw was the *Guises* chief aim. Wherefore they all concluded, that in the first place it was necessary to provide, as much as might be possible, against so great a danger, before things were brought to the last extremities, and irreparable. But by what means this was to be done, they did not so easily agree amongst themselves.

The Prince of *Conde*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, *d'Andelot*, and divers others, the most ardent and resolute amongst them, were of opinion, that without giving more time to their adversaries to strengthen themselves, and augment their power and reputation, they should forthwith have recourse to Arms, as the most expedite remedy, and more secure than any other. They further shewed, it was but in vain any longer to expect in hope that the King would at length be moved, of his own free-will, to restore

store them to their rights: for being of himself unable to resolve any thing, he would hardly perceive or shake off that carelessness wherein from his birth his own nature had as it were buried him; that over-awed by the authority of a Mother, and the power which the *Guises* usurped over him, he would not dare to resume that Sovereignty which he had so easily parted with: that the complaints and admonitions of the Princes of the Blood, and subjects well affected to the Crown, would never come to his ears, being as it were besieged (even to the servants about his person) by men hired by their adversaries, the Champions of the present Tyranny: and therefore it was not to be expected, that the King should, of his own deliberation, yield them any relief, to whom their complaints would never be admitted, but deformed and blasted with the odious names of Rebellion, Treason, and Conspiracy: What else then could they look for? that the Queen-Mother, and the *Guises*, should willingly depart from that greatness, which with such pains and artifices they had established, to share it with their enemies? that was a hope more vain, and more unreasonable than the former: for what men acquire boldly, they do not often part with cowardly. It is ordinary and natural for things unlawful and unfit, to be sought after secretly, and acquired leisurely; but once gotten into possession, they are afterwards impudently held, and maintained openly: That the shew of right, the refuge and authority of the Laws, (things that use to prevail with private men) do yield, without contest, to the violence and force of Princes, who measure reason by the rule of their power and will; and that to proceed with such respect, increased confidence and boldness in their adversaries; That to begin with complaints and supplications, was but to sound the Trumpet before the Battel, to give the enemy warning to prepare for his defence; That the success of great designs depended on the quickness of execution, and timid uncertain counsels used to abate the courages of men, vilifie their strength, and let pass opportunities, of themselves apt enough to slip away: That therefore it was necessary to hasten the taking up of Arms, thereby to open a way to the suppression of their unprepared enemies; and not to use slow wary courses, which would ruine the foundation of their hopes, and render the whole enterprise very difficult.

On the contrary, the King of *Navarre*, the Admiral, the Prince of *Portian*, and the Constables Secretary in his Lords name, disliked so at first to have recourse to force, and recommended more moderate gentle remedies. For they knew well, however the Princes of the Blood professed to take Arms rather to set the King at liberty, who was besieged and oppressed by the power of strangers, than against his State and Authority; nevertheless, it would be sinisterly interpreted, and abhorred by all true French-men; who most religiously reverence the Royal Majesty, which ought not in consideration whatsoever, nor under any pretences, to be in the least degree violated or constrained. They considered withal, that observing the strictness of the Laws, they could not justly force the King to yield up the Government into their hands; for being now passed fourteen years of age, he was no longer subject to Tutelage, or the Government of any: and therefore it would be better to manage their cause with dexterity, and shew of modesty in their attempts and complaints, as wholly founded upon equity, rather than commit it to the fury of War: and if this resolution were prudently followed with art and industry, they despaired not to secure the Queen-Mother; who, if she were once drawn from the *Guises* party, the foundation of their vast Greatness would soon fall, and a most secure and easie way be open to their own pretences. Neither was it altogether to be doubted, that the *Guises*, who, without contradiction, had with such boldness ingrossed the whole, when they saw themselves so sharply and powerfully assaulted, would at least yield up some part of the Government to the Princes of *Bourbon*: which once possessed of, they might secure themselves from those present indignities and imminent dangers that now so diversly threatned them; in which manner they thought it much better quietly to content themselves with some reasonable condition, than to hazard all to the instability of fortune, and incertain chance of War: to maintain which, they did not see what Forces they could hope for in *France* against their lawful natural King, nor what assistance was to be had from stranger Princes, who by the late Treaty and Alliances were so firmly united and entred into a League with him; in which consideration, it was greatly to be feared, that by taking of Arms, they might rather open a destructive way even to the utter ruine of their whole Family, than an honourable inlet to the Government and Administration of the Kingdom.

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The King of Navarre goeth to the Court, soliciting the King in the name of the Princes of the blood, that they might participate in the Government.

This last opinion, through the authority of the Author, at length took place; and so it was resolved, that the King of *Navarre*, as chief of the Family, and first Prince of the Blood, should go to the Court; and there having the Kings ear, (which could not be refused to one of his quality) lay before him their reasons, use all manner of means to gain the Queen-Mother; and try by a wise and well-managed Treaty, whether he could get himself any place in the Government, and his Brothers and their dependants restored to those dignities that were injuriously taken from them; or else to other offices and charges of like esteem. But by the beginning it was easie to see how the event would prove: For the King of *Navarre*, terrified with the dangerous face of so great an enterprize, proceeded in it full of doubts and considerations, being besides of a facile and bathful nature; where, on the other side, the Duke of *Guise*, and Cardinal of *Lorraine*, animated with their prosperity, boldly prepared themselves to encounter with vigour and assuredness any opposition whatsoever.

The King for a long time was informed and made believe by the Queen his Mother, and the *Guises*, that the Princes of the Blood had ever been kept under by his Predecessors, by reason of the innate malice they always found in them towards the Kings that were in possession of the Crown; whom they were still practising against, either by secret conspiracies or open rebellion; and that at the present, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* seeing themselves next to the succession, the King of a weak Constitution, and without heirs, and his Brothers Pupils, they endeavoured to deprive him of his Mothers Government, and the care of his nearest kindred, and keeping him in subjection, (as formerly the Masters of the Palace did *Clouis*, *Chilperic*, and other Princes of weak capacity) intended perhaps by other wicked means, by treachery or poyson, speedily to make way for themselves to the Crown. This probable well-form'd Story easily breeding jealousies in the King, who was by nature timorous and mistrustful, he received the King of *Navarre* with little shew either of kindness or honour; and when he talked with him, (which was not but in the presence of the Duke or the Cardinal, who never stirred a minute from his side) he still made him sharp answers; and alledging his Majority, and avowing the great services he received in the present Government, still cut him off from the instances and demands of the Princes of the Blood; as wholly proceeding from contrived ends, neither suitable to the times, nor any way agreeable to reason.

The design upon the Queen-Mother had no better effect: for knowing she could not trust to the Princes of the Blood, who, though they seemed well-affected to her for a time, till they had gotten access to the Government; yet she might afterwards not only be abandoned by them, but excluded from the Administration, and perhaps made to retire from the Court; and withal, thinking it direct indiscretion to forsake the friendship of the strongest party, that was so well settled, to join with the Princes of *Bourbon*, that had not any support at all, she resolved to rest upon that security which she had already proposed to her self. But nevertheless, desirous to withstand as much as was possible, the publick distractions and tumults of War, she proposed to her self, not to leave them altogether hopeless, but to essay by dissimulation and artifices, to divert the King of *Navarre* (whom she knew pliable enough) from such intentions, and by delays in time to effect something that might be beneficial to the Commonwealth. To which purpose, at their first meeting, having with shew of kindness filled him with hope, she began most dexterously, in the progress of their discourse, to demonstrate unto him, that the King being of a delicate disposition, was not to be expected by demands and unreasonable complaints; but that it was necessary to expect some fit opportunity, which time would at length produce. For as the King, being now past his minority, was not bound in matters of Government to conform himself to the arbitrement or opinion of any body, but only to his own will and judgment; so when an occasion should be offered to honour or gratifie the Princes of *Bourbon*, he would without all doubt satisfy the bond of consanguinity, and shew to all the world, how great an account and esteem he made of their vertue and loyalty. That the King ought not in any manner by a change to destroy or alter the things already established, lest he should give occasion to be thought of a variable nature, unconstant, irresolute, and inconsiderate. But when places grew void, (as daily some or other did) he would not fail, so far as was reasonable, to satisfy the pretences of every one. Withal, she offered her self to undertake the protection of the Princes of the Blood, and earnestly to sollicite her Son, as soon as was possible, to satisfy their desires;

desires; that it would not be seemly for the King of *Navarre*, who was a wise man, and had ever been a pattern of moderation, that he should now suffer himself to be guided by youthful rash Counsels, and led into those precipices which were neither becoming his age nor wisdom; but expecting with patience that which he ought to acknowledge simply the Kings courtesie and affection, teach others the way how to receive in fit time the favours and benefits of their Prince. With these discourses having often tasted his temper, and perceiving he began already to stagger, finally, to give him the last shock, she proposed to him, that *Elizabeth* the Kings sister, being to be sent into *Spain*, accompanied with some Person of great quality and esteem, she had thought to recommend that charge to him, being every way qualified both for gravity and Royal Birth, to honour and dignifie those Nuptials; which, besides the content the King her Son would receive by it, would by the way prove very advantageous to his particular ends. For he would have opportunity to gain the Catholick King, and withal, to treat in person concerning the restitution or change of his Kingdom of *Navarre*; in which business she proffered to imploy all her own authority, and the power of the King her Son, to bring his desires to their wished ends.

The King of *Navarre*, who in discovering and penetrating into the inclinations of the Court, found those who had any employment there, complying with the present occasions, took little care of the pretences of the Princes of the Blood; and those that had reason to desire his greatness and his Brothers, some of them disheartned, others ill satisfied with his long stay, and all equally desperate of effecting any thing, easily returning to his former thoughts of recovering his Kingdom, he conceived he ought not to refuse that occasion, which would be a means, not only to renew the Treaties of Agreement with *Spain*, but also to depart with honour from the Court, where he found he could not remain with any reputation. Wherefore willingly entertaining the motion to conduct Queen *Elizabeth* into *Spain*, and filled with infinite hopes by the Queen-Mother, (notwithstanding the other Princes his adherents were very much offended at it) he hastened his departure with such eagerness of mind, that his enemies themselves could not have desired it more. Nor did he with less facility entrap himself in the Treaty with the Spaniards: for King *Philip* being already advertised of the particulars of that business by the Queen-Mother, and he desiring no less than she, that the King of *Navarre*, who had such strong pretences against his State, should be kept low, and far from any power in the Government; commanded the Duke of *Alva*, and the other Lords appointed to receive the Queen his wife, that they should be forward to use all manner of means to allure him on, and entertain him: but slowly embracing his propositions, they should offer themselves to make report thereof to the King and his Council, without the opinion of whom nothing could be determined that concerned the interest of the State.

So the King of *Navarre* being come to the confines of *Spain*, and having delivered Queen *Elizabeth* to the Spanish Deputies, he presently entered into a Treaty that began fairly, as he thought, of his own private business; which being managed with excellent dexterity by the Spaniards, so filled him with great, but delayed hopes, that he had no other thoughts but of his own affairs; in such manner, that having at their request sent an Ambassador to that Court, he determined to retire himself to his ancient quiet in *Bearn*; with a firm resolution not at all to meddle in the businesses of *France*, since their desires, by way of negotiation, proved fruitless. And for the War, he thought there was but little Justice in it, and too much hazard.

But contrary was the opinion, and other the resolutions of *Lewis* of *Conde* his Brother, a poor Prince, but hardy and courageous; who having framed his hopes to aspire to great matters, precipitated through the hate of his adversaries, constrained by the narrowness of his fortune, and continually spurred on by his Wife and Mother-in-law, (this Sister, that Niece to the Constable; but both of them fierce and ambitious women) he could no longer support the wearisomeness of his present condition, but with all his power promoted new and dangerous counsels; having already figured to himself, that if he were a means and instrument to set the War on foot, he should not only obtain a great power amongst his own party, but riches also, with divers other conveniencies; many adherents to his faction, and absolute Dominion over divers Cities and Provinces in the Kingdom. Wherefore having again assembled at his own house at *La Ferte* in *Champagne* the Princes his Allies, and Lords adhering to his faction, he laid before them, that having till then tried gentle pleasant remedies, and

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Queen *Blanch* Mother to *St. Lewis*, having taken upon her the Government of the Kingdom in the minority of her Son, the Barons took arms to maintain the right in those to whom it belonged.

So did *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, in the time of *Charles* the eighth.

found no ease by them; it was necessary to apply a stronger medicine to cure the distemper, which from the beginning so violently tended to the ruine not only of the Royal House, but even of all that did not adore and depend as slaves upon the rule of the Queen-Mother and the *Guises*: That it was no longer time to hide their wounds, (till then with so much patience concealed) for they appeared manifestly to the eyes of all the world: That the injuries, with such indignities cast upon the Royal Family, were now openly to be seen; as their banishment from the Court, depriving them of the Government of *Picardy*, the usurpation of the Office of *Grand-Maître*; The superintendence of the Kings Revenues; The dividing of all the Charges and Offices amongst strangers, and persons unknown; The artificial imprisonment of the King himself, to whom no body could have access, that spake freely or honestly; And finally, the oppression of all good men, and advancement only of those, who looked after nothing else, but to rob and waste the riches of the Crown. The eager persecution of the Blood Royal was known to every one, and the tyranny of strangers established amongst them, whose violence could not be withstood but in the same manner by violence; That it was not the first time the Princes of the Blood had taken Arms to defend the Jurisdictions and Privileges of their Family. So *Peter* Duke of *Brittain*, *Robert* Count of *Dreux*, and divers other Lords, engaged themselves in a War, when in the minority of the King *Saint Lewis*, Queen *Blanch* his Mother, of her own accord took upon her the Government of the State: So *Philip* Count of *Valois*, after the death of *Charles* the Fair, made use of his power to exclude from the Guardianship and Regency, those that unjustly pretended to usurp it; so *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* made war in the time of *Charles* the eighth, to make himself be chosen Regent and Governour of the Kingdom, against the power and authority of *Anne* Dutches of *Bourbon*, who being the Kings elder sister, had assumed the charge of his Government: That these, and many other examples, were so evident, that they could not do amiss in following the steps of their ancestors, whose case being clearly the same with theirs then, directed them the way to their own preservation. That they ought no longer to linger in expectation of the Kings pleasure; who buried in the lethargy of his own incapacity, perceived not the miserable slavery into which he was brought. But as a wise careful Physician gives medicines and potions to a sick man against his will, to cure him of an infirmity, and recover him from that danger which he perceives not in himself: so the Princes of the Blood (to whom, by consent of the whole Nation, and ancient custom, this care naturally belongs) ought to endeavour to free the King from that slavery, and those bonds, which he (overcome by his infirmity) perceived not, though so prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the whole Kingdom; but that it was necessary, before the present danger precipitated them into extremities, to arm themselves with a strong resolution, and to proceed with a resolute constancy. For by quickness, prevention and boldness, they should easily overcome those difficulties, which appear more in a Council, or putting doubts in a debate, than they are indeed when they come to be attempted. That on the contrary, by dejectedness of courage and slackness, they should for ever subject themselves to a ruinous shameful servitude. Wherefore he desired every one, all doubts and uncertainties laid aside, courageously to trust his present safety, quiet, and future honour, to the strength of his own Arms.

These things being spoken with efficacy and Souldier-like boldness and courage by the Prince, wrought upon the minds of the greatest part of his audience, who were already of themselves, through their own affections and interests, disposed to take Arms.

But the Admiral, with more weighed counsel, measuring the greatness of the attempt, opposed the Princes opinion, and advised to take another way, which he thought more secure, and likelier to take effect. For to hazard so openly all the Royal Family, and so many their Allies and Dependants, with little force, not any adherents, no strong places, without men, and no provision of money, to the arbitrement of War and Chance, appeared to him too desperate a resolution; and therefore thought it necessary to have recourse to industry and art, where there was a manifest defect of strength; and so working under-hand, without discovering themselves, bring their design notwithstanding by the ministry of other persons, to the end they desired. He shewed them, how the whole Kingdom was full of multitudes of those that had embraced the opinions and faith newly introduced by *Calvin*: that, by reason of the severity of the Inquisitions exercised against them, and rigorous punishments, they were, through

through despair, brought to a desire, nay, to a necessity of exposing themselves to any danger whatsoever could befall them, so they might be free from the misery of their present condition; that they all believed that the severity used against them, proceeded from the motions and advice of the Duke of *Guise*, and much more from the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who not only in the Parliament and Kings Council ardently wrought their destruction, but in publick discourse and private meetings, opposing their Doctrine, never desisted to persecute them; that the resolution and violence of that people was till then suppressed, because they had no head to guide them, nor any person whose counsel and activity might put heat into them; but with any little shew of assistance, they would, without regard, hazard themselves in all difficult and dangerous designs, through hope to be delivered from those calamities that so much oppressed them. Wherefore it would be an excellent Expedient to make use of that means to animate and get into a body a multitude so prepared; and then secretly to set them on when occasion served, to the destruction of the House of *Lorain*, in which manner, the Princes of the Blood, and other Lords of their party, should secure themselves from danger, increase their strength by such a number of followers, gain the adherents of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who openly favoured and protected that belief, set a greater shew of honesty upon the cause, lay upon others the burden of so bold an attempt; and make it believed for the future by all the world, that the Civil War was set on foot, and stirred up, not by the interest of the Princes, and their pretensions to the Government, but by the discords and controversies in matters of Religion.

The Admiral maketh a proposition to the Male-contents to protect the followers of those opinions in Religion introduced by *Calvin*, and it is embraced.

It was not hard for the Admiral by his eloquence and authority to persuade the rest to approve of this design, of it self, in appearance, much conducing to the state of their present affairs: and there being many in the Assembly which secretly inclined to *Calvin's* Doctrine, it was resolved with a general consent, to follow that advice, the which, with lively and no less present hopes, hindred so precipitate a War, and kept off, for a time, those evident dangers to which men unwillingly expose themselves, when there is any means wholly to avoid, or at least to delay them. But it was a counsel and resolution so fatal and pernicious, that, as it let in all the miseries and calamities, which with such prodigious examples have for a long time afflicted and distracted that Kingdom, so it brought to a miserable end, both the Author himself that made the Proposition, and all those, who, led by their own affections and interests, consented to it.

But since the beginning and progress of *Calvin's* Doctrine is fallen into mention, under the colour of which, so many great and several Factions have been engaged in the Civil Wars of *France*, both for the better clearing the business in hand, as also not to be forced often to look back to those beginnings, which are so requisite to the understanding of matters of fact; it is necessary to make some short relation of it.

After *Martin Luther* in *Germany* opened the way to let in Schism into Religion, and new opinions into our Faith, *John Calvin*, born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, a man of a great, but unquiet wit, marvellously eloquent, and generally learned, departing from the Faith generally held and observed so many Ages by our Predecessors, proposed in his Books which he published in print, and in his Sermons which he preached in divers places in *France*, One hundred twenty eight Axioms (so he called them) disagreeing from the Roman Catholick Faith. The French Wits, curious by nature, and desirous of Novelties, began at first, rather for pastime, than through choice, to read his Writings, and frequent his Sermons. But, as in all businesses of the world it uses often to fall out, that things beginning in jest, end in earnest; these Opinions sowed in Gods Church, so crept up, that they were greedily embraced, and obstinately believed by a great number of people and persons of all qualities: in so much as *Calvin* at the first, thought a man of little worth, and of a seditious unquiet spirit, in a short time came to be revered of many, and believed for a new miraculous Interpreter of Scripture, and as it were a certain infallible Teacher of the true Faith.

John Calvin, a *Picard*, preacheth and publisheth in print 158 Principles differing from the Roman Catholick Religion; which at first are hearkned to only in curiosity, but at last make great impressions in the minds of men, and produce great mischief.

The foundation of this Doctrine was in the City of *Geneva*, situate upon the Lake anciently called *Lacus Lemanus*, upon the Confines of *Savoy*: which having rejected the Government of the Duke and Bishop, to whom formerly it paid obedience under the name of *Terra Franca*, and under pretence of living in Liberty of Conscience, reduced it self into the form of a Commonwealth or Commonalty. From thence Books

Calvin's opinions had their first foundation in *Geneva*.

coming out daily in print, and men furnished with wit and eloquence insinuating themselves into the Neighbour-Princes, who secretly sowed the seeds of this new Doctrine; in progress of time, all the Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom of France were filled with it, though so covertly, that there appeared openly, only some few marks and conjectures of it.

The Reformed Religion began to spread in France in the time of Francis the First.

Henry the Second was very severe against the Calvinists.

The Original of this dissention began about the time of Francis the First; who though sometimes he made severe resolutions against them, notwithstanding, being continually busied in foreign Wars, either remitted it, or was not aware how at that time, the Principles of that Faith (then rather despised and hated, than any way feared or taken notice of) began by little and little to spread in the world.

But Henry the Second, a religious Observer of the Catholick Faith, knowing withal, that from distraction of Religion in mens minds, would infallibly follow (as a necessary consequence) distractions in the State; used his uttermost endeavours to extirpate the roots of those seeds in their first growth. And therefore, with inexorable severity resolved, that all who were found convict of this imputation, should suffer death without mercy. And although many of the Councillors in every Parliament, either favouring the same Opinions, or abhorring the continual effusion of blood, made use of all their skill, to preserve as many as they could from the severity of this execution; notwithstanding the Kings vigilance and constancy was such, chiefly by the incitements of the Cardinal of Lorain, that he had reduced things to such a point, as he would in the end, though with the effusion of much blood, have expelled all the peccant humours out of the bowels of the Kingdom; if the accidents which followed, had not interrupted the course of his resolution.

1560. The Calvinists use to boast much of the death of Henry the Second.

But thereupon, the death of Henry happening unexpectedly, which the Calvinists used to preach of as miraculous, and magnifie to their advantage: In the beginning of Francis the Second his Reign, this severity being of necessity somewhat remitted, the disease by intermission of the purge grew stronger; and as the remedies were gentler and less operative, so inwardly it increased, and spread it self the more. For the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain, who governed in chief, continued the same resolutions of severity; but it continued not in the Court of Parliament, nor were the other Magistrates so obedient to the Regal Authority; but, over-awed by the number and quality of those that had embraced that Doctrine which they called Reformed, and already weary of such cruelty towards their Country-men and kindred, silently slackned the rigour, and were less diligent in enquiring after them: Besides, there were many amongst the Counsellors, who according to the inclination of the present Government, and through desire of change, were well pleased to have things so brought into confusion, that every one might live with Liberty of Conscience. For Theodor Beza, Calvin's disciple, a man of great eloquence and excellent learning, having by his Sermons seduced a great number of men and women, and many of the chief Nobility and greatest persons of the Kingdom being revolted to that Religion, their Assemblies and Sermons were then no more celebrated in Stables and Cellars, as in the Reign of Henry the Second, but in the Halls and Chambers of the best Gentry, and most eminent Nobility.

The name of Hugonots derived from certain places under ground, near Hugo's gate in the City of Tours, where those opinions first took growth.

These people were formerly called Hugonots; because the first Conventicles they had in the City of Tours, (where that belief first took strength and encreased) were in certain Cellars under ground near Hugo's gate, from whence they were by the vulgar sort called Hugonots; as in Flanders, because they went in the habits of Mendicants, they were called Genx: Others count other ridiculous and fabulous inventions of this name; but howsoever it were, these Hugonots had not yet any Head, nor authority of any Prince to protect them. For though the Admiral and other Lords inclined to their opinions, they durst not as yet declare themselves, but were bridled with the fear of punishment, and therefore kept their Assemblies exceeding privately.

Now the Princes of Bourbon finding France in this state, and so agreeing with their interests, they greedily embraced the Admirals propositions, and unanimously consented to his opinion, to make use of this pretext, and the opportunity of these conjunctures to perfect their designs; and to this end deputed Andelot and the Vidame of Chartres, to negotiate their business.

Andelot was brother to the Admiral; a man of great fierceness, and much experience in war; but being of a precipitate nature, and turbulent spirit, (still mingling and interesting himself in seditious Treaties and Plots) had many times offended the former

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mer Kings; and but for the protection of the Constable, and favour of his brother, more than once had forfeited his life and reputation. But, for these and the like causes, removed from Court, he had a long time continued to take part with the *Hugonots*, and to give them his aid in their secret assembling themselves to hear Sermons. Of like nature, and yet more precipitate, and more open, but not of like valour, was the Vidame of *Chartres*; who, great in riches, leading a licentious dissolute life, was become a refuge and sanctuary for all vicious persons; and lastly, (more through capriciousness of his unquiet nature, than any sense he had of matters of Religion) declared himself an adherent to *Calvins* Doctrine. These, as experienced Instruments to stir up Novelties, and knowing the places where the *Hugonots* used to assemble, had no great difficulty, without discovering themselves, to find out men enough fit to convey secret intelligence to those that were interested in it, of the begun design; and to put in order and form those things that were to be put in execution; who, besides their wondrous activity, had continual correspondence with those who (terrified with fear of danger and punishment) cared not for their own safety, to molest and subvert the whole world: and easily, in a short time, brought their business to that issue as was intended.

Practising thus in all parts, they disposed the order of their Council in manner as followeth. That, having assembled a great multitude of those that profess the Reformed Religion, they should first of all send, and then appearing before the Court unarmed, desire the King to grant them Liberty of Conscience, free exercise of their Religion, and Temples allowed them for that purpose: which demands, knowing they would be sharply and resolutely denied, the armed men (which were to be sent privately at the same time out of divers Provinces) appearing on a sudden under certain Captains, as if it had been a multitude enraged with a denial, that ran furiously to take Arms, the King being found unprovided, and the Court disarmed, they should kill the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, with all those that followed or depended upon any of their name; and so force the King to declare the Prince of *Conde* supreme Governour and Regent of the whole Kingdom; who should then remit the Laws made against them, and grant them a freedom of their Religion.

The manner
of the *Hugonots*
proceed-
ings.

Some believe, and have divulged, that the chief instruments of this Conspiracy, had secret order, if their Plots succeeded as they had designed it, that they should presently cut in pieces the Queen-Mother, and the King himself, with all his brothers; by these means to clear the way for the Princes of *Bourbon* to attain to the Crown: But not any of the complices having ever confessed this intention, but always, even upon the rack, and otherwise, constantly denied that point, I cannot give my self leave to affirm it upon the uncertain report of Fame only, which is raised and increased according to the several inclinations of men.

Now the Conspirators having thus ordered their business, they presently divided the charges and chief Provinces amongst the *Hugonots*, that they might execute their designs with more order, and less noise. *Godfrey de la Barre*, *Sieur de la Renaudie*, a man who, having past thorow divers fortunes, and spent much time in other Countries, with his boldness and wit had got a great name amongst the *Calvinists*, and was much followed by them, took upon him the chief Government and care of the whole enterprise, neither wanting courage to undertake, nor understanding to direct so hazardous a design. Withal, being brought to a low desperate fortune, he resolved by these means either to better his condition, or lose his life in the attempt. He was born in *Perigord*, (which people were anciently called *Petracorii*) of an indifferent good family; but for some false dealing in a certain Process, was forced to flee his Country, and, having for many years wandered up and down the World, at length came to *Geneva*, and there, by the readiness of his wit, having gotten into reputation, he found means also to return home to his own Country; where wasting his fortune in projects and factious companies, he brought himself into such a condition, that he was at length forced to get his living by the same arts he had formerly ruined both his credit and estate. Such was the quality and birth of the chief Head of that Conspiracy, with whom many others joined themselves; some led by Conscience, others thrust on through desire of change, and many also invited by the natural humour of the French Nation, who cannot endure to live idly. To those of best quality amongst these, he gave several charges to raise men, and to bring them to a place appointed: so that having divided to all their several Provinces, in this great disorder they proceeded in a most orderly

Renaudie, a
man of a des-
perate for-
tune, is
made Head of
the *Hugonots*
Conspiracy.

orderly method, which with all the members, agitating severally, were notwithstanding each of them in due time to be assisting to their Superiour. To the Baron of *Castelnau* they committed the care of *Gascoigne*; To Captain *Mazares*, the charge of *Bearn*; To *Mesny*, the Country of *Limoges*; To *Mirabel*, *Xaintonge*; To *Coccaville*, *Picardy*; To *Movans*, *Provence*; To *Malines*, *Brie* and *Champaigne*; To the *Sieur de S. Marie*, *Normandy*; and, To *Montejan*, *Britany*: Men who, as they were all of Noble Families, so were they of known courage, and reputed principal leading men, in several Cities, and their own Countries where they lived.

All these departing from the Assembly at *Nantes*, a City in *Britany*, (where under colour of Law-business, celebrating Marriages, or such like pretences, they met together) and returning with great expedition, every one to the Province allotted him, in a few days working with wonderful secrecy, they brought a great number of people of several conditions to be at their devotions; who, without looking further into the matter, were assured by their Preachers, that the business they had in hand was for the good and quiet of the Commonwealth. In the mean while, the Prince of *Conde* (who underhand ministred fuel to so great a fire) by little journeys went towards the Court, to be ready, without demur, to take such resolutions as were most expedient, and conformable to the present occasion: But the Admiral with his wonted sagacity, preserving himself as it were Neuter, to be better able upon all occasions to assist his party, being retired to his house at *Chastillon*, made shew of desiring the ease of a private life, without any thought of publick business belonging to the Government. Which he did not so much that he might secretly favour, with his counsel and assistance, the common design, as through doubt (esteeming it too rash and dangerous) that it might meet some cross encounter, or unhappy end.

Now the Conspirators (not troubled with such thoughts, but full of good hope) were departed from their houses, where they had lain hid secretly, and carrying arms under their garments, went divers ways in several companies (according to their order at that time prefixed) from divers parts towards *Blois*; where for the present, by reason of the goodness of the air, the Court remained; a plain open City, and not any ways fortified; near which, in the places adjacent, they were all to meet the 15 day of *March*, in the year 1560. a day more than once destined for the execution of great designs.

1560.

The fifteenth of *March* was a day more than once appointed for the execution of great designs in *France*: and this day, *Anno* 1560. the *Huguenots* determined to meet at *Blois*, where the King then was.

But the diligence and secrecy of the Conspirators was not such (although very great) but that it was exceeded by the industry of the Queen-Mother and the *Guises*: who through great rewards, and the authority they had in the State, having infinite dependants in all parts of the Kingdom, were particularly informed of the whole frame of the Conspiracy; and it was impossible in reason, that the rising of so great a multitude could be concealed: for we see the secretest plots trusted to few persons of tried secrecy and known faith; use often to be discovered before they come to execution. Some will have it, that *la Renardie* communicated all the particulars to *Pierre Avanelles*, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, whom he thought a man to be trusted, because he was one of the same Religion. But he, either looking upon it as too great an attempt, or designing to get a reward, revealed the business confusedly to the Duke of *Guises* Secretary; by whose counsel, afterwards sent for in person to the Court, he discovered all the particulars to the Queen-Mother. But whether this secret came from *Avanelles*, or spies entertained in the houses of the chief Conspirators, accused them; or that the advice, as some have said, came out of *Germany*; the Queen-Mother and the *Guises* having notice of it, consulted what course to take to divert, or else suppress the mischief of the present Conspiracy. The Cardinal not accustomed to the dangers of War, inclining to the securest resolution, advised; that all the Nobility of the nearest Provinces should be sent for; that all the Foot in the Neighbour-Garrisons should be drawn into a Body; that Carriers should be dispatched to all the Princes and Governours of the Kingdom, with absolute command to put themselves into the field, to pursue all such as they found bearing Arms: conceiving, that the Conspirators finding they were discovered, and hearing of such great preparations, (which are commonly increased by reports) would of themselves scatter and disband, rather than try the uttermost danger.

But the Duke of *Guise*, who used to the greatest dangers, made little account of the force of a confused multitude without discipline or government; thought, by following that way which the Cardinal proposed, the mischief would be delayed, but not extinguished;

tinguished; which still perniciously creeping into, and settling in the inward bowels of the Kingdom, would break forth again at some other time with greater violence, and perhaps with more trouble and damage to the State. In which consideration, he was of opinion, that dissembling, and making shew of knowing nothing, they should give courage and commodity to the Conspirators to discover themselves; that so being vanquished, and punished, the State might be freed from the repletion of so pestilent and dangerous an humour; which, shewing it self like to occasion such great distempers, it was no time to appease it with lenitives only, but being already grown to a head, to expel it with strong purging medicines. He added yet to those reasons, that the Conspirators being so separately suppressed but in part, it would be in the arbitrement of malignants to calumniate the act; and the people not accustomed to such proceedings, would difficultly believe it; so that many would think it an invention of those that governed to depress their enemies, and more surely to establish their present power; but that, oppressing them all united together in one Body, at the same instant that they meant to put their designs in execution, all calumnies would be taken away, and the truth and sincerity of their proceedings be evident to all the world.

The Queen-Mother, moved with these Reasons, concurred with him in opinion: Wherefore not making any provisions extraordinary that might make the Conspirators suspect they had any advertisement of their design; they carried the King, with all the Court, as for recreation only, from *Blois* to *Ambois*, ten leagues distant, (a French league contains two English miles) upon the River *Loire*; and by reason of that, and the woods that environ it, very strongly situated. They did this, partly to delude the Conspirators in their first attempt, (who thought to find the King in a nearer place, and more open;) partly that by means of the Castle the Kings person and the Queens might be more secure; and being a place but of little compass, it was easily to be defended by those few people that were to be gotten thereabouts. There the day appointed drawing near, in which the Conspirators were to appear, the *Guises*, having devised amongst themselves how to make use of this so great an occasion for their own advantage, not only better to establish, but to increase and bring to perfection their newly achieved greatness, and convert this assault of their enemies to their own advancement, (as from poisons are often extracted cordials) without making the Queen privy therunto, they went directly to the King, and, with shew of great fear, exaggerating and magnifying the attempt of the Conspirators, laid before him how greatly the Government, and by consequence, his own person, and all his Allies, were endangered by their practices; and withal, told him of the nearness of the danger, the Conspirators being already at the gates of *Ambois*, and that their number and force being more than at first was believed, it was necessary to resolve upon some present expedient to prevent them.

The King, of a timorous feeble nature, and at the present much moved with the greatness of so imminent a danger, calling to his presence not only his Mother, but all the Council, began to debate the means of opposing the force, and suppressing the violence of so great an insurrection. The Council was tumultuous and confused, by reason whereof many doubts and infinite dangers appearing on all sides, which were much increased by the vehemence and art of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; the King of himself unable to resolve any thing in matters of such difficulty, much less to sustain the weight of the Government in so troubled a time, without any other motive but his own, was of opinion to declare the Duke of *Guise*, his Lieutenant-General, with absolute power, and relying upon the vigour of his courage and mature wisdom, to leave the Government of the State during those troubles wholly to him, for as much as he found himself unable to undergo so great a burthen. The Queen-Mother, though inwardly struck with so bold an attempt, readily consented to the Kings opinion; because she saw she could not oppose that resolution without coming to open variance with the *Guises*; which in that time when it was most necessary to remain united, would have occasioned the Kings ruine, and the subversion of the State, admitting with disorder and confusion in the Government, advantageous opportunities for the Conspirators to execute with greater facility their intended designs. Besides, it appeared very reasonable to her, that to such imminent dangers should be opposed the absolute power of some one experienced person of great reputation; and that it was not fit to rely upon one of weak capacity, who with doubts and delays might give the enemy that opportunity which he desired, and take off from his own that resolution and freeness of courage which

which the urgency of the present affairs required. And by the example of past occurrences, (which teach excellent lessons to govern the future) she was put in mind, that not only Kings, who govern absolutely according to their will, but even Re-publicks, had conferred the supreme Authority upon one man, when the occurrence of any great dangers seemed to require extraordinary and powerful opposition. But besides these respects, which concerned the welfare of her Son and the publick good, she was persuaded to it by her own private interest. For foreseeing afar off the desolation that must of necessity follow, the enmities of the Princes of the Blood, and the hate and envy that would fall upon her if she opposed it, she thought it very fit for her purpose, that the Duke of *Guise* commanding absolutely in chief, all the blame and envy should fall wholly on him, and she by that means preserve the love of the people, and the liberty to bend her counsels that way which she should think most fit and advantageous for her self.

But *Olivier* the Chancellor, a man in all times esteemed the Author of wise counsel, and averse to such unlimited power, seemed to stand doubtful and in suspense, whether or no he should consent to the Kings Proposition; and such was his constancy and authority, that the business had been held longer in debate, and with doubtful success, if the Queen-Mother had not made it appear to him, that the present danger was so extraordinary and so pressing, that it could not be prevented with ordinary moderate counsels: That it was necessary to provide for the urgency of the instant affairs, and rather than ruine the present, lay aside a little the consideration of future things, which might be otherwise remedied by time and opportunity: That it would be very easie, this urging necessity once past, to moderate with new Decrees and new Edicts, the now unlimited power of the Duke of *Guise*, which would quickly transport him beyond the limits of duty and reason, if he were not restrained by his own virtue: And finally, it would be of advantage to every one, that in the effusion of so much blood, which it was foreseen must be spilt, no other power nor authority should be used but the Dukes only; neither the King himself, his Friends or Ministers, having their hands imbrued in those slaughters. Which considerations moving the Chancellor, he sealed the Commission drawn by *L' Aubespine*, Secretary of State: In which was granted to the Duke of *Guise* the Title and Authority of Lieutenant-General for the King, in all the Provinces and places under his command, with supreme Power in all causes Civil and Military.

The Duke of *Guise* having obtained this charge, which he had ever aspired to, began resolutely to attend the suppression of the Conspiracy; and presently causing the Gate of the Castle into the Garden to be walled up, and having placed the Switzers and French Archers, which use ordinarily to guard the Kings person, at the other; he sent forth the Count of *Sanferre* with some Horse to scout abroad, and give him continual advertisement what he could discover.

In the mean time *Renaudie* arrived with his Complices at the place appointed; and finding the King was retired from *Blois* to *Ambois*, nevertheless his courage not failing, he went on in the same order towards the Court. The unarmed multitude came first, who falling prostrate before the King, were to demand Liberty of Conscience. But they were not only not admitted to his presence, but being roughly driven away from the Gates by the Souldiers that were in Guard, they retired, and scattered up and down in the fields, and without either order or advice, expected the coming of their other Companions.

Not long after Captain *Lignieres*, one of the Conspirators, either terrified at the point of execution, with the greatness of the danger, or else through remorse of Conscience, leaving his Companions, went a by-way to *Ambois*, and acquainted the King and Queen-Mother particularly of the number and quality of the Conspirators, the names of the Commanders, the ways by which they came, and withal their whole design. Wherefore by the Kings order a Guard being set upon the Prince of *Conde*, that he might in no manner be aiding to the Conspirators, as he had promised them, the Duke of *Guise* sent forth *Jaques d' Aubon*, Marechal de *S. Andre*, and *James Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, with all the horse they could make, either of the Kings Guard, or the attendance about the Court; who being placed in Ambushes in the woods thereabouts, intended to expect the coming of the Conspirators. *Mazeres* and *Rannay*, who led the Troops of *Bearne*, were the first that fell into the Ambuscade laid by the Count of *Sanferre*; and astonished with the sudden assault, neither knowing how to flee

flee nor defend themselves, were taken prisoners without much dispute. The Baron of *Castelnau*, who led a great number out of *Gascoigne*, being arrived at *Noze*, and and there refreshing his Horse to continue their march, was met by the Duke of *Nemours*; who besieging him in that place where he had no manner of provision to make any defence, they thought it best to yield themselves to the Dukes mercy, who carried him and all his company prisoners to *Ambois*. *La Renaudie* passing through the woods, having avoided all the Ambuscadoes, approached near the Gates of *Ambois*, where encountered him *Pardillan* with a Squadron of resolute Cuirassiers; yet seeing himself in good condition to fight, he made a fierce assault; but soon found that his men, as it is ordinary in such tumults, began to yield to the Kings old Souldiers. Wherefore desiring to end his life honourably, he spurred on his Horse to *Pardillan*, and running him into the Vizor with his Tuck, laid him dead upon the ground; whereupon being shot in the thigh with a Carabine by *Pardillan's* Page, who was near his Master, he died fighting valiantly; and the rest of his Companions without much resistance, were for the most part all killed upon the place. The next day the rest of the Conspirators Troops, hearing of the death of *la Renaudie*, and the defeat of their Companions, and considering that the Country about being raised upon them, there was no means to save themselves by flight; they resolved under the conduct of *la Motte* and *Cocquville*, who were the only Commanders left, to assault the walls and gates of *Ambois*. For not knowing that the Prince of *Conde* was straightly guarded, they hoped some commotion would be raised by him within. The assault was at first very resolute and valiant; but finding the walls of the Castle in all parts well defended, at length wearied out, and desperate of effecting their purpose, they retreated into the *Fauxbourg*, resolving to stand obstinately upon their defence; with hope, by help of the night that drew on, to find some means of escape. But the Cavalry coming in that had been scouring the Champaign, presently set fire to the houses where they were, and so burning them, they perished in a manner all, without being able in this last exigence to perform any memorable act. Those that were taken alive in the places about, the chief of them were preserved to draw from their confession the particulars of the Conspiracy; the rest condemned to die, being hanged upon trees in the fields, and over the Battlements of the Castle-wall, butchered and torn by the Souldiers and Executioners, were a most lamentable spectacle to the beholders, and the first beginning of that desolation and bloodshed, which continuing for the space of many years after, produced such sad and miserable events.

The Conspirators arrive near *Ambois* where the Court was and are all defeated.

The End of the First BOOK.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The SECOND BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THe Second Book contains the perplexity of the Kings Council in remedying the Disorders discovered in the Conspiracy: The Deliberation to punish the discontented Princes: The Assembly of Fountain-bleau: The Resolution to hold an Assembly of the States-General, which are summoned by the King to meet at Orleans: The Princes of Bourbon refuse to go thither: The King makes them change their Resolution: The Constable with delays procures the benefit of time: The Princes of the Blood arrive at Orleans: The Prince of Conde is committed to prison, and condemned to die. Francis the Second dieth suddenly: Charles the Ninth succeeds to the Crown, who being in minority, there arise great Dissentions about the Regency. The Queen-Mother is made Regent, and the King of Navarre President of the Provinces: The Prince of Conde is absolved, and a tacit liberty granted to the Hugonots. The King is Crowned at Rheims. The Constable unites himself with the Guises: They joyn together to take away the liberty from the Hugonots: The Ediſt of July follows: The Ministers demand a Conference, and obtain it; it is kept in Poissy, but proves fruitless: The Hugonots departing from the Conference, preach freely: Great Troubles arise thereupon: To remedy which, the States are assembled at Paris, where by the Ediſt of January, a Liberty of Conscience is granted openly. The Heads of the Catholick Faction leave the Court: Draw into Confederacy with them also the King of Navarre: The Queen-Mother being terrified, feigns to make a League with the Hugonots, and so adds strength to that party.



His multitude thus scattered, and the greatest part of their Commanders either taken or killed, that had brought them from the remotest parts of the Kingdom, the fury and violence of the Insurrection, was in appearance abated and suppressed. But none having perished save only the seditious rabble, who desperate in their fortunes, were ready rashly to run upon any danger: and the Princes of Bourbon, with the other Lords of that party, had not discovered themselves to be authors of that Conspiracy, remaining still unsatisfied, and ready to embrace new counsels, the common peace

peace was still internally, more than ever disturbed, and the publick safety exposed to new troubles. This being very well known both to the Queen-Mother and the *Guises*, as soon as the tumult and commotions in the Court could be appeased, which by reason of the rareness of the accident were very great, to make the speediest and best provision that might be against so great a danger, they presently called to Council, in the Kings own Chamber, all those who as faithful Ministers in the present Government, they thought might be trusted with the secrets of these new occurrences. There the reasons being weighed with long debate of the late stirs, it clearly appeared that they proceeded only from the practice and incitation of the Princes of the Blood; and that to maintain the Kings Authority, and the form of Government established, it was necessary in the first place to take away the Heads, and remove the Authors of that Insurrection; they knew that proceeding according to strictness of Law, they might justly be punished as disturbers of the publick peace, as favourers and introducers of Heresie, and finally, as such who had conspired against the Kings liberty, and the ancient Constitutions of the Crown; and they doubted not, if the fomenters of that Insurrection were punished and suppressed, but the people would soon return again to their former quiet and obedience. But the reverence born in all times, to those of the Blood-Royal, and the power of those Princes that were named to have part in the Conspiracy, would have caused every one there to suspend his judgment; it appearing to them a business of great moment, and on all sides very dangerous, if the King himself exceedingly incensed, even beyond his natural disposition, at so sudden a Commotion, (which without any fault of his, or ill usage of his Subjects, he saw was raised by the Princes in the beginning of his Government) had not with sharp and sensible expressions given courage to the rest to resolve upon some such severe course as might express a sense of the affront. To which the Queen-Mother (no less solicitous of her sons welfare, than her own greatness) and the *Guises*, to maintain themselves in their acquired power, readily consenting; there was not any one who finally concurred not in decreeing the punishment and ruine of all those, who either by their counsel or assistance administered fuel to that fire.

After the suppression of the Conspirators, in a secret Council held in the Kings Chamber, it is resolved to punish the favourers of the Hugonots.

But because a deliberation of so great weight, full of infinite hazards, and that drew after it many great consequences, was necessarily to be governed with exceeding Art, and managed with prudent dexterity; they resolved to begin with dissimulation, to feign they had no further knowledge of any thing concerning the Conspiracy, than the manifest apparence of it brought to light, to attribute all the fault to the diversity of Religions, and ill Government of the Magistrates, to shew rather a fear and terror stricken into them by the fury and sudden attempt of the Conspirators, than any confidence or security by their suppression; in outward apparence to manifest a great desire of regulating the Justice of the Kingdom, and to find a way to a new Reformation in the Government, which contenting all pretenders, might reduce with satisfaction those turbulent spirits to their former quiet. With these kind of proceedings, they thought they might lull into security those anxious minds, who pricked in Conscience, lived in extream apprehensions, and by artifices compass their desires, which they knew by force were very difficult to attain unto. And because they conceived, the Constable and the King of *Navarre* had both by consent and assistance abetted these stirs, and it was certainly known that the Visdame of *Chartres* and *Andelot* had been active in them, whom it was agreed upon they could not get into their power but with dissimulation and time; they resolved to set at liberty the Prince of *Conde*, as well to confirm an opinion that they were confident of his loyalty, and had not penetrated into the depth of the business, as also because to take away or punish him alone, if such powerful revengers of his death were left alive, would rather be prejudicial and dangerous, than of any advantage; past examples teaching us, that it is in vain to cut down the body of a tree, how high or lofty soever, if there be any quick roots left which may send forth new sprouts.

The secret intentions for matter of Government thus settled, and covered over with the veil of so perfect a dissimulation; they resolved, that soon after a General Assembly should be called of the three Estates, upon which is divolved the Authority of the whole Kingdom; and that for two reasons. First, because the Kings resolution against the Princes of the Blood was so severe, he being but young, and newly entred upon the Government, they thought it necessary to strengthen that act by the concurrence and universal consent of the whole Nation. Secondly, because by declaring a publick

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To get the fa-
vourers of the
Hugonots into
their power, it
is resolved to
call an Assem-
bly of the
States, at
which amongst
others, the
Princes of the
Blood are to
assist.

Treaty concerning remedies for the present disorders, and a form and rules to be observed in matters of Religion, and administration of the future Government, the King might have an apparent and reasonable occasion to call to him all the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, without giving suspicion to any body; neither would there be any colourable excuse left for them not to come, when it should be given out, that a Reformation was intended, which they themselves professed that they desired. But because this Assembly of the States was a thing by all Kings ever abhorred, (for whilst they sit with absolute power representing the body of the whole Kingdom, the Kings Authority seems in a manner suspended) it was therefore resolved first to call a great Council under pretence of remedying the present distractions; wherein by persons set on to that purpose, it should be proposed and counselled, as necessary; that so the Princes and Lords of the Conspiracy might not enter into any jealousy, as though the King, without request made by his Subjects, had voluntarily of himself resolved to call an Assembly of the States.

Things thus resolved upon, presently were published Letters Patents directed to all the Parliaments, and Edicts divulged to the several Provinces of the Kingdom: In the Preambles of which the King lamenting and complaining, that without any evident occasion, a great number of persons had risen, and taken Arms against him: afterwards proceeding, he clearly imputes the blame thereof to the rashness of the Hugonots, that they having laid aside all belief in God, and love to their Country, endeavoured to disturb and trouble the peace of the Kingdom: But because it is the duty of a good Prince, to proceed with love and fatherly indulgence, He declared withal, that he was ready to pardon all such, who acknowledging their error, should retire peaceably to their own houses, resolving to live conformably to the Rites of the Catholick Church, and in obedience to the Civil Magistrates. Wherefore he commanded all his Courts of Parliament, not to proceed in matters of Religion, upon any past Informations, but to provide with all severity for the future, that they should offend no more in the like kind, nor keep any unlawful Assemblies. And because he desired above all things to satisfy his people, and to reform abuses in the Government; That he therefore signified his pleasure to assemble all the Princes and eminent persons of the Kingdom, at *Fountain-bleau*, a place fitly situated in the heart of *France*, and but few leagues distant from *Paris*, to provide by their counsel for the urgent necessities of State; to which purpose he gave free leave and power to all persons whatsoever, to come to the Assembly, or else to send their Deputies and grievances in writing, which he would not only graciously hear himself, but the supplicants should have redress in all that was reasonable or just.

With these and the like Decrees, divulged on purpose and with dissimulation, (the Court Master-piece) they in a reasonable manner secured the great ones from their fears and jealousies; nor was there any one who believed not, but that the Queen-Mother and the *Guises*, being terrified with the sudden attempt of the Conspirators, and doubting more than ever new Insurrections, had determined in a fair and fitting way to satisfy the discontented Princes, and so to regulate the form of Government, that all should again participate according to their merits, the charges and honours of the Kingdom.

The Prince of
Conde, who
was as a pri-
soner, is let
at liberty.

In this interim the Prince of *Conde* was discharged of his Guard, and left free, either to stay at Court, or depart, as he pleased; neither the King nor the Queen omitting any demonstrations of kindness that might appease him. But he, grievously troubled in mind, not being able to quiet his thoughts, (for if he stayed, he stayed in danger; and going away, he went as criminal;) at length he resolved to taste, in some measure, the Kings inclinations, and to find out, if it were possible, the intention of those that governed. Wherefore being one day at Council, where the Princes of the Blood are always admitted, he laboured by weighty and earnest speeches to clear himself from being guilty of any practice either against the Kings person or the Queens, as had been falsely suggested by his enemies: But because things done in secret cannot otherwise be cleared, that he was ready to maintain his innocence with his Sword in his hand, against any person whatsoever that durst calumniate him as a partaker in the late Conspiracy. Which words, though they were directed to the Princes of *Lorain*, nevertheless the Duke of *Guise*, not forgetting the resolutions already taken, most cunningly dissembling, added thereunto, that he knowing the Princes goodness and candor, offered himself in person to accompany him, and hazard his life as his second, if there were any that would accept the challenge.

These

These Ceremonies past over, which were so artificially carried, on both sides, that the most suspicious and least apt to believe, began to think them real; the Prince not at all quiet nor secure within, but thinking he had done enough for his justification, departed presently from Court, and with great diligence went into *Bearn* to the King of *Navarre*.

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They omitted not to use the like artifices with the Constable, the Admiral, and the rest; but entertained them with kind Letters, and Commissions, and charges of trust: Neither was there less care to provide in all the Provinces against any new Insurrections; for which cause the *Gens d'Armes* were sent into several parts of the Kingdom that were most suspected, and the Governours of places, and other Magistrates, were very watchful, that there should be no secret Assemblies, in which they perceived all the mischief was ordered and contrived; and under pretence of the Hugonots, they kept a strict watch upon other people of all sorts and qualities. But about the King, where there was greatest danger, and cause of suspicion, were appointed to wait, the Duke of *Orleans*; and the Duke of *Angouleme* his Brothers Bands of men at Arms, commanded by men of fidelity and trust, the Duke of *Guises* Company and his Brothers the Duke of *Anmale's*, the Duke of *Lorain's*, the Duke of *Nemours*, Prince *Lodowick Gonzago's*, Don *Francisco d'Este's*, the Marechal of *Brissac's*, the Duke of *Nevers's*, the Viscount of *Tavanne's*, the Count of *Crussol's*, and *Monsieur de la Brosse's*; to which were added the Prince of *Conde's* Band, and the Constable's; for being amongst so many others, they might be carefully enough looked over. All these, which amounted to a thousand Launces, were still quartered about the Court, to be near the Kings person; and to his ordinary Guard were added two hundred Harquebushers on horseback, under the command of *Monsieur de Richlieu*, a man of exceeding fierceness, and absolutely depending upon those that governed. The Princes, Ministers of the Crown, many Prelates and Gentlemen, eminent in birth or quality, were already summoned to the Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*, where those that sat at the Helm, proceeded with such dissimulation, that all men observing in them rather a timorousness, and apprehension of the future events, than any thoughts bent to severity or revenge, the Conspirators themselves believed they might without any more trouble, obtain such a Regulation in the Government as they had designed.

In the mean time, the High Chancellor *Olivier* dying, that dignity was confirmed upon *Michel de l'Hospital*, who to his deep knowledge in the Greek and Latin Letters, having added a great experience in affairs of State, and being of a cautelous subtil wit, the King thought he would prove an excellent Minister for those resolutions that were then in design. The Queen used great industry and no less diligence to advance this Creature of her own to that Office, notwithstanding the Princes of *Lorain* would have brought into it *Monsieur Morvilliers*, a man no way inferiour, either in reputation or wisdom, but who seemed not to desire that place, lest he might gain the displeasure of the Queen-Mother, who beginning to grow jealous of the greatness of that Family, desired to have such a person in so eminent a charge, who depending absolutely upon her will, might also be of ability to manage those great affairs.

By the death of *Olivier*, *Michel de l'Hospital* is made High Chancellor.

But the Election of the High Chancellor thus confirmed, (which for some days kept business in suspense) no delays being to be used in the execution of their purposed designs, the King with those bands before mentioned, and the Court all armed, went to *Fountain-bleau* to celebrate the appointed Assembly with great expectation of all men. There arrived two days after, the Constable accompanied by *Francis* Marechal of *Momancy*, and *Henry* Lord d' *Anville* his sons, by the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chastillon* his Nephews, the Visdame of *Chartres*, the Prince of *Portian*, and so numerous a gallant company of his friends and adherents that in an open place (as *Fountain-bleau* was) he needed not fear either the Kings strength, or the *Guises* power. The Prince of *Conde* and the King of *Navarre*, though kindly invited, had already refused to come thither; the first, through exasperation of mind, which more than ever inclined his thoughts to new designs; the other, having remitted what concerned their common interests to the Constable and the Admiral, (to whom he sent his Confident *Jacques de la Sagne* with Instructions) was resolved to stand at a distance in his own private quiet.

Anne of *Momancy* with all his adherents, goes to the Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* go not thither.

The day appointed to begin, the Assembly being now come, after they were all met together in the Queen-Mothers Chamber, the King in few words told them his intent, which

The Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*.

1560. which was to prevent the troubles that were rising, and to regulate such things as were thought necessary to be reformed. Wherefore he earnestly desired every one there present, with sincerity and candour to deliver his opinion in what concerned the publick good. The Queen-Mother pursued the Kings speech, speaking much to the same purpose; but more at large exhorting every body there to speak freely their own sense, without any respects; for the Assembly was called to no other intent, but to regulate and reform such things as were requisite for the present and future quiet. The Chancellor *de l' Hospital* made a long set Oration much to the same purpose, but descending to more particulars, signified it was the Kings opinion, and the Lords of his Council, that the troubles of the Kingdom did proceed chiefly from the dissensions in Religion; and next, from the excessive grievances laid upon the people by the Kings his Predecessors; and therefore desired every one upon those two points especially to speak his opinion, that care might be taken both for the settling of mens Consciences, and for paying the debts of the Crown, without laying more burden upon the Subject, already overcharged, but rather find some way to disburden and ease them of their oppressions: Yet his Majesty prohibited none, if they discovered any other disorders in the Government, but that they might and ought freely and plainly to propose, and represent to the Assembly, whatsoever they thought might conduce to the re-settling the present Distractions in the State.

After these Proposals, for the better information of those that were to speak their opinions, the Duke of *Guise* rendred an account of the Armies, and other things committed to his charge; and the Cardinal of *Lorain* related particularly the estate of the Treasury and publick Revenue, commonly called *Finances*; and with these Preambles, that every one might have time to prepare himself what to say, the Assembly was dismissed for that time.

The Admiral presents a Petition from the Hugonots, in which they demand exercise of Temples, and Liberty of Conscience.

The next day, before they entred upon any business, the Admiral more in love with his own Opinions than ever, and conceiving if he could add to the Queens apprehensions, and the *Guises*, they might with more facility obtain such a full Reformation as was aimed at; resolved to set forth the number and force of the Hugonots, notwithstanding the late suppression of the Conspiracy, and by that means gain the favour and absolute dependance of that party. Wherefore rising from his seat, and presenting himself before the King, he delivered him a Paper, and said aloud, so that he might be plainly heard by every one, *That it was a Petition from those of the Reformed Religion, who in confidence of his Majestys Edicts, in which he permitted all people freely to present their grievances, had desired him to present it; and though there were yet no bands to it, when his Majesty should so order, it would presently be subscribed by One hundred and fifty thousand persons.* The King, who by his Mothers precepts had learned the Art of dissimbling, graciously received the Paper, and with affable speeches commended the Admirals confidence in presenting to him the desires of his Subjects. This Paper being read by *Aubespine*, it appeared to be a Petition from the Hugonots, by which, with many tedious circumstances, they desired in substance *Liberty of Conscience*, and Temples to be assigned them in every City where they might freely exercise their Religion. After the reading of which, the Admiral being returned to his place, and the murmur ceased, which proceeded from the diverse sense that men had of this proceeding, every one was appointed in order to deliver his opinion. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, of himself ardent, and put on by the obligation of his calling, could not forbear to answer the contents of the Petition, which he termed seditious, impudent, rash, heretical and petulant; concluding, that if to strike a terrour into the Kings youth, it had been said, that the Petition should be subscribed by 150000 seditious persons, he made answer, *There was above a Million of honest men ready to suppress the boldness of such rebellious people, and make due obedience be rendred to the Royal Majesty.* Whereupon the Admiral offering to reply, a great contest would have followed, to the hindrance of the business intended, if the King, imposing on them both silence, had not commanded the rest to proceed in order to deliver their opinions.

A National Council proposed.

For so much as concerned Controversies in Religion, those that favoured *Calvins* Doctrine, as there were many even among the Prelates that inclined that way, proposed that the Pope should be desired to grant a free General Council, where the differences in matters of Faith might be disputed, and determined by common consent; and if the Pope refused to grant it in such manner as was necessary for the present times, and the general satisfaction of all men, the King ought, according to the wise example

example of many his Predecessors, to call a National Council in his own Kingdom; where, under his protection, those differences might be determined. But the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the rest who constantly persevered in the Catholick Religion, and were the major part in the Assembly, denied that any other Council was necessary, than that by the Popes order many years since begun, and now newly entred into again in the City of *Trent*; whither, according to the Canons, and ancient use of holy Church, it was free for every body to have recourse, and to bring all differences in matters of Religion to be decided by the natural competent Judges; and that to call a National Council, whilst the General was open, would be to separate (through the capriciousness of a few desperate persons) a most Christian Kingdom from the union and fellowship of the holy Church; that it was not necessary to look so far back: For the General Council of *Trent*, having discussed and examined the Doctrine of those Teachers that dissented from the Roman Church, had already for the most part reformed and condemned it; That they should endeavour by the best means that could be, to purge the Kingdom, and not by hopes or propositions of new Councils, increase the disorders, and multiply the confusions. But if the manners of the Ecclesiasticks, or abuses introduced into the Government of the Church of *France* required reformation, or more severe constitutions; an Assembly might be called of Divines and Prelates, in which, without meddling with controversies in Faith, those disorders might be remedied by common consent. This opinion was approved by the major part of voices, and finally embraced by all.

Then for the concernment of the State, after many Propositions and Disputes, which proceeded from the divers interests; *John de Montluc* Bishop of *Valence*, having by secret order from the Queen proposed an Assembly of the States, both parties willingly consented thereunto. The Constable, the Admiral, and their faction, because they hoped from that, a Reformation in the Government: The Queen-Mother and the *Guises*, because they saw things go on of themselves to their own ends.

A general Assembly of the States is resolved upon, and the present Assembly dismissed.

This consultation ended, the King by his Chancellor thanked the Lords of the Assembly, and forthwith Letters Patents were dispatched by the Secretaries of State to all the Provinces in the Kingdom; containing, That in the Month of *October* next they should send their Deputies to the City of *Orleans*, there to hold a general Assembly of the States: and order was likewise given to the principal Prelates, that in the Month of *February* following, they should all meet at *Poissy*, to reform, by common consent, those abuses that were introduced in the Government and Ministry of the Church; and to take such order, that a considerable number of them should go to the general Council of *Trent*. The Assembly ended, all were licensed to return to their houses, and desired to meet again at *Orleans*, to assist at the Assembly of the States.

But *Jaques de la Sague*, the King of *Navarre's* servant, being charged with Letters of Instructions from the Constable, the Admiral and the rest of the Adherents, directed to his Master, as soon as he left the Court returning towards *Bearne*; being gone as far as *Estampes*, was by secret order of the Queen stayed prisoner; from whence, with all his papers, he was privately conveyed to Court. The Letters contained only private and general compliments, such as use to pass amongst friends; and being examined, he constantly denied, that he had any other commission than what was plain to be seen by the Letters. But being brought to the place of torture to draw the truth from him by force, not enduring the rack, he confessed, That the Prince of *Conde* had advised, and the King of *Navarre* in part also consented thereunto, that he should leave *Bearne*, and under pretence of coming to the Court, by the way take possession of all the principal Towns thereabouts; seize *Paris* by the help of the Constable, (his Son the Marechal of *Momorancy* being Governour of it;) make *Picardy* revolt by means of the Lords of *Senarpont* and *Bouchavanne*, and draw *Britanny* to his party by aid of the Duke of *Estampes*, who being Governour of that Province, had great dependances there; and so armed and accompanied by the Forces of the Hugonots, come to the Court, and force the States to depose the Queen-Mother and the *Guises* from the Government, and declaring the King was not out of his minority till he came to 22 years of age, create his Tutors and Governours of the Kingdom, the Constable, the Prince of *Conde*, and the King of *Navarre*. He added to his confession, that if they put the cover of the Visdame of *Chartres* Letters which were taken from him, in water, the characters would presently appear, and they should find there all written that he had said: Thus by the confession of one employed by them,

Saga a servant to the King of *Navarre*, is taken prisoner at *Estampes*, with divers Letters about him, and being tortured, confesseth certain practices against the Crown.

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1560. and the testimony of the Letters, the new designs of the Conspirators were discovered.

But as the discontented Princes (resolved to bring in Innovations) increased in power and dependents; with so much the more sollicitousness and diligence they at Court made their provisions; where continuing still their wonted dissimulation, they studied all manner of pretences and colours to draw near to the Kings person, or else remove out of the suspected Provinces all such, who being united with the Princes of the Blood, had received Commissions to trouble or molest them. For this cause the Duke of *Estampes* being sent for under pretence that he should be employed as Governour of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was entertained with artificial delays; and *Senarpont* being declared Lieutenant to the Marechal of *Brissac*, coming to receive new Instructions in order to his Government, was by the same arts hindered from raising any commotion in *Picardy*; and so all the rest with sundry delays and excuses were in like manner entertained and suspended. But the remedies were not sufficient, for the wound already festered.

The Prince of
Conde practi-
seth to possess
himself of *Li-*
ons, but with-
out success.

The Hugonots having taken courage from the first Councils of the Insurrection at *Ambois*, and the open profession of the Admiral, began to raise commotions in all parts of the Kingdom; and laying aside all obedience and respect, not only made open resistance against the Magistrates, but in many places had directly taken Arms, endeavouring to raise the Countries, and get strong places into their hands, whither they might retire with safety: which was grown to such a pass, that from all parts came complaints against them to the Court, and news of their deportments. But one thing more important and more grievous than all the rest, made them hasten their former resolutions. For the Prince of *Conde*, moved by his old inclinations, and urged by the sting of Conscience, not being able to quiet his mind, or moderate his thoughts, resolved to make himself Master of a strong place in some part of the Kingdom, which might serve him afterwards for a retreat or standing quarter, if he were forced to make preparations for the War. Amongst many others in which he kept secret intelligence, none pleased him so well as *Lions*, being a populous rich City, placed upon two Navigable Rivers, not far from *Geneva*, the principal seat of the Hugonots; and placed so near upon the Confines, that he might easily receive speedy succours from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the united Cantons of *Switzers*; and from whence upon any accident or necessity, he might soon retire into some free open place out of the Kingdom.

Wherefore using the assistance of two Brothers, the *Maligni*'s his old servants, he found a means to treat with divers principal men of the City, which by reason of the Traffick, is always inhabited by many strangers of all Nations, and through the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, was then (though covertly) replenished with people averse to the Catholick Religion, and inclined to *Calvins* Doctrine. These, when they thought they had got a party strong enough in the City to make insurrection, endeavoured to bring in privately Souldiers unarmed, and others of their faction; with which being afterwards furnished with arms, they might on a sudden possess themselves of the Bridges, and Town-house, and at length reduce the Town wholly into their power.

The Marechal of *S. Andre* was then Governour of *Lions*; who being sent for upon the present occasions to Court, left there in his place, with the same authority, his Nephew, the Abbot of *Achon*. He, by means of Catholick Merchants jealous to preserve their own estates, and enemies to those Counsels that might disturb the peace of the City, having perfectly discovered the practices of the Hugonots, and the time that they determined to rise; the night before the fifth of *September*, appointed *Pro* with the chief Deputy of the Citizens, with three hundred Fire-locks, to place a guard upon the Bridges over the *Rhone*, and the *Soane*, and besiege that part of the City which is placed between the two Rivers, where he knew the Conspirators were to assemble. The *Maligni*'s perceiving the Catholicks design, not willing to stay to be besieged and assaulted where they could not defend themselves, holpen by the darkness of the night, prevented the Governours men, and hastening with great courage, possessed themselves of the Bridge over the *Soane*, where they lay watching with great silence, in hope that the Catholicks, terrified with a sudden encounter, would be easily disordered; whereby the passage would be free for them to the other part of the Bridge, and to make themselves Masters of the great place, and of the chiefest strong parts in the Town.

But

But it fell out otherwise: For the Catholicks enduring the first shock without being troubled or disordered, and afterwards continual fresh supplies of men being sent by the Governour, the Conspirators could no longer resist. The rest of their complices seeing the beginning so difficult, durst neither stir nor appear any longer. Wherefore the *Maligni's* having fought all night, and being wearied out, as the day began to break, perceiving the Gate behind them was open, (which the Governour on purpose to facilitate their flight had commanded not to be shut, lest by an obstinate perseverance, all might be endangered) they fled away, and many of their faction with them, and others hid themselves; by which means the City was freed from those great commotions

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Then the Governour calling in those Troops that lay about the Town, and having made diligent search for the Conspirators; to terrifie the Hugonots with the severity of their punishment, condemned many of them to be hanged, and preserving the rest alive, sent them presently to Court; who served afterwards to confirm the depositions of the prisoners against the discontented Princes.

The news of this attempt being come to Court, the King resolving to use no longer delays, nor give more time for new experiments, departed from *Fountain-bleau* with those thousand Lances that used to attend him, and two old Regiments of Foot, that were newly come out of *Piedmont* and *Scotland*; and taking the way of *Orleans*, solicited the Deputies of the Provinces to appear.

The whole French Nation is distinguished into three orders, which they call States. The first consists of Ecclesiasticks; the second of the Nobility; and the third of the common people. These being divided into thirty Precincts or Jurisdictions, which they call *Baillages* or *Seneschaupees*, when a general Assembly of the Kingdom is to be held, go all to their chief City, and dividing themselves into three several Chambers, every one chuses a Deputy, who in the name of that Body, is to assist at the general Assembly, wherein are proposed and discussed all matters concerning the several Orders or Government of the State.

The three
Estates of the
Kingdom.

In this manner three Deputies are sent by every Baillage, one for the Ecclesiasticks, one for the Nobility, and one for the People; which by a more honourable term, are called the third Estate. Being all met together in presence of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, they form the Body of the States-General, and represent the Authority, Name, and Power of the whole Nation. When the King is capable to govern, and present, they have power to consent to his demands, to propose things necessary for the good of their order, to oblige the common people to new taxes, and to give and receive new Laws and Constitutions; but when the King is in minority, or otherwise incapable, they have authority when it falls into controversy, to chuse the Regents of the Kingdom, to dispose of the principal Offices, and to appoint who shall be admitted to the Council; and when the Kings line fails, or a descendant of the Royal Family, they have power according to the Salique Laws to chuse a new Lord. But besides these supreme Priviledges, the Kings have always used in any urgent weighty occasions to assemble the States, and to determine of matters of difficulty with their advice and consent; thinking not only by a publick consent to make the Princes resolutions more valid, but that it was also necessary in a lawful Government and truly Royal, that all great businesses should be communicated to the whole body of the Kingdom. Now at that time it plainly appearing, that through the dissensions among the Princes, and differences in Religion, all things were full of disorder, and had need of speedy remedy, the Deputies elected by the Provinces, and instantly called upon with reiterated Orders from the Court, met together with great diligence at *Orleans*, at the beginning of *October*, where the King himself being also arrived, with a great company of the principal Lords and Officers of the Crown, he now expected nothing but the coming of the discontented Princes. The Constable with his sons stayed in the wonted place, at *Chantillii*; the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince his Brother, were retired into *Bearn*; and being summoned by the Kings Letters to come to the Assembly of the States, they did not plainly refuse it, but with divers excuses and many delays put off the time of their appearance.

This kind of proceeding held the King and all his Ministers in great suspense, doubting, not without reason, that the Princes either suspecting something of themselves, or advertised by some Confident, by refusing to appear at the Assembly, would frustrate all their great designs and preparations, which were founded only upon their coming.

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1560. And the Prince of *Conde*, who ruled his actions by the guiltiness of his Conscience, it appearing to him a thing impossible, but that by the prisoners at *Ambois*, *Saga's* confession, and the Conspirators taken at *Lioms*, there was enough discovered to lay open his intents, was grown so extremely jealous, that no reasons could persuade him to put himself again into the Kings power or his Ministers, the chief of which he knew were all his mortal enemies. But the King of *Navarre*, either being less guilty, or of a more credulous nature than his brother, thought, that by going to the States; they should easily obtain a reformation in the Government, which was the thing they had so much laboured for, and that by refusing to go thither, they should condemn themselves, and leave the field free to the avarice and persecution of the *Gujers*. Not could he possibly believe, that in the face of a General Assembly of the whole Kingdom, the King yet as it were a Pupil, an Italian woman and two strangers would venture to lay violent hands upon the Princes of the Blood, against whom the most masculine Kings and most revengeful, had ever proceeded with great regard, as against persons not to be violated, and in a manner *Sacro-sancti*. Wherefore he was of opinion, whatsoever came of it, to go to the Assembly, and to take the Prince with him; not meaning to give them that advantage, to condemn him in absence, without any kind of defence, as he was sure they would if he stayed so far off; whereas if he were there to sollicite the Deputies himself, he hoped his cause, if it were not approved of by the rigour of justice, yet the equity of his reasons would at least make it be born with; and at the last, (if no better) in consideration of his quality, and pre-eminence of Blood, pardoned. All their Counsellours and Friends concurred in this opinion, except the Prince's Wife, and his Mother-in-law; both which constantly opposed it, esteeming all other loss inferiour to the danger which they thought evident of leaving their lives there.

Whilst they were in this debate, there arrived on a sudden, first the Count of *Carsol*, and afterwards the Marechal of Saint *Andre*, whom the King had dispatched one after the other, to persuade the Princes to come: They represented to them, that this grave venerable Assembly was called with much expence to the King, and great incommodity to the whole Kingdom, only in consideration of the Princes of the Blood, and to satisfy their instances and complaints: That they were obliged to deliver their opinions in regulating the Government, and decision of points controverted in Religion, businesses of such weight, as without the assistance of the chief Princes of the Blood, could not be determined: That the King had great cause to think himself mocked, and the States, that they were slighted by the Princes of *Bourbon*; since having so often desired a Reformation in the Government, and to have the Hugonots cause examined, now that the time was come, and the States assembled for that purpose, they took not any care of going thither; as it were contemning the Majesty of that Assembly, which was the representative Body of the whole Kingdom; that hereafter they ought not to blame any body but themselves, if they were worthily excluded from any part or charge in the Government, since they would not vouchsafe to come to receive that portion which the King with the approbation of the States thought good to assign them; and shewing themselves thus manifestly averse to the Kings service, and good of the Crown, they ought not to wonder if quick resolutions were taken to suppress and extirpate those roots of discord, and apparent designs of innovation. That the King was resolved, as he meant to gratify such who shewed themselves respectful and obedient to him; so he would bind those to a necessary and forced obedience, that had any intents to separate themselves from his Councils, or to stir any commotions in the Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom: Of which delinquency he would think the Princes of *Bourbon* guilty, if they took no care at all to shew their innocence, but with their absence and contumacy should confirm the reports of same; which being never believed either by the King or his Council, yet his Majesty desired, for the honour of the Blood-Royal, that with true demonstrations of duty and loyalty, and a real union for the publick good, they would testify as much to all *France*, which with wonderful expectation had turned her eyes upon the actions of the present times.

This Message was delivered from the King, to the Princes of *Bourbon*, which had little moved the Prince of *Conde*, resolved not to venture his person in a place where his enemies were the stronger, if necessity had not forced him to break that resolution. For the Count of *Carsol*, being returned to Court, and having signified the Princes backwardness

wardness to come to the Assembly; the *Guises* thereupon pressing and soliciting, that force might be used to fetch them in, and the Queen not dissenting from them, (through a desire she had to see the seeds of those discords eradicated, and her sons quietly re-established in their States,) the King took a resolution to make shew of compelling them by Arms. To which purpose the *Marschal de Termes* being dispatched into *Gascoigne*, there began an Army to be formed under his command, and all the Troops and Infantry that were distributed in the Neighbour-Provinces, were sent that way. The Princes of *Bourbon* were not only without Arms, and unprovided, but restrained also in *Bearne*, a narrow Country, at the foot of the *Perinees*, and partly by *France*, partly by *Spain*, shut up, and compassed in on all sides: So that they were assured, being attacked on one side by the French army out of *Gascoigne*, and on the other by the King of *Spain's* forces, (who desired to extinguish those few reliques that remained of the Kingdom of *Navarre*) they should easily be oppressed and subdued. In *France* the Princes designs had no where prospered; and in *Bearne* he had neither men nor money. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* (resolved, not to hazard the rest of his state, together with the safety of his Wife and Children, who were all in the same place) shewing the necessity, to which all Counsels must yield; at length brought his brother to be content to go; all being of opinion, that whilst the States were sitting, the *Guises* would not dare to attempt any thing against them; whereas if they continued obstinate to stay in *Bearne*, they would undoubtedly be forced with eternal infamy to fall under the hateful name of Rebels.

Charles Cardinal of *Bourbon* their brother, contributed very much to bring them to this resolution. For he being a man of a facile good nature, as appeared in the whole course of his life, averse to novelties, and extremely affectionate to his brothers, when he understood the Kings intent, and the preparations that he made, being perswaded by the Queen-Mother, who desired their purposed designs might be effected, without noise of Arms, or the hazard of War; he presently took post, and went into *Bearne* to perswade them to come, by magnifying on one side the greatness of the forces that were preparing, (against which they would not be able to make any resistance) and by assuring them on the other, that there appeared not in the King or the Queen-Mother any other shew but of good-will, and a desire of peace and agreement. So leaving the Queen with the young children in *Pau*, they departed all three with a small train, to give less cause of suspicion, and went together towards the Court.

The Constable was sent for, though not with such earnestness, because he was in a place where they might easily get him into their power when they pleased. But he proceeded with greater dissimulation, and more security: For, having not favoured the Faction of the *Male-contents* otherwise than with his counsel, and that also ever tending rather to seek redress from the States, than to move any Insurrection or Rebellion; he would not, by refusing to go to Court, increase the suspicion against him, but by other arts and dissimulations defer his coming thither, till he saw what became of the Princes of *Bourbon*. Wherefore being come to *Paris*, there feigning he was troubled with a Catarrh, and the Gout, he returned (till he could recover) to his own house. Many days after, being again upon the way, under pretence that too much motion offended him, (which by reason of his age was easy to be believed) he made little journeys, and went out of the way for commodity of lodging, artificially delaying the time, until he could hear that the others were arrived.

It is certain, that, his sons urging him to make more haste, and telling him that neither the Queen-Mother nor the *Guises* would be so bold as to offend a man so much esteemed as he was, and that had such great dependences in the Kingdom; he, grown wise through long experience, made them answer, That those about the King could govern the State as they pleased, without any obstacle or impediment whatsoever; and yet notwithstanding sought contradictions, and assemblies of the States; things that could not be without some hidden design, which with a little patience would be brought to light. By which reply his Sons being satisfied, he sought still by delays to gain the benefit of time.

In the mean while the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were met upon the Confines by the *Marschal de Termes*, who, under shew of honour, conducted them with a great body of Cavalry to secure those Towns which *la Sague* mentioned in his Confession; and at the same time, sent other Companies of Foot and Horse to shut up and guard the ways behind them; doubting, that the Princes might change their reso-

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lution, and endeavour secretly to get back again into *Bearn*. But news being come to *Orleans*, that the Princes being in their journey, were come into the Kings dominions, and compassed about by *de Termes* his Troops; presently *Hierom Groslet* Bailly of *Orleans*, accused to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, to make that City revolt to the discontented Princes, was laid close up; and by order from the King, the Vlsdame of *Chartres* was committed to prison in *Paris*, who still contriving new mischiefs, had lingered there unadvisedly.

Andelos was not so easily intrapped; who being as wise and cautelous in providing against dangers, as he was precipitate and bold in contriving them, had secretly conveyed himself away into the remotest parts of *Britany*, near upon the Sea-side; being resolved, in case of necessity, to pass over into *England*. But the Admiral, who with great art and dexterity had managed the business, without being discovered, went thither freely at the beginning, with an intent to imploy all his power in the Assembly for the advantage of his party; and being very much made of by the King, and used (as was her custom) very civilly by the Queen, he had opportunity nearly to observe all the passages of the Court: of which afterwards with great wariness, he gave secret advertisement to the Constable, and the King of *Navarre*.

But now there was no further need of pretences, insomuch as the Princes of *Bourbon* being neither met upon the way, nor courted by any body but a few of their intimate familiar friends, arrived at *Orleans* the 29 day of *October*; where (contrary to the custom of the Court, though in time of War) they found not only the Gates of the City guarded with a great number of Souldiers; but the strong Holds secured, the places manned, and Watches appointed at the end of every street, with a terrible shew of all warlike instruments, and many Companies of Souldiers, which passing thorow, they arrived at the Kings lodging, much more strictly guarded, as if it had been the Tent or Pavilion of a General in the midst of an Army. Being come to the Gate, and intending to go into the Court on horse-back, (which is a privilege belonging to the Princes of the Blood) they found the Gate shut, and only the Wicket open; so that they were forced to alight in the midst of the High-way; and being neither saluted nor met, (but by very few) were conducted to the Kings presence; who placed between the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and compassed about by the Captains of his Guard, received them in a much different manner from that familiarity which the Kings of *France* use to all men, but especially to the Princes of their Blood. From thence the King himself went with them, but the *Guises* followed not, to the Queen-Mothers Chamber; who not forgetting her old Maxims, to seem independent, and not interested in any party, received them with the wonted demonstrations of Honour, and with such an appearance of sadness, that the tears were seen to fall from her eyes.

But the King, continuing still the same countenance, turning to the Prince of *Conde*, began in sharp language to complain, that he, without any injury or ill usage received from him, had, in contempt of all humane and divine Laws, many times stirred his Subjects to rebel, raised War in divers parts of the Kingdom, attempted to surprize his principal Cities, and practised even against his own life and his brothers. To which the Prince, not at all dismayed, boldly answered, That these were the calumnies and persecutions of his enemies; but that he could soon make his innocence appear to all the world. Then replied the King, To find out the truth, it is necessary to proceed by the usual ways of Justice: and so departing out of the Chamber, commanded the Captains of his Guard to seize upon his person.

Here the Queen-Mother, who moved with the necessity, gave her consent, but forgot not the various changes of the world, wholly applied her self with kind words to comfort the King of *Navarre*, whilst the Prince not saying a word else, but blaming himself to be so cozened by the Cardinal his brother, was led to a house hard by, which being prepared for that purpose, had the Windows walled up, the Gates doubled, and was reduced into a kind of Fortrefs flanked with Artillery, and strait Guards on every side.

The King of *Navarre*, astonished at his brothers imprisonment, after many complaints and long debate with the Queen-Mother, (who laying the fault upon the Duke of *Guise* Lieutenant-General, sought to remove all jealousies and ill will from her self) was carried to be lodged in a house joining to the Kings Palace; where his ordinary Guards being changed, saving the liberty of conversation, he was in all other respects guarded and kept as a prisoner.

The Prince of
Conde committed
to prison.

The King of
Navarre kept
as a prisoner.

At

At the very same time that the Prince was committed, *Amaury Bouchard*, the King of *Navarre's* Secretary, was arrested, and all his Letters and Writings taken from him.

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The same night also *Tannequy de Carrouge* went from Court towards *Anici* in *Picardy*, a place belonging to *Magdalen de Roye*, the Princes Mother-in-law; and there finding her without suspicion of any thing, being but a woman, he sent her away prisoner to the Castle of *S. Germain*, and carried all her Letters and Papers with him to the Court.

But the news of these stirs (notwithstanding the Gates of the City were kept shut, and Travellers forbidden to pass) being come to the Constable, who was still upon the way, some few leagues from *Paris*; he presently stopped his journey, with a resolution not to go any further till he saw what would be the event of them.

In the mean while, the Assembly of the States began; where the first thing that was done, was to make a profession of their Faith; which being set down by the Doctors of the *Sorbon*, conformable to the belief of the Roman Catholick Church, and publicly read by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, President of the Ecclesiastical Order; was by a solemn Oath approved and confirmed by every one of the Deputies, because none should be admitted into that General Assembly either unwittingly or on purpose; that was not a true Catholick.

The Assembly of the States begins.

This solemn Act being past, the High Chancellor, in presence of the King, proposed those things which were necessary to be consulted of for the Reformation of the Government. Upon which, and the demand of the Provinces, they retired into their several Chambers; where when they had debated them apart, they were to make their reports thereof in publick. But this was the least thing in every mans thought; for the minds of all men were in suspence, and expecting the issue of the Princes imprisonment; whose commitment was confirmed by a solemn Decree of the Kings Council, subscribed by the King himself, the High Chancellor, and all the other Lords, except the *Guises*, who, as suspected of enmity, absented themselves when the Princes of *Bourbons* cause was to be handled, which was remitted to an Assembly of Judges Delegates, who forming a Judicial Process, should proceed to a final Sentence. The Delegates were *Christophe de Thou*, President in the Parliament of *Paris*; *Bartholomy de Faye*, and *Jaques Viole*, Counsellors in the same Parliament; and according to the Customs of that Kingdom, *Giles Bourdin*, the ordinary Attorney that prosecutes all Causes that either concern the Kings Rights, or tend to the maintenance of the peace and safety of his Subjects, Procuror fiscal to the King, performed the Office of Plaintiff and Accuser; *John Tillier*, Chief Notary in the Court of Parliament, wrote the Process; and all the Examinations and Acts past in the presence of the High Chancellor.

In this manner proceeding upon the Examinations of the Prisoners, (which were on purpose brought from *Amboise*, *Lyons*, and divers other places) they were ready to examine the Prince upon the points already discovered and proved. But the High Chancellor and the Delegates coming into the Chamber where the Prince was in prison, to interrogate him, he constantly refused to answer or submit himself to the Examination of any of them; pretending as Prince of the Blood, that he was not under any Justice but the Parliament of *Paris*; in the Chamber called The Chamber of Peers, that is, in a full Parliament, the King being there himself in person, all the twelve Peers of *France*, and all the Officers of the Crown, which was the custom formerly; and therefore he could do no other than appeal to the King against such an extraordinary and perverse way of Judicature. This appeal being transferred to the Kings Council, although according to the ordinary Forms and Customs of the Kingdom it appeared agreeable to reason, notwithstanding (the present case requiring quick and speedy Judgment, and no Law making it necessary that the causes of the Princes should always be tried with such formality in the Chamber of the Peers) it was declared not valid. But the Prince having often made the same appeal, and persisting still to make the same protestations; the Kings Council, upon demand of the Procurer fiscal, declared at length that the Prince was to be held as convict, because he had refused to answer the Delegates. So being forced to submit himself to examination, they proceeded judicially, and with great expedition in the rest of the circumstances, till the very last pronouncing of Sentence. Into such calamity were the Princes of *Bourbons* brought,

The Prince of Oude excepts against his trial, and appeals to the King; but the appeal is not accepted.

1560. brought, that they were like to expiate with their Blood their past crimes; yet was there not any body so much their enemy among the French Nation, that, considering the great Birth and noble Education both of the one and the other brother, was not moved with exceeding compassion towards them. Only the *Guises*, men of a resolute nature, either really believing it was expedient for the common good, peace and welfare of the Kingdom, or else, as their ill-willers affirmed, being eager to oppress their adversaries, and confirm their own greatness, constantly pursued their first designs, without any regard either to the quality or merit of the persons: nay, boasted with arrogant and bold speeches, *That as two blows only they would cut off at the same time the Heads of Heresie and Rebellion.*

But the Queen-Mother, though perhaps secretly she gave her consent, and was willing enough they should proceed to execution; yet desiring notwithstanding, that all the hate and blame should fall upon the *Guises*, as she had ever artificially contrived it, and having an aim still to preserve her self Neuter for any accidents that should happen in the uncertain changes of the World; her countenance expressing sadness, and her words sorrow, she often sent, sometimes for the Admiral, sometimes for the Cardinal of *Chastillon*, and shewed an earnest desire to find some means or other to save the Princes of *Bourbon*. With the same arts she entertained *Jacqueline de Logent*, Dutches of *Montpensier*, a Lady of sincere intentions, who being far from dissimulation, judged of others by her self, yet she was inclined to the Doctrine of the Hugonots, and being withal nearly intimate with the King of *Navarre*, she served by carrying Messages from one to the other, to maintain a kind of correspondence between them; which kind of proceedings, though directly opposite to her designs, the effect whereof could not be concealed, they were nevertheless so excellently dissembled, that even those who perceived most, were in doubt whether they were true or no; considering how profound the secrets of men are, and how various the affections and interests that govern the force of worldly actions.

Sentence pronounced against the Prince of *Conde*.

The King under the Barbers hands taken with an Apoplexy.

The Commissaries had now pronounced the Sentence against the Prince of *Conde*; That being convict of Treason and Rebellion, he should lose his head at the beginning of the Assembly of the States-General, before the Royal Palace. Nor was the execution deferred for any other reason, but to see if they could catch in the same net the Constable, who being earnestly called upon, did not yet appear; and to involve in the same execution the King of *Navarre*, against whom nothing could be found sufficient to condemn him; when one morning, the King being under the Barbers hands, (which he used often) was on a sudden taken with such a grievous swooning, that his servants laid him upon the bed for dead; and though in a short time he returned again to his senses, yet he had such mortal accidents, that he gave very little hopes of life. In which tumult of general amazement and confusion, the *Guises* solicited the Queen-Mother, that whilst the King was yet alive, the Judgment should be executed upon the Prince of *Conde*; and the same resolution taken against the King of *Navarre*; by which means they should cut off the way to all Innovations that might happen upon the Kings death. Withal, they perswaded, that it was the only way to preserve the Kingdom to her other Sons yet in minority, and to dissipate those clouds of future dissention which already appeared in divers parts of the Kingdom. For although the Constable were wanting, whom in this necessary and hasty resolution they could not get into their hands; notwithstanding, the authority and privileges of the Blood-Royal, the prudence of the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes fierceness being once taken away, there was little to be feared from him, who would neither be followed by the Nobility, nor have the adherence of the Hugonots, as the Princes of *Bourbon* had. That there wanted nothing to perfect their designs, (with so much art and patience brought to maturity) but the very last point of execution, which by no means was to be hindered, if the King should chance to die. For the Kingdom falling by right upon his Brothers, both they and the Queen-Mother would still have the same reasons and interests. But the Queen having had the dexterity in apparence to preserve her self as it were Neuter, was not so straightly necessitated as to precipitate her deliberations. Wherefore considering, that under her Sons, yet Pupils, the face of things would be wholly changed, and the excessive greatness of the *Guises*, if it remained without counterpoise or opposition, was no less to be feared than the continual practices of the Princes of the Blood; she lessened the report of her Sons weakness, and often gave it out, that there was great hopes of his recovery; seeking by that

that means to gain time, and defer the execution of what was determined, that she might afterwards conform her self to the present occasions. In pursuit of this resolution, which was confirmed by the advice of the High Chancelour; as soon as they knew the King was past hopes, she caused the Prince *Dolphin*, Son to *Jacqueline* and the Duke of *Montpensier*, to bring the King of *Navarre* in the night secretly into her Chamber; where, with her wonted arts and many effectual arguments, she sought to persuade him, that she had ever been averse to the late proceedings, and that she was desirous to join with him to oppose the unlimited power of the *Guises*. Which, though it were not absolutely believed, was not altogether unuseful for the future: for with this and other negotiations, a correspondence being still maintained between them, it was not so hard to treat upon agreement when occasion should serve, as it would have been, if she had passionately declared her self a principal agent in what was done, and an open enemy to the Princes of the Blood.

In the mean while, the Kings weakness still increased, who from the beginning was thought to have an Impostume in his head, over the right ear, because he was ever from his infancy troubled with distillations and pains in that part, which afterwards coming to break, the abundance of matter and corruption falling into his throat, choaked him; so that the fifth day of *December* in the morning he passed out of this life, leaving all things in extream disorder and confusion.

All men for the most part believed at the present, that he was poisoned by his Barber; and it was said that the Physicians had discovered evident signs of it, which the suddenness of the accident and time of his death would have made believed by men of best understanding, if the disease of which he died had not been known to be nourished and grown up with him from his cradle. He left behind him the opinion of a good Prince, free from vice, inclined to Justice and Religion; but reported to be of a weak heavy understanding, and of a nature rather apt to be awed by others, than able to govern of himself. However, it would have been expedient for the peace of *France*, either that he had never come to the Crown, or else that he had lived till the designs then on foot had been fully perfected. For as the force and violence of thunder useth in a moment to overthrow and ruine those buildings which are built with great care and long labour; so his unexpected death, destroying in an instant those counsels, which with so much art and dissimulation were brought to maturity and concluded; left the state of things (already in the way (although by violent and rigorous means, yet) to a certain and secure end) in the height of all discord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering, and abandoned.

Charles the Ninth, Brother to *Francis*, and second Son to the Queen, succeeded to the Crown; being yet but a Child about eleven years old. In so tender an age, there was no doubt but he should be committed to the care of a Guardian, who should supply his defect in the Government; in which case the ancient customs of the Kingdom, and the Laws often confirmed by the States, called rightfully to that charge, as first Prince of the Blood, the King of *Navarre*. But how could the Kings youth, and the Government of the Kingdom, be safely committed into his hands, who upon great suspicions to have practised against the State, was kept in a manner prisoner, and his Brother for the same crime already condemned to die? The *Guises* had governed with supreme authority under the late King, and with great constancy applied all manner of frank remedies to recover the prosperity and peace of the State: so that committing the Government to them, the same Councils might be continued, and the same deliberations followed. But how could the Guardianship of a King in minority be conferred upon those that were in no manner of way allied to the Royal Blood, against all the Laws of the Kingdom, and in such a time when the major part of the great Lords being already awakened and advertised, would earnestly oppose it? The States had often committed the Regency and Government of Infant-Kings to the Mothers; and in such division of opinions and factions, the life of the King, and custody of the Kingdom ought not in reason to be trusted in other hands. But how could a woman that was a stranger, without dependences, and without favourers, pretend to the supreme authority with two so powerful and already-armed factions?

Wherefore, when the late King *Francis* beginning to grow worse, shewed evident signs of death; the *Guises* foreseeing what might easily happen, entred into a straight league of friendship with the Cardinal of *Tournon*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Marshalls of *Brissac* and *S. Andre*, the *Sieur de Sipierrre* Governour of *Orleans*, and many other

Charles the 12.

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All the Nobility and the Militia is divided between two Factions

other great Lords, continually providing what force they could to maintain themselves and their power. On the other side, the King of *Navarre*, conceiving good hopes for the future, making a confederacy with the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chatillon*, the Prince of *Portian*, Monsieur de *Jarnac*, and the rest of his dependents, had secretly armed all his Family, and by sundry messengers sent for the Constable, who, having understood the Kings death, hastened his journey, which he used to delay, was every hour expected at *Orleans*. So that both Factions having put themselves into a posture of defence, and the whole Court and the Souldiers divided between them, and not only all others, but even the Deputies of the States themselves taking part according to their inclinations and several interests, there was no place left for any third resolution; but with the instant danger that every hour the Factions would affront each other, every place was full of tumults and terrour, and all their proceedings tended to a manifest ruine.

Notwithstanding, the unbridled desire of Rule did not so sway their minds (as yet accustomed to reverence the Majesty of Laws) that through private discords, publick obedience should be denied to the lawful King, though in minority: but both Factions with tacite and unanimous consent striving who should be the first, they saluted and did homage to King *Charles* the Ninth of that Name, the same day that his Brother died; all agreeing to acknowledge him for their lawful and natural Prince.

This was the foundation and basis, whereon to form those things which were left so strangely disordered. For the Queen, who knew she could not trust the life of her children, and the Government of the State to either Faction, the one grievously offended and exasperated, the other full of boldness and pretensions, and both of them powerful in adherents, and inclined to undertake any great attempt, desired to preserve in her self, not only the custody and care of her children, but also the Government and administration of the Kingdom; which in the last days of *Francis* his life, and in the disorders at his death, appeared to her so difficult, that she little less then despaired of safety. But this first point confirmed, of obedience rendered to the Kings Person by both parties; which, as appeared manifestly, was done through jealousy and mutual fear the one had of the other, each doubting his adversary would arrogate the authority to rule, and usurp the power of the Government; the Queen laying things together, conceived, that drawing from these discords and present confusion, an advantageous resolution for her self, she might, as Mediatrix between them, get the superiority of both, being supported by the proper interests of the one and the other Faction; who not agreeing among themselves, nor able easily to attain to that end they aimed at, would agree upon her, as a mean between the two extremes; being contented that the Authority and Power should rest in her, which by reason of the opposition of their adversaries they could not obtain for themselves. In which respect the *Guises* would easily join with her, that the King of *Navarre* might not acquire the absolute Government; and the King of *Navarre* would perhaps be content with less authority than of right belonged to him, rather than hazard the whole, by contending with the *Guises*. So that if the business were dextrously carried, the supreme Authority would fall upon her.

This conception was the likelier to take effect, because the Queen, though united with the *Guises*, had in appearance preserved her self Neuter; by which means she was confident to one party, and not thought an enemy to the other.

But two great difficulties traversed this design. One, that the King of *Navarre* being exasperated with the injuries past, it was a very difficult matter to appease him. The other, that beginning to treat with him, she might give cause of suspicion to the *Guises*; and so greatly endangered the losing that support, before she had time to settle the affairs. Which obstacles though they appeared invincible, yet the urgency of the occasion enforced a necessity to try all kind of policies, though never so doubtful. The first thought was to assure the *Guises*: for it had been but an unwise counsel, to abandon all old friendship already confirmed, before there was any manner of assurance that it was possible to contract a new one. But a business of that nicety, and on every side full of suspicion, was not to be managed but by persons of great dexterity. Wherefore having thought upon many, the Queen at length resolved there was no instrument so proper for that negotiation as the Marechal *S. Andre*. For being a great Confident to the *Guises*, privy to all their secretest thoughts, and besides that, a man of prudence and

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and singular quickness; he would not believe the Queen could have any hope to cozen him, and the businesses treated by him would have credit and great authority with his own Faction. So that having sent for him, and deplored the state of the present affairs, she enquired what resolution the Princes of *Lorain* meant to take; professing that she would not differ from them, but follow any advice that they, by agreement amongst themselves should think most reasonable. To which he making a doubtful reply, with an intent rather to penetrate into the Queens designs, than to discover to her the intentions of his own party; after many several discourses, at last all their arguing ended in this conclusion; That the differences between the two Factions could not be accommodated without great troubles, and the danger of a doubtful War, if both parties did not yield something in their reasons, and retire (as it is commonly said) a step backwards, leaving to her to mediate between them; who both as a Judge and Moderatrix, and as an indifferent party, might limit the pretensions of the Princes in such a manner, that one side should not seem to yield to the other, but through modesty and respect that they bore to the Mother of their King, forget all past injuries, and so things might remain equally balanced between them. This counsel proceeding in a manner wholly from the Mareschal, the Queen feigning rather to take than give advice, they began to consult which way was best to proceed. Then shewing that the King of *Navarre* was a man of right intentions, and of a facile moderate nature, she doubted not but she could persuade him to it, so the Princes of *Lorain* would be content. The Mareschal, that was free from any private passion, and knew the slippery dangerous condition in which the *Guisés* stood, took upon him the charge to manage the business with them; which being proposed to the Duke and the Cardinal, and afterwards debated in a meeting of their Confederates; they all approved of it. But the two Brothers were of different opinions: For the Duke being more placable and moderate, consented to an accommodation, provided his Governments and Revenues that he enjoyed by the favour of the late Kings, might remain untoucht. But the Cardinal being of a more ambitious nature, and vehement disposition, desired still to persist in the strifes they had begun, and to endeavour to preserve themselves in the same authority they had obtained and exercised during the life of *Francis*. Notwithstanding, not only the Cardinal of *Tournon* concurring with the Duke in opinion, as desirous to avoid the tempest of War, but also the two Mareschals of *Brissac* and *S. Andre*, and especially the *Sieur de Sillery*, whose opinion, through the fame of his wisdom, was of great esteem amongst them, and conceiving they got enough, if preserving their reputation, their estates and honours which they possessed, they could preserve themselves for times of better conjuncture; leave was given to the Queen, by means of the same Mareschal, to try all the ways she should think good to make an agreement with the King of *Navarre*.

This difficulty being overcome, the greatest obstacle was yet to pass through, which was to appease the Faction of the discontented Princes: a thing judged by many not possible to be brought to pass, and absolutely desperate. But the Queen, knowing the nature and inclination of those she had to deal with, (a thing chiefly necessary for the effecting any great design) did not doubt to compass her desire. The intimate Counsellors to the King of *Navarre* were *Francis de Cars*, a Gascoigne, and *Philip de Lenon-court*, Bishop of *Auxerre*; That, a man of small judgment, and little experience in the world; This, of a deep reach, extremely vigilant, and altogether intent upon those interests that were most for his own advancement. These being secretly gained by the working of the Queen-Mother, with such means as were most likely to prevail over their several humours, (for she sought by rewards, and apparent specious reasons, to corrupt and persuade *de Cars*, and to *Auxerre* she offered honours and Ecclesiastical preferments; which by means of the King of *Navarre* only he could not so easily attain unto) they became Ministers to the Queens designs, and under the name of faithful sincere Counsellors, were ready to favour those negotiations that tended to an agreement, and the advancement of her greatness. The first overtures of this accommodation were made by the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, by reason of her goodness and candid disposition very inward with the Queen, and a great friend to the King and Queen of *Navarre*, through the inclination she had to the Hugonots Religion; and in the progress of the business, came in by little and little *Tanneguy de Carrouges*, and *Louis de Lansac*, men of approved wisdom, in whom the Queen reposed great confidence: and these three continually employed their endeavours to

1560. shake the King of *Navarre*'s resolution; who, being now drawn from his wonted inclinations to peace and quietness, and incited by the ardour of enmity, and the memory of dangers past, had his thoughts so confused, that he stood in suspense, and doubtful what course to take. Three conditions were proposed from the Queen; First, that all prisoners should be set at liberty, and particularly the Prince of *Conde*, *Madam de Roye*, and the Visdame of *Chartres*, causing the Parliament of *Paris* to declare null the Sentence pronounced against the Prince by the Judges Delegate. Secondly, that the King of *Navarre* should have the Government of all the Provinces in the Kingdom, provided the Queen should enjoy the name and authority of Regent. And the third, that the Catholick King should be solicited to the restitution or change of *Navarre*; and the Isle of *Sardinia* was particularly named. These conditions being proposed by the Queens Agents, the Kings Counsellors highly approved them; shewing, that the Regency, a Title without substance, and only an airy name, was abundantly recompenced by the authority and power over the Provinces, wherein consisted the real command and essential Government of the Kingdom: to which being added the honourable release of the Prince, with the suppression of his enemies, and hope to recover an estate befitting his quality and birth, there was not any doubt at all to be further made. They added, that their affairs for the present were in so doubtful a condition, that putting themselves upon the rigour of the Laws against such potent enemies, and with the prejudice of their past machinations, it was rather to be feared they would be utterly ruined, than advanced to those honours they desired: that the States then at *Orleans* depended wholly upon the Queens will and the *Guises*; by whose means they were with great regard assembled; for which cause they were for the most part united and joined with them: wherefore it was greatly to be feared, if their cause were remitted to the arbitrement and determination of the States, that they being incensed by their former practices, would exclude the Princes of the Blood from the Government, and commit it to the *Guises*, as persons they could more confide in; upon which would follow the inevitable destruction of the whole family of *Bourbon*. That it was necessary to stop this precipice with moderate Counsels; and shewing they desired nothing but what was just and reasonable, by yielding to the Laws, clear themselves from suspicion and their former contumacy; and although the change proposed with the Catholick King were very uncertain and doubtful, yet it would be great imprudence any way by pretending to the Government of other States, to weaken the hopes of recovering his own, and the inheritance belonging to his children. These reasons wrought upon the King of *Navarre*, of himself inclined to such kind of thoughts; but he was spurred on to the contrary by the instigation of the Prince his Brother, though rather with a violent passion of revenge, than any founded reason. Notwithstanding, there being joined to that party which perswaded an accord, the authority of the Duke of *Montpensier* and the Prince de *la Rochefur-yon*, both of the same family of *Bourbon*, but who being many degrees removed from the Crown, had not interested themselves in these late businesses; the King of *Navarre* inclining to come to an agreement with the Queen, proposed, by the same persons that treated the Accommodation, besides the three Conditions offered, two others: The first, that the *Guises* should be deprived of all places of command at Court; The other, that Liberty of Conscience should be granted to the Hugonots.

Pope *Julio* the second excommunicates the Kingdom of *France* and the Adherents thereof; in which the King of *Navarre* being included, he applieth himself to follow the opinions of *Beza* and *Peter Martyr*.

When *Calvins* Doctrine was first preached, the seeds thereof were planted in the family of *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* his wife, father and mother to *Jane* the present Queen; and as the minds of those Princes were ill-affected to the Apostolick See, being deprived of their Kingdom under pretence of Ecclesiastical Censures, thundred out by Pope *Julio* the Second against the Kingdom of *France* and the adherents of the same, with which *Navarre* was then in confederacy; so it was likeliest, they should apply themselves to that Doctrine, which opposing the Authority of the Roman Bishop, by consequence concluded those Censures invalid, by vertue whereof they had lost their Kingdom. Wherefore the Ministers (so they call them of *Calvins* Religion) frequenting the house of those Princes, and there teaching their Opinions, they made such an impression in Queen *Jane*, that departing from the rights of the Catholick Church, she had wholly entertained and embraced the Religion of the Hugonots. Whereupon being married to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, (at the present King of *Navarre*) she not only continued in the same belief, but had in great part drawn her Husband to that Opinion, being besides perswaded by the zealous eloquence of *Theodore Beza*;

Beza, Peter Martyr Vermeil, and other Teachers that went freely into *Bearne* to preach their new Doctrine. And the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and other principal men of the Faction of the Princes of the Blood, having at the same time, partly through Conscience, partly through interests of State, embraced those Opinions, with so much the greater constancy, the King of *Navarre* persevered to continue the protection of the Hugonots. For this cause he desired of the Queen in the Treaty of Accommodation between them, that Liberty of Conscience might be granted to the Calvinists: and she, who thought all other things inferiour to the evident danger, (wherein she saw the Kingdom to be lost both to her sons and her self) not to interrupt the Treaty of agreement, would not absolutely deny those two Conditions, though very hard ones, but shewing, that to deprive the *Guises* of their charges at Court, was immediately contrary to the Accord then in agitation, and to the thought of reducing the wavering estate of the Kingdom into peace and repose, (for they being armed and powerful, would never suffer so great and manifest an affront, but joining with the Catholick Faction and the greater part of the States, would to maintain their dignity, soon have recourse to Arms) notwithstanding, she obliged her self, that with time and art she would continually lessen their authority and power; which, they being by degrees deprived of their Governments, would soon fall to nothing. And for so much as concerned the liberty of the Hugonots, being a thing of too great importance to be granted upon so little deliberation, and which the Parliaments and the States themselves would undoubtedly oppose; she was content to promise secretly, that governing by common consent with the King of *Navarre*, she would by indirect by-ways, and upon the emergencies of occasions which might happen every day, so work under-hand, that by little and little they should in great part obtain their desires.

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The Queen promised these things, being forced by the present necessity; yet with an intent, when the Government was established, and the King of *Navarre* appeared; to observe none of them; but delaying the execution of them with her wonted artifices, at length with dexterity to render them altogether vain. For she thought it not expedient for her own interests; and the preservation of her sons, wholly to suppress the *Guises*, (who served marvellously to balance the power of the Princes of the Blood) and to permit a Liberty of Conscience, she knew it would not be done without great scandal to the Apostolick See, and all other Christian Princes, nor without great disorder and dissention in the Kingdom; but reserving many things to the benefit of time and future industry, she endeavoured by all manner of means to provide for, and remedy the present distractions.

Now the Accommodation being in a manner confirmed upon these Conditions, the King of *Navarre* declared, that he would not conclude any thing without the consent and authority of the Constable, who was already near upon his arrival; so that it was necessary to return to the old arts to overcome this last impediment, esteemed by many no less difficult to master than the former. Wherefore the Queen, who very well knew the nature and inclination of the Constable, thought by restoring him to the authority of his place, and seeming to acknowledge from him both her own greatness, and the welfare of her sons yet in minority; that he, ambitious to be held the Moderator and Arbitrator of all things, would easily be brought to favour her Regency, and to shew himself Neuter to both Factions. So that having the consent of the King of *Navarre* and the *Guises*, (who on both sides were now inclined to thoughts of peace) she made shew of confessing that all things depended upon his power; giving order that the Captains of the Guard and the Governour of the City at his entry into the Gates should deliver up to him the chief Command of the Souldiers, acknowledging him as in effect was but just, for General of the Militia. By which testimony of favour, the ancient sparks of loyalty and devotion reviving in him, wherewith he had so many years served the Grandfather and the Father of the present King, turning himself about to the Captains with the same majestical countenance that he used always to have, he told them, *That since the King had again intrusted him with the command of the Armies, they should not need to stand long with such watchfulness upon the Guard in a time of peace; for he would soon take such an order, that though he were yet in age of minority, he should be obeyed in all parts of France by his Subjects without the force of Arms.*

The Constable
Anne of his
Regency restor-
ed to his
Command.

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So being come to the Kings Palace, where the Queen received him with great shews of honour, and he doing homage to the young King with tears in his eyes, exhorted him not to have any apprehension of the present troubles; for he and all good French men would be ready to spend their lives for the preservation of his Crown: From which the Queen, taking courage, without any delay, entring into private discourse with him about the present affairs, not to give time to the practices of others, told him that she had placed all hope of her own welfare and her Sons in him only; that the Kingdom was divided between two pretending Factions, which resolving to persecute each other, had forgotten their obedience to their Prince and the publick safety; that there was no other person of Authority, who, standing neuter, could suppress their pretences; that there was no hope of preserving her children in possession of the Crown, which was aimed at, and aspired to by so many, if he (mindful of his Loyalty, of which he had given so long a testimony) did not undertake the protection of the young King, of the Kingdom afflicted with such distractions, and of the whole Royal Family that was then in a very slippery dangerous condition, and relied only upon the hope of the fidelity and aid from those who had been obliged and advanced by their Predecessors. To which words adding all the womanish flatteries that either the time or business required, she so wrought him to her will, that he not only consented to the accommodation treated with the King of *Navarre*, but seeing the *Guises* already lessened, and the charge of the affairs with the first dignity of the Kingdom returned again into his own hands, forgetting all private interests of particular Factions, proposed that he would unite himself with the Queen for the conservation of the Crown, by which only he pretended to hold that place, which in the course of a long life he had taken such pains to attain unto.

The accommodation then agreed upon and confirmed by the Authority of the Constable, without further delay they assembled the Kings Council, at which were assistant all the Princes and Officers of the Crown that were present. Where the Chancellor proposing according to ordinary use in the Kings presence, it was unanimously resolved upon, That the Queen-Mother should be declared Regent of the whole Kingdom, the King of *Navarre* President and Governour of the Provinces, the Constable Superintendent of all the Forces, the Duke of *Guise* as Grand-Master-Keeper of the Palace, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* High Treasurer. That the Admiral, the Marshalls and Governours of the Provinces, should enjoy and execute their charges, without being intrenched upon by Strangers; that the Supplications and Letters of the Provinces should be addressed to the King of *Navarre*, who should make report thereof to the Queen, and return such answers as she and the Council thought good; that all Embassies and Letters of Negotiation with Foreign Princes should be brought immediately to the Queen, and she to communicate them to the King of *Navarre*; that in the Kings Council where the Princes of the Blood were to assist, the Queen should preside, and make all Propositions, and when she was away, the King of *Navarre*; or in absence of them both, the High Chancellor; all dispatches whatsoever passing under the common name of the Governours of the Kingdom; Conditions, by which the Princes of the Blood had in shew a great part of the Government, but in substance all authority and power remained in the Queen. She promised further than this, (although secretly, by little and little) to open a way to Liberty of Conscience for the Hugonots, and by the same address in a short time to remove the *Guises* from all Ministerial dignities; which were the two conditions finally proposed by the two discontented Princes, and by her through a final necessity feignedly accepted of.

The Prince of
Conde set at li-
berty, and the
Sentence pro-
nounced a-
gainst him de-
clared void.

The precipice of things being thus stopped, and the best order taken that could be for the Government of the Kingdom, the Prince of *Conde*, according to the Agreement, was set at liberty; and departing from the Court to shew how free he was, within a few days after returned thither again; and lastly, was by an honourable Edict in the Parliament of *Paris* absolved from the imputation laid upon him; and the Sentence declared null and irregular which was pronounced against him by the Judges Delegates, as incapable of judging the Princes of the Blood. The Visdame of *Chartres* enjoyed not the benefit of this Agreement; for when he was first taken prisoner, being put into the Bastile, (a fortress placed upon the skirts of the City of *Paris*) he grew into such a discontent and indisposition of body, that he died before the Accommodation was fully concluded.

Things

Things being in this state, ended the year 1560: but in the beginning of the year after, the Regent and the King of *Navarre*, not willing that the affairs thus settled should be disturbed by any new practises, dismissed the Assembly of the States, after they had celebrated the Ceremonies of the first Session; having caused by their dependents this reason to be alledged from the beginning, That the Deputies being sent by their Commonalty to treat with the late King, their Commission was expired by his death; and therefore they had no power under the reign of the present King, either to treat or conclude any thing concerning the State: Yet notwithstanding they gave Commission, that the Deputies upon the first opportunity should meet at a place appointed to consult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown without oppressing the people with new Taxes; but not to meddle with any thing else.

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The Assembly
of the States
dismissed.

The States thus broken up, they applied themselves to settle the Government. But for all this, the discords and troubles of the Court were not quieted. For the *Guises*, who had gotten so little a share, and which consisted rather in apparence than any real power, being accustomed to govern, could not conform their minds to their present condition: and being ill satisfied with the Queen, for having performed much less than she had promised, they sought all manner of opportunities, whereby they might again raise themselves to their former greatness; and on the other side, the Prince of *Conde*, being exasperated, but not withdrawn from his wonted designs, burnt more than ever with an implacable desire of revenge; and the Lords of *Chatillon*, who firmly continued to protect the Hugonots party, desired not to attempt the raising of Tumults, by which they might augment their own power. Both Factions were intent to draw to their party the Constable, who having declared that he would depend only upon the Kings will and the Queens, maintained himself Neuter: and so much the rather, because the King of *Navarre*, contented with his present condition, continued still a good correspondence with the Regent, and persevered in the desire to establish a Peace. Wherefore there was not any apparent reason for the Constable not to remain constant in his first resolution.

But the Admiral and his Brothers, together with the Prince of *Conde*, hoped that the nearness of Blood would at length prevail to win him to their side; and the *Guises* knowing him affectionate to the Catholick Religion, and averse to that of *Calvin*, so severely persecuted by him in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, despaired not, under a colour to defend the Faith, and extirpate the Hugonots, to draw him to their party.

These stirs were kept in motion by the obstinacy of the King of *Navarre*, who very urgently pressed the Queen, that she would apply her self to perform those promises which she made unto him in favour of the Hugonots. And she, who contented her self with the present state of things, which, being equally balanced, and not inclining more to one side than the other, secured her greatness and her Sons Kingdom, avoided all that was possible the being brought to a necessity of discontenting him, lest he should alter his resolutions. But on the other side, conceiving it neither just nor safe to give so much liberty to the Hugonots, she found out quaint excuses, and divers pretexts to delay the execution of her promise; hoping indeed, that in progress of time the King of *Navarre* would grow less instant in his desires. But it fell out altogether otherwise: for being stirred up by the continual instigations of the Prince and the Admiral, and the perpetual incitements of the Queen his Wife, he grew every day more violent in pressing the performance of that promise which was made him at the beginning.

The High Chancellour *de P Hospital*, though covertly, favoured his desire; who either believing that it was indeed expedient for the quiet of the Kingdom; or else through an inclination that he had to the Hugonots Doctrine, took off as much as he could from the severity of other Magistrates, and advised the Queen, to stay the effusion of blood, to settle mens Consciences in peace, to take away all ground of scandal, and not to give an occasion of bringing things again into confusion, which with so much pains and art were set right and composed. Many also of the Kings Council yielded to the instances of the King of *Navarre*, who professed that he was moved to compassion, to see so many of the Kings Subjects that were continually scattered about in the Kingdom, abandoning their own houses through fear of punishments; and that he detested so often to gear his hands in the bowels of the French Nation. And the Hugonots themselves, among whom were many men of wit and courage, omitted no art

1561. art nor care that might any way help them : but sometimes with little Treatises artificially scattered abroad, sometimes by Petitions seasonably presented, otherwhile by the effectual perswasions of those that favoured them, endeavoured to move the great persons to commiserate their condition.

A kind of toleration permitted to the Hugonots.

The Queen therefore being forced to yield to the consent and authority of so many, and conceiving perhaps it would be best, willingly to intermit that severity which by no means could be longer continued, (since those threats which are not resolutely put in execution by force, prove always damageable) she gave way, that by a Decree of Council passed the 28 day of *January*, the Magistrates should be ordered to release all prisoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to stop any manner of inquisition appointed for that purpose against any person whatsoever; nor to suffer any disputations in matters of Religion, nor particular persons to revile one another with the names of *Heretick* and *Papist*: but that all should live together in peace, abstaining from unlawful Assemblies, or to raise scandals and sedition.

Thus *Calvins* Religion, under the obscure pretence of hindering the effusion of more blood, (which carried an appearance of much Christianity and piety) was, though not authoris'd, at least covertly protected and tolerated. A greater contest seemed likely to arise about the depression of the Duke of *Guise*. For the King of *Navarre*, putting the Queen in mind of the promises she secretly made him, required, that as the Kings Lieutenant-General, the Keys of the Palace should be assigned to him; which the Duke of *Guise*, as Grand-Master, always kept. But the Queen, though she saw that she was greatly upheld and honoured by the King of *Navarre* and the Constable, and on the contrary knew the *Guises* were grown very averse to her; yet she employed all her power to hinder their depression. For on one side, the Hugonots party maintaining it self under the protection of the Prince of *Conde* and the *Admiral*; and the Catholicks on the other side, under the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*; conceiving that between these two Factions, as between two strong banks, she might remain secure in a calm: She would not so much weaken the Catholick party, as they should be forced afterwards to receive Laws from the Hugonots. Wherefore sometimes by delays, sometimes by complying with him in other demands, she sought to remove the King of *Navarre* from that thought.

The Keys of the Kings Palace taken from the Duke of *Guise*, and delivered to the King of *Navarre*.

But he persisting in his demand, and growing every day more earnest, as he saw her more backward; not in an instant to dissolve that agreement which with so many difficulties was effected, it was thought convenient to command the Captains of the Guard, that from thence forward they should not carry the Keys of the Kings Lodgings, as the custom had been, to the Grand-Master, but to the Lieutenant-General, as the man to whom that dignity belonged. Whereat the Duke of *Guise* was exceedingly incensed, and much more the Cardinal his Brother; not so much for the importance of the thing, or the injury received; (which at the first was otherwise determined in the Kings Council) as because they manifestly saw, that the King of *Navarre's* intention, which drew along with it the Queens consent, was wholly to suppress and tread under foot their greatness. But knowing they were thought to be men of passion and ambition, and seeing themselves not able in a private dispute to deal with the Princes of the Blood, who had then in their hands all the Kings force and authority, they dissembled the affront done unto them, and made shew only of being moved and offended at the tacite toleration that was permitted to the *Calvinists*; covering in this manner with a pious pretence under the Vail of Religion, the interests of private passion.

The private interests and enmities are covered with the vail of Religion; and the two Factions take the name of Hugonots and Catholicks.

So by degrees the discords of great men were confounded with the dissensions of Religion; and the Factions were no more called the discontented Princes and the *Guisearts*; but more truly and by more significant names, one the Catholick, and the other the Hugonot party. Factions, which under the colour of piety, administred pernicious matter to all the following mischiefs and distractions. The Queen Regent and the Constable held the Kings party, as it were in the middle of a balance; and the Constable, though he hated *Calvinism*, and lived conformable to the Roman Church, nevertheless, both in respect of his Nephews, and to preserve the publick peace, was contented that they should proceed warily in matters of Religion, until such time as the King, being come to age, should be able to govern himself.

But to confirm in the mean while the Kings Authority and Empire, although in minority, it was thought expedient by those that governed, that he should be acknowledged

ledged with the usual Ceremonies belonging to the Kings of *France*. Wherefore they resolved to carry him to *Rheims*, and in that place, where the holy Oyl is kept with great veneration, which served at the Coronation of the first Christian King *Clouis*, to cause him to be anointed, or as they commonly call it, *Sacré*; and from thence to conduct him to the City of *Paris*, there to reside, as the Kings for the most part are accustomed in the principal City of the Kingdom. At the Ceremonies of the Coronation there arose a new strife for precedency between the Princes of the Blood and the Duke of *Guise*. For these pretended to the first place, as they were first in dignity before any whosoever; and the Duke of *Guise*, as first Peer of *France*, pretended in waiting at the Ceremony to precede every man; and though the Kings Council determined in favour of the Duke of *Guise*, (because at the Crowning of the King, the presence and assistance of the Peers (which are twelve, six Ecclesiasticks, and six Secular) is requisite; and the Princes of the Blood having not any thing to do, their attendance is not necessary) notwithstanding, they being apt to take fire at every little spark, this was enough very much to incense and exasperate them. In the mean while, the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde* had used all possible endeavour to draw the Constable to the protection of their party; but though *Francis* Mareschal of *Momorancy* his eldest son, who was streightly united with them, used great industry to perswade his Father; yet nothing could move his constancy; being resolved not to make himself in his old age head of a Faction, or an Author of new diffentions in Religion. Wherefore the Admiral, always an Inventer of subtile counsels, thought with himself, that he would make him concur with them by some other way.

At *Pointoise*, a Town seven leagues from *Paris*, the Assembly was held of certain Deputies of the Provinces, to consult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown, which by reason of the past Wars, amounted to a very important sum: and although the Mareschal of *Momorancy* presided in this Assembly, yet the Admiral had some of his nearest Familiars that were of it, by whose means he had the commodity to cause any thing to be proposed there that he pleased. Wherefore the Brothers of *Coligni* and the Prince of *Conde* resolved by means of their Confidants, to propose in the Assembly, That all those who had received any Donations from the Kings, *Francis* the First, or *Henry* the Second, should be obliged to restore them into the publick Treasury; making account; that in this manner, without imposing new Taxes, they might pay the greatest part of the debts, which within and without the Kingdom occasioned both to the publick and particulars, so great trouble. They made this Proposition, because the partakers of the late Kings bounty were the *Guises*, the Dutchess *Diana*, the Mareschal *S. Andre*, and the Constable: And for those, they desired to see the effect of it to their utter ruine; but for the Constable, it was designed to put him only in fear, and necessitate him to unite himself with the Faction of the Princes, to avoid the danger of losing his estate, which was the fruits of so many years sweat and labour; and such was the animosity of the Factions, that even his Nephews made themselves the Ministers to bring these streights and cares upon their Uncle.

But as Counsels too subtile and forced use often to produce contrary and unthought-of ends; so this attempt had an effect much different from that which the contrivers thereof designed; for in this restitution of Goods, the Constable and *Guises* having an equal interest; *Diana*, who was joyned in affinity with both of them, having already regained a confidence with them, began, as concerned in the same business, to treat of it with the Constable: and as she was a woman of great wit, well instructed in what she was to do, ill-affected towards the Queen, and greatly terrified with the restitution which was spoken of; she used her skill to pass from this to other discourses tending to a reconciliation with the Catholick Faction, and the Princes of *Lorain*: and from a consult how to hinder the proposed restitution; coming to inviegh against the Admiral, and the Prince of *Conde*; who was suspected to be the Author of it, at last they fell to a deploration of the present state, in which, under the rule of a Pupil King, and a stranger woman, things were governed with such pestiferous and destructive Counsels, that to promote ambition and private passions, the publick peace and tranquillity were destroyed, with introducing shamelessly into the Kingdom those heresies, which being condemned by the Catholick Church, were so carefully punished with sword and fire by the just severity of the late Kings. Nor made she an end with this condolence, but went on with the same efficacy: that the whole Kingdom was extreamly amazed, and very much troubled; that one of the house of *Momorancy*, which first received the

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At *Rheims* a vial is kept with the oyl whereof the first Christian King *Clouis* was consecrated.

The Duke of *Guise* as first Peer of *France* is declared to precede all the rest. The Peers are twelve; six Ecclesiastical, and six Secular.

Christian

1561. Christian Religion, who in the course of his past life had with great praise of Piety and Justice executed the chiefest Authority of the Kingdom, should now, as if he were charmed by the arts of a woman, suffer himself to be led by her appetite, and one of so little wisdom as the King of *Navarre*, to consent to those things which they did to the prejudice of Gods Church: That he, who had strength and power in his hands, was streightly obliged to disturb and hinder those wicked Counsels which then prevailed, and once more to lend that help with which he had oftentimes formerly supported the Crown afflicted, and Religion wholly abandoned: That he should call to mind his own Maxim, so constantly observed in the glorious actions of his youth, according to which he had ever condemned and opposed the power of strangers, which always tends to the ruine, not edifying of States; and not now suffer two women, one an Italian, the other a Navaroise, so perversly to destroy the foundations of the French Monarchy, chiefly established upon the Basis of Piety and Religion: That he should remember, this was that same *Catherine*, whose manners and disposition he had ever blamed and detested; That these were the very same Hugonots whom he had so fiercely persecuted in the Reign of *Henry* the Second; that the persons were not changed, nor the quality of things; but every one would believe that he in his old age suffered himself to be led, either by ambition, or inclinations of others, to shew himself altogether different from those Maxims by which formerly he had guided his Actions.

To these perswasive speeches, many times on purpose reiterated, and adding many other reasons, and by often visiting and sollicitation, finding that the Constable began to yield, partly through indignation conceived against his Nephew, for what concerned his estate, and partly through the hate of Calvinism; at length *Magdalen de Savoy* his wife undertook the task wholly to vanquish his resolution; who being not well pleased to see him bear such an ardent affection to his Nephews *de Coligni*, and desirous to insinuate into the same place of his favour *Honore de Savoye* Marquis of *Villars*, her Brother, she let pass no occasion whereby she might prejudice them, and advance his interest.

Nor did the practice end there; but by the means of *Diana*, the Marechal of Saint *Andre* being also brought in, who was no less concerned in the restitution, they so wrought with him, that partly to unite himself with those who had the same interest, partly through the hate to his Nephews, and partly through the just apparence of the preservation of the Catholick Religion, to which he was ever affected, he began to incline to a friendship with the *Guises*. Which when they once perceived, they omitted not any artifice nor submission, or other means that might conduce to draw him absolutely to their party: having conceived new hopes to recover this way some part, if not all of their former power in the Government. And it so fell out, that *Diana*, Wife to the Marechal of *Momorancy*, (who was the only obstacle to this Treaty) being sick at *Chantilly*, his affection forc'd him to leave his Father to visit her; so that he being thus removed out of the way, the friendship was finally concluded, and a league made between the Constable and the *Guises* for the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and mutual defence of their several Estates.

An Edict that no body should be molested for matters of Religion, with the restitution of confiscated goods.

But when this combination was known to the Queen, she conceiving she had lost her greatest stay, and that the Princes of *Lorain*, so much increased in strength and reputation, being ill satisfied with her proceedings, would endeavour to deprive her of the Government; thought it so much more necessary to enter into a streighter union with the King of *Navarre*, to counterpoize as much as was possible, the other party: knowing she was to be very studiously vigilant to preserve things in an equality so, as neither the Kings safety, nor stability of the Government should be endangered. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* solliciting it, and the Queen not disliking that his party should increase, under the pretence to keep the Kingdom in peace during the Kings minority, to appease the people formerly exasperated, and at their first entring upon the Government to gain a plausible name of clemency; it was commended to all the Parliaments by new Edicts and Decrees, not further to molest any body for matter of Religion; and to restore the goods, houses, and possessions of all such who for suspicion of Calvinism had been formerly deprived of them. Which Edicts, though the Parliament of *Paris* opposed, and many Magistrates refused to obey them: nevertheless the Hugonots having so specious a colour as the declared will of the King, and the Regent, approved of by the Council of State, they of themselves took upon them to exercise

exercise a Liberty of Conscience, encreasing still in number and force ; which perhaps would have fallen out according to the Queens intention, if the multitude of the Hugonots had known how to contain themselves within the limits of modesty and reason. But they on the contrary, as those use who are led by a popular rage, without the bridle of a formal Government, finding themselves now supported and favoured, loosed from the fear of punishment, and laying aside all respect due to Magistrates, by open Assemblies, insolent speeches, and other odious acts, provoked against themselves the hate and disdain of the Catholicks : from whence arising in all parts obstinate jars, and bloody Factions, every thing was full of tumult, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom troubled with seditious rumours. So that contrary to the intention of those that governed, and contrary to the common opinion, the remedy applied to maintain the State, and preserve an union of peace during the Kings minority, fell out to be dangerous and destructive, and upon the matter, occasioned all those dissensions and perils, which with so much care they ought to prevent.

This gave opportunity to the *Guisers*, being encouraged and increased in strength, to begin to oppose the present Government. Inasmuch as the Cardinal of *Lorain*, taking a time to speak at the Council-Table, without bearing any regard to the Queen or the King of *Navarre* who were present, began to enter upon the point of Religion, and with hot words and effectual speeches, to shew with what indignity to the most Christian Kingdom, what sin towards God, and with how great scandal to all the world, Liberty of Conscience was permitted to those, who professing manifest heresies already condemned in all Councils, went about scattering monstrous opinions in Religion, corrupting the youth, seducing simple persons, and in all places of the Kingdom stirring up the people to tumult, contempt, and Rebellion: Already the Priests could no longer celebrate their Sacrifices in Churches for the insolencies of the Hugonots ; already the Preachers durst not go into the Pulpit, for the arrogancies of the Calvinists: the Magistrates were no longer obeyed in their Jurisdictions, through the Rebellion of Hereticks ; all places raged with discords, burnings and slaughters, through the presumption and perverseness of those who assumed to themselves a liberty of teaching and believing after their own fashion : and now the most Christian Kingdom, and first-born of the Church, was ready to turn Schismatick, to separate it self from the obedience of the Apostolick See, and the Faith of Christ, only to satisfy the capricious humours of a few seditious persons. Upon this subject he so enlarged himself with his wonted eloquence, by which he used to prevail in all disputes ; that, not any of the Hugonots favourers being able to answer the reasons he alledged ; but the King of *Navarre* holding his peace, the Queen-mother not replying a word, and the Chancellor startled and confounded ; it was resolved with great alacrity of all the Council, who were exceedingly scandalized at the excessive license of the Hugonots, that forthwith all the principal Officers of the Crown should assemble at the Parliament at *Paris*, there in the Kings presence, to debate these matters, and resolve upon such remedies as were most necessary for the future. It was impossible to hinder them from coming to the Parliament, which was appointed upon the thirteenth day of *July* : for the King of *Navarre* durst not openly oppose it, lest by declaring himself a Hugonot, he should gain many Enemies : and the Queen-Mother, although she desired not to see the Catholick party increase in strength, yet she was very much perplexed in mind, and above all things apprehensive, lest the advancement and establishment of heresie should be imputed to her.

The contestations in the Parliament were very great : and although the Protectors of the Hugonots employed their uttermost endeavours to obtain them a Decree for Liberty of Conscience, by which Declaration they pretended that these stirr and dissensions would cease ; yet all was in vain. For indeed, it being clearly, not only against the intention and authority of the Catholick Church, but also contrary to the ancient customs of the Kingdom : and the Councillors of the Parliament being exasperated by the continual complaints which were brought them from all parts, against the insurrection of the Hugonots. It was with a general consent expressly ordered, that the Ministers should be expelled out of the Kingdom, with a prohibition to use any other rites or ceremonies in Religion, than what were held and taught by the Roman Church : and all Assemblies and Meetings forbidden in any place, either armed or unarmed, unless in the Catholick Churches to hear Divine Service, according to the usual custom. And to give some balance to the other party, the same Edict contained, that all Delinquencies

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The Hugonots grow insolent towards the Catholicks.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* in the Kings Council inveighs against the Hugonots.

The Edict of *July*.

The Parliament of *Paris* expels the Hugonots out of the Kingdom.

1563:
The judgment
of heretic
committed to
the Bishops.

quencies found in matter of Religion before the publication thereof, should be pardoned; and that for the future all accusations or complaints of Heresie, should be brought to the Bishops, their Vicars, or Surrogates; and the Civil Magistrates to be assisting to them upon all occasions; and that they should not proceed against those convicted of Heresie further than banishment, but abstain from any corporal punishment, or effusion of blood.

This Deliberation comprehended in a solemn Edict, approved, and subscribed by the King, the Queen, and all the Princes and Lords of both Factions, absolutely restrained the liberty of Religion, and gave heart to the Catholick party, which was not a little dejected. But the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral grieving at the depression of the Hugonots, in whose number and force they had founded the strength of their Faction, not able other ways to hinder the execution of the Edict, (which being embraced with great affection by the Parliaments, and the greater parts of the inferiour Magistrates, they durst not oppose) they advised, to procure that the Calvinist Ministers should desire a conference in the Kings presence, accompanied with his Prelates, to propose and examine the Articles of their Doctrine; hoping by indirect ways to bring it so about, as again to introduce a liberty of Religion. This demand of the Hugonots was opposed by many of the Catholick Prelates, and in particular, by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, shewing that it was useless to dispute matters of Faith with men so extremely obstinate, and who persisted in opinions condemned by the Holy Church; yet if they had a mind to have their reasons heard, they might address themselves to the General Council at *Trent*, where under safe conduct they should be permitted to propose and dispute their opinions. But the Cardinal of *Lorain* was not against it, either moved through hope by evident reasons to convince the Doctrine of the Hugonots, and by that means disabuse the Consciences of simple people, or set on (as those that were emulous said) with the vanity to shew his learning and eloquence, and to render himself in such a publick Assembly so much the more eminent and renowned. Howsoever his intentions were, certain it is, that he, not contradicting the Ministers demand, drew to his opinion the other Prelates: and finally, they all consented to the King of *Navarre*; who, being desirous to hear a solemn dispute for the settling of his own Conscience, solicited it with great earnestness in favour of the Hugonots.

The conference of Poissy.

Safe conducts then being sent to the Ministers that were retired to *Geneva*, and *Poissy* (a Town five leagues from *Paris*) appointed the place for the conference; besides the King and the Court, there came thither on the Catholick party the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorain*, *Bourbon*, *Armagnac*, and *Guise*, and with the Bishops and Prelates of best esteem, many Doctors of the *Sorbon*, and other Divines sent for from the most famous Universities of the Kingdom. There appeared for the Hugonots *Theodore Beza*, head of all the rest, *Peter Martyr Vermeilo*, *Francis de St. Paul*, *John Raimond*, and *John Virelle*, with many other Preachers, which came some from *Geneva*, some out of *Germany*, and other neighbouring places. There *Theodore Beza* with great flourishes of Rhetorick, having first proposed his opinions, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* with strength of Reason, and authority of Scripture, and of the Fathers of the holy Church, strongly opposed him, The Council of State thought it not fit that the King, who being but young, and not yet able to judge or discern of the truth, should come any more to the Disputation; lest he should be infected with some opinions less exact, or less conformable to the Doctrines of the Catholick Church. Wherefore the Dispute, from being publick, by degrees grew more private; and finally, after many meetings, brake off, without any conclusion or benefit at all. The Catholick party got only this advantage, that the King of *Navarre* himself remained little satisfied with the Hugonots, having discovered, that the Ministers agreed not amongst themselves about that Doctrine which they too unanimously preached; but that some followed strictly *Calvin's* Opinions, others inclined to the Doctrine of *Ecolampadius* and *Luther*; some adhering to the *Helvetic* Confession, others to the *Augustan*: at which uncertainties being very much troubled, from thence forward he began to leave them, and incline to the Roman Religion.

The divers opinions of the Hereticks.

But the Hugonots got much greater advantage by the Conference, to which end only they desired it: For being departed from the Diet, they divulged abroad, that they had made good their Opinions, convinced the Catholick Doctors, confounded the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and gotten licence from the King to preach. Whereupon, they

they began of their own authority to assemble themselves in such places as they thought most convenient for their purpose, and to celebrate their preachings publicly; and were frequented with such a confluence of the Nobility, and common people, that it was not possible any longer to suppress or hinder them. And if the Magistrates molested them in their Congregations, or the Catholicks attempted to drive them out of their Temples, they were grown to that insolence, that without respect of any authority, they took arms to right themselves. Whereupon cruel contentions arising with the name of *Heretick* and *Papist*, the whole Kingdom was turned up-side down; the Magistrates opposed in their Jurisdictions, the People disquieted, the Collectors for the Kings Revenue not suffered; and in the midst of a full peace were seen the effects of a tacite, but destructive War.

Those that sat at the Helm moved with this necessity, and finding that the severity of the Edict of *July* had rather increased than diminished the disorders; they called another Assembly of all the Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, to consider the state of every particular Province, and by common consent to make such Ordinances as should be thought most expedient for the settling of this business. Which, continually varying with the interest of State, and passions of great men, it is no marvel, though after so many, and such divers orders taken, it became more confused and disordered. For, through inconstancy and often change, it could not receive that form which proceeds only from constancy and an exact obedience to the supreme power.

This Assembly met in *Paris* in the beginning of the year 1562; where, the Queen consenting (as altogether intent to balance the Factions, and not to suffer the one to advance, or to oppress the other, lest she should remain a prey to that which got the superiority) and most of the Council approving it: (partly perswaded, that so great a multitude moved with the zeal of Religion could not easily be restrained; partly moved with pity, to see so much blood spilt unprofitably) that famous and so much celebrated Edict of *January* was made: by which was granted to the Hugonots a free exercise of their Religion; and to assemble at Sermons, but unarmed, without the Cities, in open places, and the Officers of the place being present and assistant. The Parliaments, though at first they refused to accept this Edict, and the Magistrates greatly opposed it; notwithstanding by reiterated Orders from the King and his Council, it was at length registered and published by way of provision, with this express clause and condition; Until such time as the general Council, or the King himself should order it otherwise.

This Edict dismayed the Heads of the Catholick party; and not willing that the World should believe they consented to what was done, the Duke of *Guise*, the Constable, and the Cardinals, (amongst which the Cardinal of *Tournon* was lately dead) with the Marshals of *Brissac* and *S. Andre*, left the Court, already contriving how they might hinder the execution of the Edict, and oppose the Hugonot Faction. But because they saw, that whilst the King of *Navarre* stood united with the Regent, they had no manner of right to intermeddle with the Government of the Kingdom, and therefore whatsoever they should do, would prove of no effect, they proposed to themselves to dissolve that union. And knowing that the Queens thoughts and intentions were disposed to continue with the same power till her Son came of age, they thought it most easie to gain the King of *Navarre*. It hindred not, but rather advanced the design, that they were absent from the Court. For the business being of such difficulty and length, it might be managed with the greater secrecy; and there came in under hand to treat it, *Hippolito d'Est*, Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Popes Legate, and Don *Jean Mauvieux*, Ambassador from the Catholick King; who being favoured by the Counsellors of that Faction, found an easie way to promote their intentions.

The King of *Navarre* was already very much averse to the Hugonots Religion, by reason of the different opinions he found amongst those of that sect about the points in controversy. Wherefore after the conference held at *Poissy*, having there not found the same constancy in *Theodore Beza*, and *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, which they used to shew in their Sermons when no body opposed them, he sent for Doctor *Baldwin*, a man skilled in holy Scripture, and versed in the disputes of Religion, by whom he was wholly taken off from the *Helvetian* and *Augustan* Confession, and perswaded to re-annex himself to the Religion taught in the universal Catholick Church. And although he consented to the Edict of *January*, he did it rather through an old opinion, That mens Consciences were not to be forced, and through the persuasions of

1561:

There are
Eight Parliaments in
France.

1562:

The Edict of
January.

The Cardinal
Hippolito d'Est
Legat in
France.

1562.

those who affirmed that it was a means to quiet the troubles and tumults in the Kingdom, than for any particular liking of it; having already an intent to reconcile himself with the Church. Which inclination of his being known to many, by means of his near Counsellors of late disposed to serve secretly the Catholick party, it gave courage to the Legate and the Spanish Ambassador, to enter into their proposed Treaty.

But to accompany the Spiritual Considerations with profit, and Temporal Interests; they jointly proposed, that repudiating Queen *Jane* his wife with a Dispensation from the Pope, by reason she was manifestly tainted with Heresie, the *Guises* should obtain for him the Queen of *Scotland* their Neece, widow to *Francis* the second; who, besides her youth and excellent beauty, brought with her a Kingdom. But seeing that, through love to her children, he consented not to the Divorce, they went about to introduce that Treaty so often proved vain, to give him with certain Conditions the Isle of *Sardinia* for *Navarre*; knowing, that it was the trial, which, as it touched nearest, would work most inwardly with him. And although the hopes thereof were almost quite lost; yet the Treaty being never absolutely broke off, the Ambassador *Mauriquez* with the wonted arts began so effectually to revive the thoughts and belief of it, that he was soon raised to new hopes. For, besides the ordinary assurances of the Catholick Kings affection, they were gone so far, that they already treated the manner of the change, and the quality of the Tribute that in acknowledgment of superiority he should pay to the Crown of *Spain*: seriously disputing upon the Capitulations and Articles of Agreement, as if the Treaty were meant really to be effected.

Propositions
to exchange
Navarre for
Sardinia.

That which furthered the Catholicks design, was his natural inclination, by which he was disposed to plain honest counsels. It availed them, that he began to discover the passions and interests which were covered under the vail of Christian charity, and the cloke of Religion: besides, it conduced not a little to their ends, that he was entered into a suspicion, that the Admiral with his too much knowledge sought to arrogate to himself such an Authority, as to make the World believe he swayed and ruled his actions. But above all, the way was facilitated to perswade him, in that he saw the whole Faction made their addressees to the Prince of *Conde*, admiring and exalting the boldness, generosity and promptness which he shewed; and on the contrary, despised his facility and too much mildness. He was moved with one Consideration more of exceeding great consequence; seeing the King of *France* and his Brothers were in an age unable to have Children, by nature of a weak complexion, of little heat, and subject to dangerous indispositions; he was not altogether without hope, but that in a short time he might attain to the Crown, which as first of the Blood belonged to him. In which case he knew, that to be a favourer and Head of the Hugonots, would be a great obstacle unto him; and almost an invincible impediment. Wherefore desiring to remove all such contrarieties as might hinder him in that pretence, he inclined to join himself with the Catholick party, and to gain the Popes favour and the King of *Spain*, together with the forces of the best united and most powerful Faction. To all these respects being added the effectual promises and lively perswasions of the Legate, and the Ambassador *Mauriquez*, and growing suspicious of his Wives counsels; as given without measure to *Calvins* opinions, and naturally an enemy to thoughts of peace; he resolved finally to enter into a league with the Constable and the Duke of *Guise*, professing by their speeches, and declaring in writing that they were confederated for the defence of the Catholick Religion. But the truth was in effect besides those Considerations, the King of *Navarre* left that party in which he knew he was inferior to his Brother, to join himself with this, which sed him with many great hopes. Likewise the *Guises* were moved with desire of rising again to their former reputation and greatness.

The union of
the King of
Navarre with
the Duke of
Guise and the
Constable,
which the Hu-
gonots called
the *Triumvirate*.

This was the Union which taught the French Subjects without their Kings consent to enter into any combinations; and which with so many execrations and maledictions, was by the Hugonots, in respect of the three chief Confederates, called the *Triumvirat*.

Queen *Jane* was incredibly displeased at this so unexpected deliberation of her Husband; and, not able to indure to see him a principal Persecutor of that Religion which she constantly professed, and into which she conceived she had not only perswaded, but absolutely confirmed him; through disdain thereof, she resolved to leave the Court; and thereupon carrying with her Prince *Henry* and the Princess *Catherine* her children; whom she brought up in the *Calvinists* Religion, she retired into *Bearne*; being deter-
mined

mined to separate her self from the counsels and conversation of her Husband. But if Queen *Jane* were greatly afflicted at so sudden and almost incredible a change, the Queen Regent was no less terrified; who, seeing with this union her designs destroyed, of balancing the Factions, and that equality so unequally broken, in which consisted (with such jealousy and discontent of the Princes) the security of the State, began greatly to fear the ruine both of her Sons Kingdom, and her own greatness: conceiving, that these reciprocal changes, and this uniting of interests so wholly different, could not be without some hidden design of great attempts, and a foundation of high hopes.

1562.

She knew the *Guises* had already discovered her arts, and that full of desire and pretensions, they sought by all manner of ways possible to attain to the Government. It appeared to her, that the King of *Navarre* would not have been induced to leave the friendship of his Brother and his other adherents, to unite himself with those who had been his bitter enemies, without great reward for such a lightness. She well knew what power Ambition and the thirst of Rule had over the minds of men, though never so just; and looking round about her, she discovered her own weakness, and the crasse uncertain condition of her young Sons. In which Consideration, neither believing, nor relying any longer upon the sincerity of the King of *Navarre*, nor the professions the Catholics made, that they would not innovate any thing in the State, being full of fears and jealousies, she saw not where securely to rest her thoughts. Inasmuch as in the long watchings and frequent consultations which she held with her Confidants, amongst whom the principal were the Bishop of *Valence*, and the Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, at length she concluded (being advised by them, and what more imported, being forced by necessity) to make a league with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and fomenting their designs, make her self a Buckler of their Forces; by this means, equalling and counterpoising as much as was possible, the power of the Factions: this reason prevailing among many other, that even God in the Government of the World oftentimes draws good from evil; and since the Hugonots had till then been the cause of so much care and trouble, it was but reasonable to make use of them for the present, as an antidote to cure those evils which with their venom were like to infect the most noble and most essential parts of the Kingdom.

Queen *Catherine* in opposition to the *Triumvirs* joins with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral.

The Hugonots, by the publication of the Edict of *January*, being free from the fear of punishment, had already begun to take strength and vigour; and assembling themselves publicly upon all occasions, it appeared that their number was great and considerable, not only for the quantity, but also for the quality of the persons; inasmuch as their force was not contemptible. The Prince of *Conde* took upon him openly to be the Head of them, who, though in appearance reconciled by the Kings command with the *Guises*, persevered firmly in his former designs, and burnt impatiently with desire to revenge his past affronts upon those that were his chief persecutors. His power and boldness was moderated by the wise counsel of the Admiral of *Chastillon*; who, through desire of Rule, was together with his Brothers, more straightly united with the Hugonot party. Their Authority led after them, being of the same Faith, the Prince of *Porcien*, the Count *de la Rochefoucault*, Messieurs *de Genlis*, *de Grammont*, and *Duras*, the Count of *Montgomery*, the Baron *des Adrets*, Messieurs *de Bauchavane*, and *Soubize*, and many other the principal in the Kingdom; in such manner, that upon every little heat that they received from those who governed, they presently put themselves into a posture of defence, and boldly opposed the contrary Faction.

Wherefore the Queen being forced to take hold of the opportunity of this conjuncture for her own defence and her Sons, and being reduced into necessity to imbrace for the present any whatsoever dangerous party, leaving the issue thereof to future occurrences, began to feign that she was moved with the Doctrine and reasons of the Hugonots, and inclined to entertain their Religion. To confirm them in which opinion as much as she could with outward testimonies, she would often hear their Preachers argue and discourse in her own Chamber, confer with great confidence and professions of affection with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and was often in discourse with the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, whom (making her believe whatsoever she pleased with her excellent dissimulation) she used as a means to entertain with hopes many other the principal of them. And to lead them on with open demonstrations to a belief of her private protestations and practices, she wrote obscure letters of ambiguous sense to the Pope, one while demanding a Council, such in every point as the

The Queen feigning an inclination to the Hugonots Religion.

1562. the *Calvinists* desired; then licence to call a National one; sometimes desiring that the Communion might be administred under both Species; otherwhile requiring a dispensation for Priests to marry; now soliciting that Divine Service might be said in the vulgar tongue; then proposing other such like things wished for and preached by the Hugonots; in which she knew so well how to dissemble, by the help of Monsieur de *L'Isle* Ambassador at Rome, that putting the Pope in doubt, and the Catholick party, and so necessitating them to proceed warily, lest they should finally alienate her wholly from the Roman Religion: at the same time she won the Hugonots, making them believe that she was altogether inclined to favour them, that of bitter enemies they became her greatest friends and confidents.

Nor were the vulgar only deluded by these artificial dissimulations, but the Admiral also, who was by nature so wary, and of such a subtle wit, gave such credit to them, that he was induced to give the Queen a full account of the number of the forces and designs of his Faction, of the adherents they had both within and without the Kingdom, and every other particular; She seeming desirous to be informed at large, before she declared her self; and promising openly to take that party, when they were once so established and provided with force, as she should not need to fear the power of the Catholicks, or the *Triumvirat*.

Thus with a sudden, and in apparence incredible change, the King of *Navarre* went over to the Catholick party; and Queen *Catherine*, though dissemblingly, took upon her the protection of the Hugonots. Which change, to them that knew not the true secret reasons of it, appeared strange and extravagant, and therefore many did then attribute it to lightness in the one, and womanish inconstancy in the other; and many that have written since, ascribe the fault also to the same causes, not penetrating into the hidden foundations upon which the engines of this counsel were moved.

The End of the Second BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The THIRD BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THe Third Book relates the Deliberation of the King of Navarre to drive the Prince of Conde (already become formidable) out of Paris; for this purpose he sends for the other Catholick Lords to Court. The Duke of Guise makes a Journey thither, and passing by Vassy, lights upon an Assembly of Hugonots at their devotions; thereupon follows accidentally a bloody conflict; to revenge themselves of which, the Hugonots rise in all parts of the Kingdom. The Prince of Conde leaves Paris: The Queen, together with the King, because she would not be constrained to declare her self for either party, retires to Fountain-bleau: On the other side, the Princes of each Faction endeavour to possess themselves of the persons of the King and Queen; The Catholicks prevent the Hugonots; and lead them both to Paris. The Prince of Conde, having lost his opportunity, takes other resolutions; possesses himself of Orleans, and prepares for the War. The Catholick Lords under the Kings Name likewise raise an Army. Many Writings are published on each side. Both Armies go into the Field. The Queen-Mother avoids the War, and labours for a Peace: To this end she comes to a parley with the Prince, but without success; notwithstanding she continues to treat of an Agreement, which at length is concluded. The Prince by the perswasion of the rest, repents himself thereof, and again takes arms: purposeth to assail the Kings Camp by night, but fails of his design. Forces come to the King out of Germany, and many thousands of Swisses: thereupon the Prince is forced to retire unto the Walls of Orleans; where not being able to keep the Army together, he divides it. He sends for succours into Germany and England: consents to give Havre de Grace to the English, and to receive their Garisons in Deipe and Rouen, to obtain aids of them. The Queen is offended, and grievously afflicted therewith, and for that cause joyning with the Catholick party, causeth the Hugonots to be declar'd Rebels. The Kings Army takes Blois, Tours, Poictiers and Bourges; besiegeth Rouen and takes

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takes it : The King of Navarre is kill'd there. Succours come to the Prince out of Germany, with which being reinforced, he makes haste to assault Paris: The King and the Queen arrive there with the Army; wherefore after many attempts, he is necessitated to depart. Both Armies go into Normandy, and there follows the Battel of Dreux; in which the Prince of Conde is taken prisoner on the one side, and the Constable on the other: The Duke of Guise being victorious, layeth siege to Orleans, and is ready to take it, but is treacherously slain by Poltrot. After his death follows the general Peace, and the Kings Army recovers Havre de Grace from the English. The King cometh out of his minority; The Queen useth divers arts to work the discontented Princes to her will; and to compass her ends, together with the King, makes a general vilitation of the Kingdom; cometh to a parley at Avignon with the Popes Ministers, and at Bayonne with the Queen of Spain. It is agreed between the most Christian and Catholick King, to aid each other in the suppression of seditions. The Queen of Navarre cometh to the Court. The King maketh a reconciliation between the Families of Chastillon and Guise; but within few days after, they return to their former enimities. The Queen of Navarre in distaste leaves the Court, and plots new mischiefs. Divers Marriages are celebrated, but the civil dissensions nevertheless continue.



Affairs of the State being thus on the sudden put into another posture, there were none so short-sighted who did not clearly perceive that the animosity of the Factions would finally shew it self in a War; and that there wanted nothing to make this cloud break into a storm, but the conjuncture of some fit occasion. Which (as if all things had concurred to hasten the calamity of France) did forthwith arise from a marvellous opportunity.

The King of Navarre, after he had declared himself of the Catholick party, stayed, as by chance, in Paris; which City, as it is placed in the middle of France, so in frequency of people, riches, dignity, and power, far surpasseth all others in the Kingdom. Wherefore believing that the rest would follow the example which that should give, he endeavoured very solicitously, as was agreeable to the natural inclination of the inhabitants, to hinder there the preachings and assemblies of the Hugonots; and in all his other actions of the Government, having still a regard to that end, he hoped with the benefit of time, by degrees to take away their credit and force; and lastly, their liberty of Religion; which maintained in being, and gave increase to that party.

The Prince of Conde was likewise in Paris; who on the contrary, encouraging the Preachers, and enlarging as much as he could their license and liberty, under colour of making the Edict of January to be observed, arrogated to himself (more by force than reason) a great authority in all the affairs of State.

It appeared necessary to the King of Navarre, by some means or other to make the Prince of Conde leave Paris. For already, either the desire of peace, or the envy that he bore him, had rendred him exceeding violent against him; and Reason perswaded to preserve that City from tumults and seditions upon which the Catholick party chiefly relied; but knowing his own forces were not sufficient, or willing to communicate this resolution with the other Confederates before any thing were put in execution, he sent for the Duke of Guise and the Constable, that they might unite all their forces in the same place.

The Duke of Guise, after he retired from Court, dwelt at Jαινville, a place of his own, upon the confines of Champagne and Picardy; and having received advice from the King of Navarre, being accompanied with the Cardinal his Brother, with a train of many Gentlemen his dependants, and two Squadrons of Lances for Guard, was upon the way to be at Paris at the time appointed. But the first day of March in the morning passing thorow a little Village in the same confines called Vassy, his people heard an unusual noise of Bells; and having asked what was the reason of it, answer was made, That it was the hour wherein the Hugonots used to assemble at their Sermons.

mons. The Pages and Lacqueys of the Duke that went before the rest of the company, moved with the novelty of the thing, and a curiosity to see, (for then those Congregations began first to be kept in publick) with jesting speeches, and a tumult proper to such kind of people, went towards the place where the Hugonots were assembled at their devotion; who understanding that the Duke of *Guis* was there, one of their chief persecutors, and seeing a great troop come directly towards them, fearing some affront, or else indeed incensed with the words of derision and contempt which the rudeness of those people used against them, without any further consideration, presently fell to gather up stones, and began to drive back those that advanced first towards the place of their assembly. By which injury the Catholick party being incensed, (who came thither without intent of doing them harm) with no less inconsideration betaking themselves to their Arms, there began a dangerous scuffle amongst them. The Duke, perceiving the uproar, and desiring to remedy it, setting spurs to his horse, without any regard put himself into the midst of them; where, whilst he reprehended his own people, and exhorted the Hugonots to retire, he was hit with a blow of a stone upon the left cheek, by which, though lightly hurt, yet by reason he bled much, being forced to withdraw himself out of the hurly-burly, his followers, impatient of such an indignity done to their Lord, presently betook themselves to their Fire-arms, and violently assailing the house where the Hugonots retired to secure themselves, killed above sixty of them, and grievously wounded the Minister; who climbing over the tyles, saved himself in some of the adjoining houses. The tumult ended, the Duke of *Guis* called for the Officer of the place, and began sharply to reprehend him for suffering such a pernicious license to the prejudice of passengers; and he, excusing himself, that he could not hinder it, by reason of the Edict of *January*, which tolerated the publick Assemblies of the Hugonots. The Duke no less offended at his answer than at the thing it self, laying his hand upon his Sword, replied in choler, *This shall soon cut the bond of that Edict, though never so binding.* From which words, spoken in the heat of anger, and not forgotten by those that were present, many afterwards concluded, that he was the author and contriver of the ensuing War.

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In a conflict between the Duke of *Guis* his servants and the Hugonots, the Duke is hurt with a stone.

A saying of the Duke of *Guis* which made him thought the author of the ensuing War.

But the Hugonots, exceedingly incensed by this chance, and being no longer able to keep themselves within the limits of patience, not contented with what they had done formerly, both in *Paris* (where killing divers men, they fired the Church of *S. Medard*) and in other Cities all over the Kingdom, now full of malice and rage, stirred up such horrible tumults and bloody seditions, that, besides the slaughter of men in many places, the Monasteries were spoiled, Images thrown down, the Altars broken, and the Churches brutishly polluted. By which actions every body being much incensed, and the people in all places running headlong to take Arms, the Heads of the Factions upon the same occasion went about gathering forces, and preparing themselves for a manifest War.

But the Lords of both parties saw plainly, that in the state things were then in, they could not take Arms without running into an open Rebellion; there being no pretext or apparent colour that covered with the shew of Justice the raising of Arms: for the Catholick party could not oppose the Edict of *January* without apparently contradicting an Act of Council, and trespassing against the Royal Power by which the Edict was authorized: and on the other side, the Hugonots having the Liberty of Conscience given them which was appointed by the Edict of *January*, had no just cause to stir. Wherefore each Faction desired to draw the King to their party, and seizing upon his person, by abolishing the Edict, or interpreting it under his Name according to their own sense, to make a shew of having the right on their sides; and the contrary party by opposing the Kings will, and resisting him in person, to run into an actual Rebellion.

The Queen-Mother, very well knowing these designs, and desiring as much as was possible to preserve her own liberty and her Sons, continued her wonted artifices so to balance the power of the great ones, that by their tyranny they might not prejudice the security of the State; and having left *Paris*, that she might not be constrained by either Faction, she went to *Fountain-bleau*, a house of pleasure belonging to the Kings of *France*; which being a free open place, she conceived she could not be forced to declare her self, and hoped by doubtful speeches and ambiguous promises to maintain her credit with both parties. Where she gave assurances to the Prince of *Conde* and

1562. the Lords of *Castillon*, (who being inferior in strength to the Catholics, were gone out of *Paris* to arm themselves) that she would join with them as soon as she saw they had assembled such a force as might be sufficient to resist the power of their Adversaries. And on the other side, she made protestations to the King of *Navarre*, the Constable, and the Duke of *Guise*, that she would never forsake the Catholic party; nor ever consent to the establishment of the Hugonots further, than granting them a moderate liberty, such as by the advice of persons well affected should be thought necessary for the quiet of the State. Her Letters concerning this business were no less ambiguous than her words; nor did she declare her self more openly abroad to foreign Princes, than at home within her own Kingdom: but often changing the tenour of her discourse, and varying the instructions she gave to Ambassadors in other Courts, and particularly to Monsieur de *F. Ise* who resided in *Rome*, sometimes restraining them, other while giving them a larger scope, so confounded the understandings of all men, that they could not conclude any thing.

But now she began to have a hard task. For the heads of both parties were grown by experience to be no less their Crafts-masters than her self; and in such a long time that she had held the Regency, they had had the commodity to discern and understand her arts; besides now that the King began to grow of age, she was necessitated to cut off those delays which she formerly used; many things being in appearance just, which when He should come to years to govern of himself, depended absolutely upon his judgment and arbitrement; which none could oppose without manifest delinquency of Felony; whereas at the present every one might pretend that they did not withstand the Kings will, but the wicked pernicious counsels of his Ministers.

The Duke of *Guise*, who being of a more violent disposition and resolute nature than the rest, absolutely swayed the resolutions of his party, having already drawn to his opinion the Constable and the King of *Navarre*, perswaded them that going presently together to Court, they should bring the King and the Queen-Mother to *Paris*, and afterwards make them confirm such Determinations and Edicts as seemed necessary for the present times; and not by expecting, run the hazard of being prevented, or suffer their Adversaries to seize first upon the Kings person, and so invest themselves with the authority of his Name.

The Prince of *Condé* had the same intention; who when he left *Paris*, retired first to *Meaux*, a Town in *Brie*, ten leagues distant from thence; and then to *la Ferte*, a place of his own; there to assemble his Forces. To this resolution he was advised by the Admiral, invited by the promises of the Queen-Mother, and perhaps further induced by the design of the Catholics, which was not concealed from him, (as for the most part in civil dissensions, through the infidelity of Counsellors and frequency of spies; it is very easie to penetrate into the very thoughts of the Enemy.) But the Catholic Lords with their ordinary followers were sufficient to manage this design; besides, they were near to *Paris*, which depending absolutely upon their wills, afforded strength and commodity to effect it: Whereas on the other side, the Prince of *Condé* being far weaker than they, and but few of his men armed, he was forced to expect the other Lords and Gentlemen of his party; who being sent for from divers Provinces of the Kingdom, were not speedily to be brought together.

In the mean while the Catholics prevented them, and on a sudden appeared in great numbers at the Court. Yet the Queen, nothing dismayed at their so unexpected coming, though doubtful that her former arts would no longer prevail, began to perswade the King of *Navarre*, that the Princes and other Lords that came with him should presently withdraw themselves from about the Court, that every one plainly perceived the cause of their coming; which was, to force her being unarmed, and the King yet in minority, to order things in the State according to their humours, and to accommodate publick affairs to passions and private Interests; which was not only far from the loyalty and integrity they professed, but absolutely contrary to the peace and safety of the Kingdom, which they pretended only to desire. For to seek new Edicts and new Institutions different from those which were already enacted, was no less than to arm the Hugonots; who, bold enough of themselves, and ready for Insurrections, would believe and publish to all the World, that they had reason on their side, if without any cause that Edict should be recalled, which by a general consent was confirmed and established. That it was expedient, whilst the King was under age, to avoid the necessity of a War, and the troubles and inconveniencies that accompanied it, lest besides

besides the universal prejudice, a greater brand of infamy might be fixed upon them who held the greatest authority in the Government. That she for this reason consented to the Edict of *January*; for this cause left *Paris*; to take away all manner of pretence and opportunity for that mischief to break out, which secretly crept up; and that to return to a place suspected, and to disturb the Edict already published, would be openly to foment the violence of it. Withal, she put the King of *Navarre* in mind, and the other Catholick Princes, that to raise Civil Wars was only proper to those who were either of unsettled or desperate fortunes: and not for such who, possessing riches, dignities, estates and honours, lived in a flourishing eminent condition. That the King of *Navarre* should enjoy the principal Command of the whole Kingdom, which already without contradiction he was possessed of; the other Princes should enjoy their estates, greatness and dignities; and should comply with the people, that by enjoying, or believing they enjoyed a borrowed and momentary liberty, they might suffer the King without War to accomplish the age of his majority. That nothing had been done which was not forced by an absolute necessity; That only was given, which could not be sold; and that liberty granted to the Hugonots, which of their own power they arrogated to themselves. And therefore the Catholick Princes should have patience, that this so frantick humour might be overcome with art and dexterity; and not wilfully be an occasion, by anticipating the remedies before the time the King came of age, to anticipate likewise the disease; which would carry along with it many adverse revolutions and dangerous accidents: and if they were positively resolved to regulate the Edict, that it was to be done insensibly, and with opportunity of times and occasions, and not with such open violence, which would afford that commodity to the seditious, which they themselves desired and sought after.

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Persons of desperate fortunes, the incendiaries of Civil Wars.

These reasons effectually expressed and reiterated, would have moved the King of *Navarre*, and perhaps the Constable also, if the Duke of *Guise* had consented thereunto. But he having settled his hopes, not only to recover, but enlarge his former greatness by the fortune of the war; and desirous, as ancient Protector and Head of the Catholick party, that those things resolved upon without his consent should by any means whatsoever be disturbed, and the honour of disturbing them redound apparently upon himself; he peremptorily opposed all the Queens arguments; shewing, that they should at the same time lose their credit and reputation, when they suffered themselves to be so easily deluded by a woman, who did all with a design to throw her self into the arms of the contrary party; if fondly giving credit to her words, they should so easily be persuaded to depart from the Court; that it would too much prejudice the justice of their cause, if it should appear by their own confession, that the end of their coming was not for the publick good or preservation of the Royal Authority, but through private passions, and particular interests; and that through an inward guilt, they had not pursued those intentions which they purposed to effect. That they ought not; by the artificial persuasions of the Queen, to be diverted from a deliberation so maturely weighed, and unanimously resolved upon; nor to satisfy her will, suffer those things to be laid aside which were dictated by Reason, prescribed by Justice, and commanded by Religion; the preservation and respect of which had chiefly brought them thither: But howsoever, it was no longer seasonable to defer or spend time in discourses: The Prince of *Conde* with an armed power was already at hand, the Hugonots had already joyned their forces; who without doubt would carry the King along with them, if they did not first take order for his security. And therefore this being a business not to be determined by persuasions, it was necessary to use force, and carrying away the King, leave the Queen to take that party which pleased her best. For having with them the person of the lawful King, and the first Prince of the Blood, to whom the Government naturally belonged, they needed little to regard what she should do with her self. And it was true, that the Prince of *Conde*, joyned with the Lords of *Chastillon*, and the rest of his adherents, already drew near to the Court. Wherefore the Constable and the King of *Navarre* being confirmed by these reasons, and seeing it was necessary to break off all treaties and delays, gave the Queen personally to understand, that she must instantly resolve; for they had determined, whatever hapned, to carry the King and his Brothers with them to *Paris*, lest they should fall into the hands of the Hugonots, who, (as they had advertisement) were not far off; that it was not fit for them to leave their lawful Prince a prey to Hereticks, who desired nothing more than to have him a prisoner, that they might under

1562. his name subvert the foundations of the Kingdom: That there was now no time to be lost, nor means to put it off; that they would dispose of the King as their allegiance and the common good required. For what concerned her self, that they would not determine any thing, but, as it was their duty, leave her free to do what she pleased.

The Queen is forced to declare her self for the Catholicks, and at the same time maintains hopes in the Hugonots.

Though this intimation were peremptory and sudden, yet the Queen was not at all surpris'd therewith, having long foreseen it, and designed what in such a case would be fittest to do. Wherefore being necessitated to declare her self, though it were against her will, and she foresaw War would quickly ensue thereupon; she would not by any means separate her self from the Catholick party; not only because reason and justice so advised, but because she likewise conceived, that both her own safety and her Sons depended upon their strength. So that with her wonted vivacity of courage presently resolving, she returned answer to the King of Navarre and the Constable; That she was no less a Catholick, nor less sollicitous of the general good of that Religion, than any other whatsoever; that for this time she would rather believe the counsel of others, than her own judgment; and since all agreed that it was best to go, she was ready to satisfy them. And so without any other reply, she presently put her self in a readiness to depart: notwithstanding, at the same time she dispatched Letters to the Prince of Conde, lamenting that she could not discharge the promise she had made to put both the Kings Person and her own into their hands; for the Catholicks coming first, had carried them by force to Paris; but that they should not lose their courage, neglect their care for the preservation of the Crown, nor suffer their enemies to arrogate to themselves the absolute power in the Government. So being mounted on horseback with the King and her other Sons, and compassed about with the Catholick Lords, who omitted no observance or demonstrations of honour that might appease her, they went that night to Melun, the next day to the Bois de Vincennes, and with the same speed the morning after to Paris.

Charles the IX. wept at his restraint.

It is most certain, that the young King was seen that day by many to weep, being perswaded that the Catholick Lords restrained him of his liberty; and that the Queen-Mother being discontented that her wonted arts prevailed not, and foreseeing the mischiefs of the future War, seemed perplexed in mind, and spoke not a word to any body; of which the Duke of Guise making little account, was heard to say publicly, *That the good is always good, whether it proceed from love or force.* But the Prince of Conde having received this news upon the way, and finding that he was either prevented by the Catholicks, or deluded by the Queen, he presently stopt his horse, and stood still a good while, doubtful what resolution to take; all those future troubles that were like to ensue representing themselves before him with a face of terrour. But the Admiral, who was somewhat behind, overtaking him, they conferred a little together, and after a deep sigh, the Prince said, *We are gone so far forward, that we must either drink or be drowned;* and without any further dispute, taking another way, he went with great speed towards Orleans, which he had formerly designed to possess himself of.

Orleans is one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom, some thirty leagues distant from Paris, of a large compass, abundance in provision, commodious for buildings, and very populous; which being in the Province of Beausse, stands as it were the Marvel of the Kingdom, upon the River of Loire, anciently called Ligeris, a great Navigable River; which passing thorow many Provinces, at length runs into the British Sea. This City, by reason of the Navigation, the fertility of the Soil, the eminency of it, and the mutual commerce it had with many other places, seemed to the Prince very convenient for a standing quarter, and to oppose against Paris, by making it the principal seat for their Faction. For which reasons having many months before cast his thoughts upon it, he had taken pains to hold secret intelligence with some of the Citizens which were of Calvins Religion, and by their means to raise a great party of the youth, who were of unquiet spirits, factious, and inclined to a desire of Novelties. So that the disposition of the Inhabitants answering the instigation of the complices, already a great part of the people were willing to take Arms. And that things might be done in due order, the Prince had the day before sent Monsieur de Andelotte to the City, who entering therein secretly, (at the same time that the Prince seized upon the Court) should endeavour likewise to make himself Master of the Town. But though it so fell out, that the Prince could not arrive at Court;

Andelotte

Andelotte not knowing what had happened, armed three hundred of his followers, and at the day appointed suddenly seized on *S. John's Gate*. Upon which accident *Monsieur de Montereau*, Governour of the City, getting together some few men of *Monsieur de Sipierrres* company, who by chance were then thereabouts, very hotly assailed the Conspirators, with no little hope that they should be able to drive them away, and recover the entrance of the Gate, where they had not had time enough to fortifie themselves; so that joyning in a bloody fight, after a conflict of many hours, *Andelotte* at length began to yield to the multitude of the Catholicks, who ran thither armed from all the parts of the Town, and had surely received an affront, if he had not been opportunely assisted by an unexpected succour. For the Prince of *Conde*, not finding the Court at *Fountain-bleau*, and therefore desisting from his voyage, returned much sooner than he thought, and marching with great diligence, approached near to *Orleans* at the same time that the fight began; and knowing it to be very violent by the continual shot and incessant ringing of Bells, which might be heard many miles off, he presently galloped with all his Cavalry towards the City to succour his Confederates, who were already in great danger of being defeated.

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They were more than three thousand horse, and ran headlong with such fury, that the peasants, though astonished with the unusual spectacle of civil arms, in the midst of their fright and wonder could not forbear to laugh, seeing here a horse fall, there a man tumbled over, and nevertheless without regarding any accident, run furiously one over another as fast as their horses could go, upon a design which no body knew but themselves. But this haste, so ridiculous to the Spectators, had very good success to the Princes intentions. For coming with such a powerful succour, and in so fit an opportunity of time, the Governour being driven away, and those that resisted suppressed; at last the Town, which was of exceeding consequence, was reduced into his power, and by the Authority of the Commanders preserved from pillage. But the Churches escaped not the fury of the Hugonot-Souldiers, who with brutish examples of barbarous savageness, laid them all waste and desolate.

Thus the Prince having taken *Orleans*, and made it the seat of his Faction, he began to think upon War. And first having appointed a Council of the principal Lords and Commanders, he advised with them of the means to draw as many Towns and Provinces to his Party as was possible, and to get together such a sum of money as might defray the expences, which at the beginning of a War are ever very great.

Orleans made the seat of the Hugonot Faction.

The Catholick party were intent upon the same ends; who being come to *Paris* with the young King and the Queen, held frequent consultations how best to order the affairs for their own advantage: in which Councils the Duke of *Guise* openly declared, that he thought it most expedient to proceed to a War with the Hugonots, so to extinguish the fire before it burst out into a consuming flame, and to take away the roots of that growing evil. On the contrary, the Chancellor de l'*Hospital*, secretly set on by the Queen, proposing many difficulties, and raising doubts and impediments upon every thing, perswaded an agreement; by which both parties absented themselves from the Court, the power of the Government should be left free and quiet to the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. But being sharply reproved by the Constable, and after the news of the revolt of *Orleans*, injuriously treated, under pretence of being a Gown-man, he was excluded from the Council, that was now called the Council of War; by which means also a principal instrument was taken from the Queen, who having no power left in that Council, for there were newly admitted to it *Claude Marquess de Boissy*, *Honore Marquess Villars*, *Louis de Lansac*, *Monsieur de Cars*, the Bishop of *Auxerre*, the Sieurs de *Maugiron*, and *la Brosse*, (who all absolutely depended upon the Constable and the *Guises*) every thing on that side likewise tended to the raising of Arms.

At the first (as it ever falleth out) their pens were more active than their swords. For the Prince of *Conde* and his adherents, willing to justify in writing the cause of their taking Arms, published certain Manifests and Letters in print, directed to the King, the Court of Parliament in *Paris*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and to other Christian Princes; in which very largely, but no less artificially dilating themselves, they concluded, that they had taken Arms to set the King at liberty, and the Queen his Mother, who by the Tyrannical power of the Catholick Lords were kept prisoners; and to cause obedience to be rendered in all parts of the Kingdom to his Majesties

The Prince of *Conde's* Manifest.

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The Parliament of *Paris* Answer to the Princes Manifest.

The Parliament at *Paris* answered their Manifest, and the Letters, shewing, that the pretence was vain, by which they sought to justify their taking of Arms, which they had immediately raised against the Kings Person and his Royal Authority: for so far was the King or the Queen his Mother from being deprived of liberty, or retained in prison by the Constable and the *Guises*, that on the contrary they were in the capital City of the Kingdom, where the chief Parliament resided; and in which commanded as Governour *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Brother to the Prince of *Conde*, and one of the Princes of the Blood. That the King of *Navarre*, Brother also to the same Prince of *Conde*, held the chief place in the Government, and the Queen-Mother the charge of the Regency; both chosen by the Council, according to the ancient custom, and confirmed by the consent of the States-General of the Kingdom: that every day they assembled the Council composed of eminent persons to consult of fit remedies for the present evils; that the Edict of *January* was intirely observed with full Liberty of Conscience to those of the pretended reformed Religion, (notwithstanding it depended wholly upon the Kings will to call in those Edicts whensoever he should think fit, especially that of *January*, made by way of provision, and which was accepted by the Parliaments only for a time;) That the Hugonots had of themselves violated the Edict made in their favour; because, contrary to the form thereof, they went to their assemblies armed, without the assistance of the Kings Officers, conditions expressly mentioned in the same. And besides this rashness, they were likewise so bold, as in all places to raise tumults, and commit disorders and slaughters. Wherefore their rebellion could not be excused with so slight a pretence, seeing many Towns were openly seized upon, Souldiers raised, the Munition consumed, Artillery-cast, Moneys coyned, the publick Revenues spent, Churches thrown down, the Monasteries laid desolate, and infinite other proceedings, no way agreeing to the Duty of Subjects, but express acts of Felony and Rebellion. Wherefore they exhorted the Prince of *Conde*, that following the example of his Ancestors, he should return to the King, abandoning the society of Hereticks and factious persons, and not so cruelly wound the bosom of his own Country; the welfare whereof, as Prince of the Blood, he was obliged to maintain with the hazard of his own person, even to the last period of his life.

The Constable likewise and the *Guises* made an Answer in their own behalf; and after a long narration of the services they had done to the Crown, concluded, that they were ready not only to depart from the Court, but to enter into a voluntary exile, upon condition that the Arms taken up against his Majesty might be laid down, the places kept against him delivered up, the Churches that were ruined restored, the Catholick Religion preserved, and an intire obedience rendred to the lawful King under the Government of the King of *Navarre*, and the Regency of the Queen-Mother.

The Answer of the King and Queen.

After which Declarations past on both sides, the King and the Queen together, by the advice of the Council, made another Answer to the Prince of *Conde*, and caused it to be divulged in print, in which they avowed, That they were in full liberty, and that they had voluntarily removed the Court to *Paris*, to remain there in great security, and to advise with the Officers of the Crown, how to remedy the present disorders: That they were ready to continue the observation of the Edict of *January*, and to see it should be intirely kept, until such time as the King came of Age: And since the Catholick Princes, whose loyalty and vertue was sufficiently known to all *France*, were contented to retire themselves from Court: That the Prince of *Conde* nor his Adherents had any manner of excuse longer to keep at such a distance, and in Arms, but that they ought presently to put both themselves and the places they possessed into obedience of the King; which if they did, besides a pardon for what was past, they should be well lookt upon by their Majesties as good Subjects, and punctually maintained in all their priviledges and degrees.

Whilst

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Queen endeavoured to bring it so to pass, that both parties (to colour their proceedings, and not to seem to condemn themselves of any violence to the Kings person) should retire to their several charges, and leave the Government of the State to her and the King of Navarre; who being of a facile nature, was a fit instrument for the establishment of her Sons in the Kingdom. But after much Treating, and many Declarations on both sides, all was reduced to this point, That neither of them would be the first to disband their forces; and upon this cavil they made large Propositions in writing, without concluding any thing in fact.

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At the same time that these Manifests were published to the world, and every man busie about the Treaty, the Prince of Conde and the Admiral used means to draw all the greatest Towns, and those that lay most convenient for them, to their party. To which purpose, having scattered men of understanding and trust in the several Provinces, they with divers policies, by the assistance of the Hugonots, and other seditious persons which abounded in all parts of the Kingdom, easily made themselves Masters of the principal Cities, and other strong places of greatest consequence. With these practices revolted the City of *Rouen*, (the residence of the Parliament of *Normandy*) and in the same Province *Diepe* and *Havre de Grace*, situated upon the Ocean on that Coast that looks toward *England*. In *Poitou* and *Touraine*, with the like skill they got into their hands *Angiers*, *Blois*, *Poitiers*, *Tours*, and *Vendosme*. In *Dauphine*, *Valence*; and at last, after many attempts, the City of *Lyons* also; and in *Gascogne*, *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, where the Hugonots swarmed most; except *Bordeaux*, *Thoulonse*, and some other Fortresses, they had in a manner possessed themselves of all the Cities and walled Towns. By which Insurrections all *France* being in an uproar, and not only the Provinces, but private houses and families divided amongst themselves, there ensued such miserable accidents, that every place afforded spectacles of desolation, fire, rapine and bloodshed.

And because the Contributions they had from the Hugonots, (though they gave very largely) and their own private Revenues, with the pillage they had in those Towns that they took, was not sufficient to maintain the charge of the War; the Prince of Conde made all the Gold and Silver in the Churches to be brought to him, and coined it publicly into money, which was no little help to them. For the ancient piety of that Nation had in every place adorned the reliques, and filled the Temples with no small Treasure. Nor was their diligence less to provide Munition and Artillery. For in the Towns which they surpris'd, and particularly in *Tours*, having found a great quantity, they sent it to *Orleans* to supply their present occasions; where, having appointed the Convent of Franciscan Fryars for a Magazine, they kept there in very good order all the Stores and Provisions that they made with exceeding industry for the future.

The Prince of Conde coyns the Plate belonging to Churches.

But the Governours of the Kingdom having resolved and determined a War, with no less diligence brought the Catholick Army together near about *Paris*; where entering into consultation what they should do concerning the Edict of *January*, though there was some difference in their opinions, they all concluded it should be observed: partly, not more to sharpen the humours already too much stirred; and partly, not to add strength or colour to the Hugonots cause; who, whilst the Edict was maintained, had no manner of reasonable pretence to take Arms.

But because the People of *Paris* reverencing (as in the greatest troubles they have ever done) the Catholick Religion, instantly desired that no Congregations of the Hugonots might be permitted amongst them; First to take away an occasion of tumults and dangers in the principal City, which was the foundation of the Kings party, it being besides very indecent that where his Majesty remained in Person any other Religion should be exercised but that which he himself professed: These reasons laid together, they resolved the Edict of *January* in all things else remaining in force, to forbid the Hugonots to keep any Assemblies in the City of *Paris*, or the Precincts thereof; or in any other place where the Court resided, where none could live that were not conformable to the Rites of the Catholick Religion observed in the Roman Church.

An Edict published at the instance of the Parisians to forbid the Hugonot Assemblies in their City, or near the Court.

After the publication of this Decree, followed other Provisions in pursuance of the Civil and Military affairs. And the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who loved not to engage himself in troublesome businesses, having in these times of difficulty surrendred up the Government of *Paris*, they conferred it upon the Marshal of *Brissac*; that they might be

be

1562. be sure to have in the power of one they trusted the most potent City in all France; which alone gave more assistance to that party it favoured, than half the rest of the Kingdom could. They appointed other Commanders in divers other parts to withstand the attempts of the Hugonots; amongst which the principal were *Claude Duke of Aumale* in the Province of *Normady*; *Louis de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier* in *Touraine*; and in *Gascoigne*, *Blaise, Sieur de Monluc*, a man famous for wit and valour, and much more for experience in the War.

The Kings Army moves towards Orleans.

But having already a great power on foot, those who commanded in chief resolved to go directly towards *Orleans*, where the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral gathered their Forces, and not to give them longer time for the provisions that they made, but to endeavour to suppress them before they increased in strength or reputation. The Kings Army consisted of four thousand Horse, the chief Gentry in the Kingdom, and six thousand French Foot, all chosen men and old Souldiers; and the Swisses were expected, who being hired by the King, were already advanced to the confines of *Burgundy*. With this number of men, and a convenient train of Artillery, the Army moved towards *Orleans*, commanded by the King of *Navarre* with the Title of the Kings Lieutenant-General; but with the consent and authority of the Duke of *Guise* and the Constable, who for their experience and age had the chief credit in directing businesses of weight or consequence.

On the other side, the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, by whose advice all things were governed, having already assembled such a force as was able to encounter with the Kings Army, resolved to issue out of *Orleans*, and to take the field likewise; judging it the best way to uphold their reputation, which in all, but especially in Civil Wars, is always of great moment to maintain and encrease a Faction; there being an infinite number of men that follow the rumour of fame, and prosperity of fortune. Being marched forth into the field with three thousand Horse and seven thousand Foot, they quartered themselves in a place naturally strong, some four leagues distant from the City, just upon the great Road; that so they might cut off the Catholicks passage to the Town, and with greater facility have provisions brought them in from the Country about.

But whilst the Armies thus approached one another, the Queen was greatly troubled in mind to see things at last break out into a War, in which she doubted she should certainly remain a prey, whosoever obtained the Victory; believing that she could no more trust her self to one party, than be secure of the other. For though the Catholick Lords made shew of paying her a great respect, and seemed to promise, she should continue her wonted authority of Regent; she feared not without good ground, that the contrary party once suppressed, and the obstacle taken away that contained them within the bounds of reason, they would make but little accompt of a Papil King, or a woman that was a stranger, and prefer their own greatness before all other respects. And for the Prince of *Conde*, who, besides his restless disposition and vast thoughts that wholly swayed him, thought himself also injured and betrayed by her, she could by no means depend upon his support. Besides, the exaltation of the Hugonots she knew would absolutely subvert the State, and kindle such a lasting fire, that the miserable Country of *France* would never be able fully to recover the quiet it formerly enjoyed. Wherefore desiring a peace, and that things should remain in machination, and (as they call them) * *Brigues* of the Court, without breaking out into the violence of Arms, she endeavoured to promote propositions of accommodation by means of the Bishop of *Valence*; who at last, after many difficulties, concluded a parley between her and the Prince of *Conde*, in a place equally distant from both Armies; that by discoursing together they might find a means to secure and satisfy both parties. To which purpose the Queen, being come to the Catholick Camp, accompanied with the King of *Navarre* and Monsieur d'Anville the Constables Son, she advanced as far as *Toury*, (a place about ten leagues from *Orleans*) whither came the Prince of *Conde* with the Admiral and the Cardinal his Brother, who called himself Count de *Beauvais*, (of which place he held the Bishoprick though he had changed his Religion.) Where meeting altogether in an open Campaigne which on every side extended as far as they could discern, the Prince and the Queen withdrew themselves from the company, and discoursed very long together; but what passed between them was unknown; only it is certain, that they parted without concluding any thing; and each of them retired to their own company in great haste. This meeting satisfied those who doubted it, that the

* *Brigues* a French word signifying factions, or contentions.

The Cardinal of *basillon* changing his Religion, called himself Count of *Beauvais*. The Parley between the Queen-Mother and the Prince of *Conde*.

the Queen only dissembling with the Hugonots for her own ends, would not in any wise forsake the Catholicks. For she was there in such a place, that she might have gone away with the Prince if she had pleas'd; who perhaps came to the parley principally through such a hope.

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Now the Prince being returned to his Army, (as if he had received courage from the Treaty he had with the Queen, or else to encrease the jealousies which the Catholicks generally had of her) propos'd much higher Conditions than formerly, and so exorbitant, that they mov'd a disdain even in the King himself, though yet in such an age that he refer'd all things to the arbitrement of his Council. For he demand'd, That the *Guises* and the Constable should depart out of the Kingdom; That the Hugonots might return again to live in the Cities, and have Churches publicly appointed them; That all the Edicts should be nullified that were made since the Duke of *Guise* returned to the Court; That he might hold the Towns he was possess'd of, till the King was out of his minority, and command in them as free absolute Lord; That the Popes Legat should be commanded to leave the Kingdom, that the Hugonots might be capable of all charges and publick Magistracies; That the Emperour, the Catholick King, the Queen of *England*, the Republick of *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Commonalty of the *Swisses*, should give security, That neither the Duke of *Guise*, nor the Constable, should return into the Kingdom, or raise any Army, until such time as the King came to the age of two and twenty years. Every man being incens'd with these Conditions, the Governours of the Kingdom resolv'd to send Monsieur *de Fresne*, one of the Kings Secretaries, to *Estampes* in the mid-way between *Orleans* and *Paris*, who with a publick Proclamation should warn the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, *Andelot*, and the rest of their Adherents, within ten days after to lay down their Arms, to deliver up the Towns they possess'd, and to retire privately to their own houses: which if they did, they should obtain pardon and remission for all that was past; but if they refus'd to obey this his Majesties express Command, it being an immediate Act of Treason and Rebellion, they should be deprived of their estates and dignities, and proceed'd against as Rebels. Which being published accordingly, it was so far from working any thing upon the Hugonots, that on the contrary, either through desperation or disdain become more resolute, they united themselves by a publick Contract in a perpetual Confederacy, to deliver as they said, the King, the Queen, and the Kingdom from the violence of their oppressors; and to cause obedience to be rendered to his Majesties Edicts through all his Dominions. They declared the Prince of *Conde* Head of this Confederacy, and with their wonted liberty published in print a long Narration of the causes and end of this their Union.

The Prince of Conde's demands in favour of himself and the Hugonots.

The Kings Edict slighted by the Hugonots.

This Queen for all this, still employ'd her thoughts how to compass an agreement. For besides the hopes she had to effect it, nothing was more advantageous to her then gaining of time; and by delaying the War, to keep things from coming to an issue, till her Son was out of his Minority, which they pretended was at fourteen years of age. She began already to endeavour by her usual arts to regain the Constable and the *Guises*; and having given evident proof of her resolution to persevere in the Catholick Religion, and continue constant to that party, since when she was even in the Hugonots Camp she returned notwithstanding back to them again; she had in great part removed and purged her self of those jealousies which they were wont to have of her inclinations; inso much as, besides that they left her a more absolute power in the Government, they sought by complying, to make her approve of their proceedings. Wherefore having more hope than ever to find some means of accommodation, she began to deal with the Catholick Lords under the pretence of Justice, and detestation of a Civil War; that to shame the Hugonots, and for their own honour, they should be content to depart first from the Court, as they were the first to come thither. She laid before them, how greatly it would commend their sincerity, by one action only to extinguish that horrible flame which was now kindling in every part of the Kingdom to consume all things both sacred or profane. That they would merit much more of their Country by this so pious a resolution, than by all their former exploits put together, though never so glorious and beneficial. For this would bring safety, whereas those added only greatness and reputation. She told them further, that to absent themselves from the Court, was but a ceremony of a few months; for, if nothing happen'd before to make it necessary to call them back again, when the King came to age, which would be shortly, he would soon send for them; and in the

The Queen persuadeth the Duke of Guise and the Constable, and the Marshal de S. Andre, to leave the Court, which they promise.

mean-while, this short time of absence might be employed to their honour and advantage. For every one retiring to their several Governments with which they were intrusted, they might with industry keep the Provinces in peace, and purge those that most needed it, of the pestiferous humours that infected them; whereas staying at the Court, they served for nothing else but to foment and stir up a War. She assured them, she would never change resolution in matters of Religion, or the Kings Education: that never any thing of importance should be determined without their privacy; that the present Insurrections once quieted, she would take care, that with the first possible opportunity they should be recalled; and that in all times they should find their gratitude answerable to so great a benefit, if really they resolved to perform what she proposed. With which kind of practises she so far prevailed, that at the last the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshal de St. Andre, were contented to depart first from the Court and the Army; provided, that the Prince of Conde came presently without Arms to render himself to the Queens obedience, and to follow such orders, as she should think most expedient for the welfare of the Kingdom: which though every one of them thought a very hard condition, yet such was the general applause that resulted from thence to their own augmentation and glory, and so firm the belief, that the Prince would never be perswaded to return to the Court unarmed as a private person, that they were induced to consent to it; believing withal perhaps, that there could not want pretences and interpretations speedily to licence their return; and so much the rather, because the King of Navarre, being then so exasperated that they thought him irreconcilable with his Brother, remaining still an assistant in the Government, they were in a manner secure, that the form of things would not be changed, and that they should have the same power in their absence as if they were present.

But the Queen having gotten this promise from them, and keeping it very secretly to her self, forthwith sent the Bishop of Valence, and Rubertotte, one of the Secretaries of State to the Prince of Conde, who having given them this answer, That if the Catholick Lords departed first, he would not only lay down his Arms and return into obedience to the Queen; but also for the more security, forthwith leave the Kingdom; and often reiterating, and making large professions of the same; though with an assured opinion, that those Lords would neither for their reputation nor safety be willing first to lay down their Arms and depart: The Bishop and Rubertotte praising his readiness, desiring he would write what he had said to the Queen; shewing, that whereas for the present he was held for the Author of these scandals, and of the War, by this free offer he would silence his enemies, and confound the Faction of the Guises; justifying to all the World the candour of his intentions and counsels. The Prince, perswaded by the fair appearance of the proposition, and with hope to add to his forced a shew of reason, (which is always of very great moment among the people) was content to write to the Queen, That when the Catholick Lords were retired to their houses without either Arms or command; he, with the principal of his Adherents, for the Kings satisfaction, and the quiet of the State, willingly promised to go out of the Kingdom, and never to return till he were recalled by the general consent of them that governed.

The Queen having received this ratification written and subscribed by the Princes own hand, instantly advertised the Catholick Lords, that they should forthwith retire themselves, only with their ordinary followers; who readily obeying her command; having put over their men to the King of Navarre, went to Chastillon Dame; with a full intention to be gone as soon as the Prince on that part began to perform his promises. The Lords having left the Camp on a sudden, the Queen without any delay, the very same night let the Prince know by Rubertotte, that the Catholick Lords being already departed from the Army, and their commands, it remained that he with the same readiness and sincerity should perform what he had so assuredly promised under his own hand-writing.

This unexpected resolution not a little perplexed the Hugonots, having never imagined that the Constable and the Guises would yield to this condition. Wherefore repenting themselves that the Prince through his facility had promised so much, they began to consult how they might break off and hinder the Agreement. The Admiral making little account of outward appearance, and deeming that after a Victory all things seemed just, and justice by an overthrow would lose her authority; advised presently

The Queen having it under the Princes hand that he would retire himself, the Catholick Lords leave the Camp.

presently to send back *Rubertette*, and without further ceremony to break off the Treaty. *Andelot*, according to his manner, mingling brags with his reasons, wished that he were so near the Catholics, that he might come to try it out by force; and it should soon appear whom it concerned most in reason to abandon their Country; it being against all right, that so many gallant men, who voluntarily had taken Arms, should be deluded by the crafty Treaties of the Queen and the Catholics. It appeared hard to the Prince to gain-say his word, and hardest of all to relinquish his command in the Army, and at one Treaty to fall from such great hopes, to a necessity of forsaking his Country, without knowing whither to retreat.

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The Hugonot Ministers interposing their Divinity with matters of State, alledged, that the Prince having undertaken the maintenance of those who had imbraced the purity, as they called it, of the Gospel, and made himself by Oath Protector of Gods Word; No obligation afterwards could be of force to prejudice his former oath or promise. Others added to this reason, that the Queen having at the beginning failed of her word to the Prince, when she promised to bring over the King to his party, he likewise was not bound by any promise made to her, who first committed such a manifest breach of Faith. Amongst which, rather tumultuous than well directed opinions, applying themselves (as in matters of difficulty it is usual) to a middle way, it was at last, not without much dispute, determined, that the Prince should go to the Queen, making shew to perform his promise, and confirm a peace; but that the morning after, the Admiral and the other Hugonot Lords coming on a sudden, should take him away suddenly as by force, and carrying him back to the Camp; giving out that he had not violated his promise, but that he was constrained by those of his party to observe his first Oath, and the confederacy a little before so solemnly contracted. That which made them think of this deceit, was the great commodity of putting it in execution; for the Queen, to meet with the Prince, being come to *Talsy*, six miles from the Army, where she was accompanied only with her ordinary Guards, and the Courtiers, the Prince could not fear the being stayed by force; and the other Lords of his party might go thither and return, without any danger or impediment.

So it was punctually effected as they had resolved amongst themselves. For the Prince, accompanied with some few attendants, went to the Queen, with great shew of humiliation, and was received with much familiarity. But whilst he raised difficulties, and interposed delays in subscribing the condition, which by order from the King and the Council were proposed to him by *Rubertette*; and whilst Monsieur *de Lansac*, a man of sharp wit and understanding, sent by the Queen, perswaded him to perfect the specious promise he had made, the Hugonot Lords arrived, who had licence to come to salute the King and the Queen; and seeming greatly offended that the Prince had abandoned them, made him as it were by force get on horseback. And though the Queen, angry to be so deceived, loudly threatened every one of them, and the Bishop of *Valence*, *Lansac*, and *Rubertette*, endeavoured to perswade the Prince to remain at Court, without any further mention of leaving the Kingdom; yet the desire of command and interest of rule prevailing, without more delay, the Queen not having time to use force, he returned the same day, which was the 27 of *June*, to the Hugonots Camp, re-assuming, to their great content, the charge of Captain-General in this Enterprize. Thus all hopes of Peace being cut off, the War was kindled, and began between the two Factions under the name of ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS.

The Prince of
Conde returneth to his Army.

ROYALISTS
and HUGO-
NOTS.

The Treaty of an Agreement being broken, which the Queen, with wonderful policy keeping things from coming to an issue, had continued many months; the Prince of *Conde*, desirous to abolish the infamy of breaking his word by some notorious famous action, determined the same night to set-upon the Kings Army in their own quarters. Two things chiefly encouraged him to so bold a resolution: the one, that the Duke of *Guise* and the Constable were absent, whose valour and reputation he esteemed very much: the other, that at that time a Peace being in a manner concluded, and published, many were gone from their colours, and the greatest part of the Cavalry, for commodity of quarter, were scattered up and down in the neighbouring Villages; by which means the Army was not a little diminished and weakened. These hopes moved him to venture upon this attempt, though it appeared a new thing to undertake the surprisal of a Royal Camp within their own trenches. But he was ne-

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cessioned also to try the fortune, though doubtful, of a battel; knowing, that the Kings Swifles were within a few days march; and when they were joined with the rest of the Army, he should not be able, being far inferiour in number, to keep the field; but be constrained to withdraw his forces to defend those forts he was possessed of; a matter, through the little hope of succours, both difficult and dangerous. Wherefore he desired to do something whilst he had time, to free himself from that necessity which he saw would fall upon him. With this resolution he departed when it was dark, from *la Ferte d'Ales* where he lay; and the Army being divided into three Squadrons, the first of Horse led by the Adiniral, the other of Foot under the conduct of *Andelot*, and the third mingled both with Horse and Foot, which he commanded himself, he marched with great silence and expedition to assault the Enemies Camp about midnight.

The Hugonots through the faults of their guides, march all night without advancing.

But fortune frustrated his design: for though the way were plain through a free open Country, yet the guides that led the first Squadron, either through treachery or amazement; or else through ignorance, losing their way, they so wandered up and down, that the next morning at break of day he found that he was advanced but little more than a league from the place whence he set out over night, and still two great leagues from the Kings Camp. Notwithstanding, necessity compelling to attempt the greatest difficulties, the Commanders resolved to pursue their design, and the same order to perform that in the day which they could not effect in the night. But Monsieur *d'Aville*, who with the light horse quartered in the front of the Kings Army, having patiently advertisement by his Scouts of their coming, had by shooting off two pieces of Cannon, given notice thereof to the Camp that lay behind him. Whereupon the Souldiers and Gentlemen running from all parts to their colours, he going before to make good the high-way, that they might have time to put the Army in order, having divided his Horse into divers little Squadrons, began to skirmish fiercely with the first Troops of the Hugonots. By reason whereof they being forced to march slower and closer together, often making halts through the heat of the skirmish, and not to disorder themselves in the face of the Enemy, the King of *Navarre* had more commodity of time to get his men together, and to order them for a Battel. So the Princes Army still advancing, and the King of *Navarre* ranging his men in a Battalia upon the plain, but with the Camp behind them, at the last about noon both Armies faced one another, that there was nothing between them but a little plain, without any manner of impediment. But though the Ordnance plaid fiercely on both sides, yet do both sides advancing to begin the battel, it was perceived, the Commanders were not of opinion to fight. For the Prince, who thought to have surprized the Catholicks on a sudden, before they could either get together, or put themselves in order, seeing them all together, and drawn out in excellent order for the Battel; and not believing that his men, who were but newly raised, would be able to stand against the Kings Foot, that were all choice old Souldiers, had more mind to retreat than to fight. And the King of *Navarre*, who knew, that within a few days his forces would be increased, would not in absence of the other Catholick Lords, expose himself without any provocation to the hazard of a Battel. Wherefore after they had stood still facing one another at least three hours, the Prince retiring more than a league backwards, quartered with his Army at *Lorge*, a little Village in *Beauvais*, and the King of *Navarre* drew off his men, but in much better order, to the place where they encamped before.

The Armies face one another, and retreat without fighting.

The same evening arrived from *Chateadune* at the Army the Constable and the Duke of *Guisse*, being sent for in great haste; and causing all the Guards to be doubled, they commanded quite thorow the Quarters, at every hundred paces great piles of wood to be made; which being set on fire, if the enemy came to assault them by night, the Souldiers might the better see what they were to do, and the Canoniers how to point their Ordnance. Which orders being known to the Prince of *Cande*, and finding that the enemy was not to be surprized; after he had stayed three days at *Lorge*, the second day of *July* in the morning he rose with all his Army, and went to take *Bugency*, a great walled Town, and with the pillage thereof to refresh his Souldiers, which were in great want of money, and not over-abounding with victuals. Nor was the enterprise of any great difficulty; for the wall being battered with four peeces of Cannon, brought thither for that purpose, and an assault given in another part by the Regiment of *Provençals*, at a certain breach they made by sap-ping,

ping, it was taken the same day, and sackt, with great slaughter of the inhabitants.

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Whilst the Hugonots assaulted *Baugency*, there arrived at the Kings Army ten Cornets of German Horse, led by the *Rbinegrave*; and six thousand Swisses, under the conduct of *Jerosme Freulich*, a man for experience and valour of great esteem among his own Nation. With which Forces the Catholick Lords designed without any delay to set upon the Enemies Army. But the Prince of *Conde* being advertised of the arrival of those foreign supplies, having slighted *Baugency*, that the Catholicks might make no use of it, in great haste retired to *Orleans*, absolutely quitting the field, without making any other attempt.

In *Orleans* it was no longer possible to keep the Army together, partly through want of money to give the Souldiers their pay, without which, being shut up in the Town, they could not possibly live; partly, because the Nobility that followed the War as Volunteers, having spent what they brought with them, could no longer subsist. Wherefore having called a Council, the chief of the Hugonots determined to turn this necessity to their best advantage. For not being able to resist the Kings Army with the Forces they then had, nor to remain shut up within those walls; they took a resolution to separate themselves into divers places, and to defend those Towns and Fortresses which they held in other parts of the Kingdom; in this manner subsisting as well as they might, until they could have such aids from their friends and confederates, that they might again meet the Enemy in the field.

Their chief hopes of Succours were from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, (so they call those, who separated from the Catholick Church, do follow the opinions of *Luiber*) and from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, not only an adherent to the same Religion, but also desirous, through the ancient Maxims of that Nation, to have some footing in the Kingdom of *France*. The Princes of *Germany* had already freely promised them their aid; and there wanted nothing but only to send Commanders and Money to conduct and pay the Souldiers. But the Queen of *England* proposed harder and more difficult conditions, without which she denied to afford them any Succours. For she offered to imbrace the protection of the Confederates, and to send into *France* an Army of eight thousand Foot, with a great train of Artillery, at her own charge, and to maintain it there till the War were fully ended; that at the same time with her Fleet mann'd with Land-forces she would invade the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Brittany*, to divert and divide the Kings Forces; but upon these terms, That the Confederates should promise in recompence, to cause *Calais* to be restored to her, (a strong place situated upon the narrow Sea in *Picardy*, held many years by the Kings of *England* her Predecessors, and at last recovered by the Duke of *Guise* in the Reign of *Henry* the Second,) - But because the Hugonots were not Masters of that place, she demanded that in the mean time they should consign to her *Havre de Grace*, a Fortress and Port of less consequence upon the coast of *Normandy*; and that they should receive her Garrisons into *Dieppe* and *Rouen*. These conditions seemed to many intolerable, and not to be consented unto through any necessity whatsoever; knowing the infamy and publick hate they should undergo, if they made themselves instruments to dismember the Kingdom of such important places, and bring into them the most cruel implacable enemies of the French Nation. But the Ministers, who in all deliberations were of great Authority, and in a manner revered as Oracles, alledged, that no consideration was to be had of worldly things, where there was question of the heavenly Doctrine, and propagation of GOD's Word. Wherefore all other things were to be contemned, so as Religion might be protected, and Liberty of Conscience established.

The Protestants of Germany are Lutherans.

Conditions offered by Queen Elizabeth of England to the Hugonots.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral being desirous to continue their Commands, and necessitated by their own private affairs to pursue the enterprise, were of the same opinion: so that their Authority overcoming all opposition, after many consultations, it was at last concluded, to satisfy Queen *Elizabeth*, and by all means to accept the conditions proposed. To which effect they presently dispatched Monsieur de *Brique-mart*, and the new Vidame of *Chartres*, with Letters of credit from the Prince and the Confederates to confirm the agreement in *England*. *Andelot* and the Prince of *Portian*, with such a sum of money as they could get together, went to solicit the levies of the *German*; the Count de *la Roch-foucault* went to *Angoulesme*; the Count de *Montgomery* retired into *Normandy*; Monsieur de *Soubize* to *Lyons*; the Prince, the Admiral, *Goulie*, and *Bouchavenger*, stayed to defend *Orleans*, and the places adjacent. But many

That Montgomery who killed Henry the Second.

1562.

many of the Commissioners for the confederacy which was treated with *England*, not being able to endure such dishonourable conditions, began to forsake them: amongst which, Monsieur *de Picque* went over to the Kings Army, and the Sieur *de Morvilliers*, chosen by the Prince to be Governour of *Rouen*, that he might not be forced to admit an English Garrison into a Town of such consequence, leaving that charge, retired into *Picardy* to his own house.

Whilst by these means the Hugonots endeavoured to provide themselves with Forces, the Catholicks designed to make an attempt upon *Orleans*, as the chief source and seat of all the War. But in regard it was exceedingly well provided for Defence, and furnished with Munition of all kinds, they knew it was an enterprise of great difficulty. Wherefore first, to cut off from it the hopes of succours, they resolved to take in the places round about, that so they might afterwards with more facility straighten it with a siege; or being deprived of succours, assault it by force. For which purpose they raised their Camp the 11 of *July*, and the Duke of *Guise* leading the Van, and the King of *Navarre* the Battalia, whilst every one of both sides expected to see them settled before *Orleans*, they leaving that Town on the left hand, and passing sixteen leagues farther, on a suddain assailed *Blois*; which though it were full of people, beautified with one of the noblest Castles for a Kings house in the whole Kingdom, and situated upon the same side of the River of *Loire*; yet it was not so fortified that it could hope to make any long resistance against the Kings Army. Wherefore, after the Souldiers which were in guard saw the Cannon planted, being terrified with the danger, they passed the River upon the Bridge, and throwing away their Arms, sought to save themselves by flight: which though the Duke of *Guise* knew, who with the Van-guard was nearest to the wall, yet being more intent to take the Town than to pursue those that ran away, whilst the Citizens dispatched their Deputies to capitulate, he sent a party of foot to make an assault; who finding the breach forsaken that was made by a few Cannon shot, took the place without resistance; which by the fury of the Souldiers (their Commanders not forbidding them) was miserably sacked.

Blois taken and pillaged by the Kings Army, and *Tours* the first Assault.

From *Blois* the Army marched towards *Tours*, a much more noble, populous and ancient City, wherein the name of the Hugonots first took vigour and force: but the people, who for a few days at the beginning of the Siege made shew that they would stand resolutely upon their defence, when they perceived the Trenches were made, and the Artillery planted, of their own accord cast out the Commanders, and rendered the place, saving their goods and persons; which conditions were intirely observed.

In the mean while, the Marshal *de St. Andre* with the Rear of the Army went another way to besiege *Poitiers*, a City likewise famous for antiquity, great and spacious, where the Catholicks thought they should find a strong resistance. But it fell out to be a work of much less difficulty than they imagined. For the Marshal having battered it two days together with his Artillery, and made an assault upon the Town, rather to try the resolution of the Defendants, than with any hope to gain it; the Captain of the Castle, (who till then had shew'd himself more violent than any other of the Hugonot party) suddenly changing his mind, began to play from within with his Cannon upon those who stood ready to receive the Assault: by which unexpected accident the Defendants losing their courage, not knowing in such a tumult what way to take for their safety, as men astonished, left the entry of the breach free to the Assaultants; who not finding any resistance, entered furiously into the Town, which by the example of *Blois*, was in the heat of the fight sacked, and many of the people put to the sword.

Poitiers taken and sacked.

The Catholicks having thus in a few days taken those Towns which from *Poitien* and *Touraine* backed and succoured *Orleans*, and stoppt the passage for supplies from *Guyenne*, *Gascoigne*, and other places beyond the River; it remained, that turning backwards, and passing to the other side, they should take in *Bourges*; so to cut off those aids that might come from *Auvergne*, *Lyonoise*, and other Provinces joyning to *Daulphine*. *Bourges* (anciently called *Avaricum*) is one of the greatest and most populous Cities in *France*; a residence for Students of all sorts, but especially famous for the Civil Law. This Town being within twenty leagues of *Orleans*, and by reason of the Traffick of Wooll, as also through the great concourse of Scholars, much replenished with strangers, was at the beginning possessed by the Hugonots; and afterwards, as an important passage for the Commerce of those Provinces that being nearest de-

pended

pended upon it, diligently guarded and fortified; so that now foreseeing a Siege, Monsieur d'Yvoy Brother to Genli, was entered therinto, with two Thousand French foot, and four Troops of horse, a Garison both in consideration of it self, and for the reputation of the Commander, esteemed sufficient to make a long defence; and indeed with these Forces at the first coming of the Kings Army, which was the tenth of August, the Defendants shewed such fierceness and confidence, that they not only valiantly defended the Walls, but continually sallying out night and day, vexed the Camp with hot skirmishes; in one of which advancing just to the Trenches, though they could not do so much hurt as they intended, yet they killed five Captains, with many Gentlemen and common Souldiers; and Monsieur de Randan, General of the Foot, was so grievously wounded, that notwithstanding the great care that was had of him, he died within few days after.

In the mean while, the Admiral issuing out of Orleans, over-ran all the Country about with his horse; and having had intelligence of a great quantity of Artillery and Munition that was going from Paris to the Army, he set upon it in the night at Chateaudune, where after a long dispute, having defeated the Convey which was of four Companies, he brake the greatest pieces, and burning the Engines that belonged to them, carried the lesser to Orleans, together with such Munition as could be saved from the fire and pillage of the Souldiers. But the Duke of Guise being very intent upon his business at Bourges, after he had so far advanced the Trenches, that he began to batter the Wall, and with divers Mines had thrown down many Bastions that the Hugonots raised to defend the weakest parts thereof; Monsieur d'Yvoy not answering the opinion that was conceived of him, began to hearken to propositions of agreement, which were proposed to him from the Camp. Wherefore the Duke of Nemours being gone with a safe conduct to treat, upon the last day of August he delivered up the Town upon these conditions, That he and all his that were with him should have a pardon for what was past; That the Souldiers should be free to go where they pleased; yet with this Obligation, neither to bear Arms against the King, nor in favour of the Hugonots; That the City should not be plundered, and the Inhabitants enjoy a Liberty of Conscience in all points conformable to the Edict of January. Which Capitulation, though it were afterwards performed, Yvoy not being able to bear the hate and ignominious reproaches that were cast upon him by his accusers, retired himself to his own private house; and St. Remy and Bricbanteau, men of known courage, went over to the Kings service.

Yvoy was
brought upon
conditions

In the mean while, matters in the State were drawn into another course contrary to the former. For the resolution of the Hugonot Lords being known not only to introduce foreign power into France, to which end they had sent two of their principal men into Germany, but also to alienate *Haut de Grace*, and to put *Diepe* and *Rouen*, places of such importance upon the frontiers of the Kingdom, into the hands of the English, who in all times had been bitter enemies to the Crown; there was not only a general hate conceived against them, but the Queen her self, who till then had earnestly endeavoured a peace, and formerly supported that faction as a counter-poize to the Guises, (for she never believed that they would ever fall into such pernicious deliberations) now with an incredible hate, and through fear that the English might be brought in to settle themselves in these places; resolved sincerely to unite her self with the Catholick party, and to make a War in good earnest upon the Hugonots: desiring to make it clear to all the World, that she held no intelligence with them, (contrary to that which was believed at the first) esteeming it a double loss and a double shame, that the English, who by her husband were victoriously driven out of France, should get footing there again during the time of her Government. Wherefore stirred up with an implacable displeasure against the Hugonots, being so perplexed in mind that she could find no rest, she determined with her self, not to interpose any further delays or impediments, but to endeavour with all her force their final oppression. And for a preamble to what was to be done; having brought the King solemnly to the Court of Parliament in Paris, after grievous complaints made by the High Chancellor of the insolencies of those his Subjects, who not content to over-run and spoil their Country, and to usurp all the Offices and Regal power, had perfidiously conspired to bring in the English and Germans to the destruction of his Kingdom, caused Gaspar de Coligny late Admiral of France, François d'Andelotte, with Odet de Chastillon, his Brothers, and namely all other notable persons of that party to be declared Rebels, depriving

The Heads of
the Hugonot
faction are
declared Re-
bels.

1562.

* *Toquesaint* an allarm Bell used as the ringing of the bells backwards with us.

depriving them of their Charges, Honours, Nobility, Goods and Revenues, as confiscate to the State. And because the Hugonots with their riots laying desolate Cities and Provinces, destroying the Churches, throwing down Monasteries, and filling all places with rapine and Blood, were become so outrageous, that it was impossible longer to suffer them; they were likewise declared publick enemies to the King and the Crown; and authority granted to the people at the ringing of the * *Toquesaint* to rise up in arms against them, and to kill or take their persons, and deliver them over to Justice. The Prince of *Conde* was not at all mentioned; but, making use of that Art first invented by the Hugonots, it was spread abroad both by report and in writing, that he was by the violence of the other Confederates with-held by force, and against his will remained in that Army; the Rebels making use of the Authority of his Person, though he were in his heart averse to all their proceedings.

After which businesses, the Queen publicly bewailing her self that the Hugonots had abused the Clemency which she had shewed in supporting them, and oftentimes in favouring them also; and desiring to make it appear how zealous she was against them, and by any means to expel foreign Forces out of the Kingdom, went her self in person with the King to the Army before *Bourges*; where she shewed a manly courage, in going up and down in the Camp, though very much annoyed by the Cannon from the Town; and with a singular constancy animated the Souldiers and Commanders to perform their duties. But *Bourges* being taken, and all ways of succours cut off from *Orleans*, the Catholicks intended without any other delay to besiege it, if the Queen had not proposed, That it was better first to recover *Rouen*, being so principal a City, of so large an extent, and lying so opportunely to invade the bosom of *France*, before the English had established themselves there, by making the Fortifications stronger than they were at the present. For the confederacy between the Hugonots and Queen *Elizabeth* being already concluded, the English had passed the Sea, and received *Havre de Grace* into their possession, and placed Garisons in *Diepe* and *Rouen*.

The English received by the Hugonots to *Havre de Grace*, *Diepe*, and *Rouen*.

The opinions in the Kings Council were very divers. Some thought it most expedient first of all to make an attempt upon *Orleans*, and to cut off at one blow the head of the Hugonot Faction. For the chief of that party being suppressed, who were in the Town, and the Magazine destroyed, all the rest would be overcome with ease and facility. But the King of *Navarre* and the Queen more intent to cast out the English than any thing else, thought, that *Rouen* once taken, and the aids of *England* cut off from the Hugonots, *Orleans* would be more easily reduced, which for the present they thought very difficult, and a work of much time; by which the English would have the commodity to confirm their possession, and perhaps make themselves Masters of all the Province of *Normandy*, where the Duke of *Anmale* had so inconsiderable a force, that he was not able to make head against them. This opinion at last through the Queens inclination prevailed; and it was resolved without any delay to go upon that design.

The situation and commodities of *Rouen* are admirable. For the River *Seine*, upon which it stands, rising out of the Mountains in *Burgundy*, and distending it self through the plains of the Isle of *France*, after it joyns with the *Matrona*, commonly called *Marne*, and by the confluence of many other little streams, is made deep and Navigable, passeth through the midst of the City of *Paris*, and then running with an impetuous torrent quite through *Normandy*, falls with an exceeding wide channel into the Ocean; which ebbing and flowing, and continually filling and feeding the River with salt water, affords spacious room for Vessels of any burthen to ride. On the right hand of the mouth, where the River at last falls into the Sea, over against *England* stands *Havre de Grace*, a secure large Port, which with modern Fortifications, being reduced into the form of a Town by King *Francis* the First, serves for a defence against the incursions of the English. But in the mid-way between *Havre de Grace* and *Paris*, near to the place whither the salt waters flow, mingled with the fresh, about twenty two leagues from the Sea, stands the City of *Rouen* upon the River, grown noble, rich, abundant, and populous by the commerce of all Northern Nations. From one side of the fortress of *Havre de Grace* upon the right hand, a tongue of land advancing many miles into the Sea, makes as it were a spacious Peninsula, which the common people call the Country of *Caux*, and in the extreamest point and promontory thereof is *Diepe*, placed* directly opposite to the mouth of the *Thames*, a most famous River in *England*.

These

* The Author is a little mistaken in his Cosmography; for *Diepe* stands just over against *Rouen*.

These places which lie so fitly to damage *France*, and to be supplied by their Fleets, the English had made themselves Masters of. For though at *Diepe* and at *Rouen* French Governours were chosen by the Council of the Confederates; yet the Garisons kept there by *Queen Elizabeth* being very strong, they could so curb them, that all the rest was absolutely at their dispose.

1562.

The Resolution being taken to besiege *Rouen*, the King and the Queen marching together with the Army, in fourteen days arrived at *Darnetel*, at which place less than two leagues distant from the City, the whole Camp lodged the 25 day of *September*. The chief Commanders of the Army, considering that the body of the City is defended on the one side by the River, beyond which there is nothing but the *Fauxburg S. Sever*, and on the other side by *S. Catherine's Mount*, upon the top of which is placed an ancient Monastery reduced into the form of a Modern Fortref; they thought it best to make themselves Masters of the Mount: it appearing very difficult to make any attempt or assault upon the Town it self, if they did not first gain the Fort without, which flanked and commanded the entrances on all parts. Upon this deliberation, *Sebastien de Luxemburg* Seigneur de *Martignes* made Colonel General of the Foot in the place of *Randan*, advanced the night of the 27 of *September*, and sat down under *St. Catherine's Mount*, in the great High-way that goes towards *Paris*; which being hollow almost like a Trench, covered them in great part from the shot of the Fort.

The Count of *Montgomery* who commanded in the Town in chief with 2000 English and 1200 French Foot, four Troops of Horse, and more than 100 Gentlemen of quality, besides the Citizens, having foreseen, that the enemy must of necessity first take the out-works, besides the old fortifications on the top of the Mount, had raised half way up the Hill a Half-moon of earth; which having the Fort behind, and fronting upon the campagne, might not only hinder the ascent, but also flank the walls of the Town, and force the Catholick Army to spend much time and lose many men in the taking of it. Nor was the effect contrary to what he intended: For though *Monsieur de Martignes*, leaving the direct way, and ascending in a crooked line, advanced by help of the spade between the Fort and the Half-moon to gain the top of the Hill; yet the work proceeded with much difficulty and great slaughter of the Soldiers; who the more the Foot advanced with their gabions and trenches, were so much the more exposed to the Cannon planted upon the Fort, to the annoyance of the Musquet shot, to the fury of the fireworks, and other inventions, with which they within very resolutely defended themselves. To these main difficulties was added the quality of the weather, which being in the beginning of Autumn, as it always falls out in those parts, was very rainy: so as the waters continually falling from the top of the Hill into that low place where the Army lay, it was no small inconvenience unto them. Likewise the great Sallies the Hugonots made night and day were not of little moment: For though they were valiantly sustained, so that the success thereof was not very doubtful; yet they kept the whole Army in motion, and in work. Nor were their Horse less diligent than the Foot in their Trenches; insomuch as many times the Siege was interrupted and hindered.

Considering these so great impediments, it would have proved a tedious painful business, if the negligence or arrogance of the defendants had not rendered it very short and easie. For *Jean de Hemery* Seigneur de *Villers*, who afterwards married a Sister of *Henry Davila's* that wrote this History, being upon the guard in the Trenches with his Regiment, observed, that about noon there was very little stirring in the Fort, and that they appeared not in such numbers upon the Ravelins as at other times of the day. Wherefore having sent for a Norman Souldier called Captain *Lewis*, who two days before was taken prisoner in a Sally they made out of the Fort, he asked him as by way of discourse, What was the reason that at certain hours so few of the Hugonots were to be seen upon the Rampart? The Souldier not concealing the truth, without looking farther what the consequence thereof would be, told him that they within had so little apprehension of the Catholick forces, and despised them in such a manner, that they used every day, for recreation, and to provide themselves of necessities, to go in great companies to the Town; and that through custom and for convenience, they made choice of that time of the day. By which words *Villers* apprehending an opportunity to surprize the Fort, acquainted the Duke of *Guise* and the Constable with his design; who not being wanting to so good an occasion, secretly causing ladders to be provided, commanded, that at the hour appointed, when they

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saw

1562. saw least stirring, they should on a suddain assault *St. Catherines Fort*, and at the same instant the Half-moon also, so much the more to divide the enemies forces.

Martignets, whose place it was to have a care of the business, chose the same *Villers* to make the assault upon *St. Catherines*, and *St. Conlombe* a Colonel of Foot likewise for the Half-moon; and having without noise put all things in a readiness, at the time prefixed with a Cannon shot gave the Signal to fall on. Whereupon *Villers* with his men instantly running up the steep of the Hill, fastened his ladders to the Walls, before the enemy could possibly have time to make use of their Cannon or small shot to keep them off. But yet those within, though few in number, courageously presenting themselves at the assault, there became a hot bloody conflict with short weapons, in which as the manner is, the valiantest falling at the first encounter, the defendants were so weakened, that they could scarce longer resist. On the contrary, *Villers* being supplied with fresh men, and aided by *Martignets*, began to get the better of the enemy; and though grievously wounded with a Pike in the face, and a Musquet shot in the left thigh, yet continuing the fight, he at last planted the Kings Flag upon the Keep of the Castle. Whereupon, two great Squadrons of Foot that were appointed for a reserve running to his assistance, in a short time they made themselves Masters of the Fort, before the Defendants could be succoured either by the Town or their Companions. The same success had the assault made upon the Half-moon, and in as short a time; but the Catholics gained the Bastion with loss of much blood; and the Defendants not having means to retreat, died all valiantly, fighting to the last man.

The Fort of
Rouen taken.

St. Catherines Mount being taken, there remained still without the Walls, the *Faux-Bourg* of *St. Hilary*, well fortified, and a good Garrison placed in it by the Hugonots. Against which having planted their Cannon, by reason the works were of earth, it wrought little effect; notwithstanding the Catholick Commanders caused a fierce assault to be made upon it; which proving likewise vain by reason of the strength of the Ramparts, and valour of the Defendants, at length changing resolution, they planted twelve great pieces in the middle of *St. Catherines Hill*: from the advantage of which place they began with great noise and slaughter to batter the houses and rampiers which the enemies had raised; by the fury whereof the whole *Faux-Bourg* being in a manner beaten down, and the Catholics ready to renew the assault, those within having fired the houses that were left, retired safe into the Town, which was now naked of all defence but the Walls only. But the Defendants by their frequent sallies, and divers assaults made upon them, losing many of their men, the Count of *Montgomeri*, having recourse to the last remedy, sent to desire succours of the English at *Harre de Grace*, though he saw plainly it was a thing of exceeding great difficulty for them to effect. For the Kings forces having taken possession of *Quilbent* and *Harfleur*, two places in the mid-way between *Rouen* and *Harre de Grace*, upon the River, they placed there divers pieces of Cannon to hinder the passage of Ships or other little Barks, which holpen by the Flood that enters there with great force, mount the stream to *Rouen*. Notwithstanding, the English, desirous by any means to help their friends, resolved to expose themselves to the worst of danger; and stealing up the River in the night, in great part avoided the violence of the Cannon, which being shot at random in the dark, did them but little hurt. Wherefore by the advice of *Bartolomeo Campi*, an Italian Engineer, the Catholics caused divers Vessels laden with stones and gravel, and fastened together with chains, to be sunk in the River, which so stopped and pestered it, that neither the enemies Ships nor Gallies could pass: only some small Bark drawing but little water, with much ado got safe into the Town. But this supply being insensible, and *Rouen* still in necessity, there appearing no other way possible to succour it, the English resolved to make their last attempt; and being come in the night with a good number of Vessels to the bar, though through the fury of the Cannon and fire-works, part of them perished, and others returned back; yet in one place the chain being broken, three Gallies and one other Vessel got through, which carried seven hundred men, munition and money for their present relief.

In the mean while the rains of Autumn still increasing, by reason whereof the Catholick Army that lay in a low dirty place, suffered very much; yet the Commanders not disheartened by the little supplies that were conveyed into the Town, pressing the siege, began to batter from *St. Hilaries Gate* to the Gate *Martinville*; between which advancing with their Trenches, they had pierced the countescarp. The second day

so much of the Wall was thrown down in the middle of the Curtain, that the Squadrons might easily march on to the assault; and already *Sarlabous*, *Villers*, and *Sanctie Coulumbe's* Regiments that were to keep the first front, prepared themselves for the onset; when the King of *Navarre*, being gone into the Trenches to discover how things stood, received a Musquet shot in the left shoulder, which breaking the bone, and tearing the nerves, he presently fell down upon the place as dead. This accident put off the assault for that day; for being carried to his own quarter, before they looked to his hurt, all the other chief Commanders went thither, and being afterwards dressed with great care in presence of the King and Queen, his wound, by reason of the great orifice the Bullet had made, was judged by the Physicians to be mortal. So as between that time and the Council which was called thereupon, the day was so far spent, that the assailants without any farther attempt were sent for back to guard the Trenches.

1362.

Anthony of
Vendôme King
of Navarre
shot in the
shoulder.

Yet this slackned not the siege: For besides the care of the Duke of *Guise* and the Constable, who from the beginning had in effect the charge of the Army, the Queen also assisted her self in person; who by her presence and speeches adding courage to the Souldiers, caused the battery still to be continued in the same manner; till with two thousand shot there was such a large breach made, that they went on in very good order to the assault: which being begun with great fierceness by the assailants, and received with no less resolution by the Hugonots, continued with great slaughter on both sides from twelve of the clock at noon till the evening; the Catholicks not being able to make themselves Masters of the wall. The night after the assault, those of *Diepe* endeavoured to put succours into the Town: to which purpose the *Sieur de Corillan* being advanced into a wood not far off, with four hundred firelocks, he thought by the benefit of the night to delude the guards, and to steal in at the gate that answers to the lower part of the River. But being discovered by *Monfieur d'Anville*, who with his light horse scoured the fields, he was with little difficulty defeated and routed, and the Town remained hopeless of any aid. Wherefore having already so many days sustained such hot skirmishes, and the violence of the Cannon, and it being therefore known, that they within were reduced almost to nothing; the twenty sixth of *October* in the morning about break of day, the Catholicks, not to lose more time, went very fiercely, but in good order, to make another assault: which they of the Town, through weariness and weakness, being not able to withstand; *Sanctie Coulumbe*, he that took the Bastion upon the Mount, was the first with his men that passed the breach, and entered into the City, right against the *Celestines* street, though mortally wounded, and falling upon the place, within three days after he ended his life. At the same time *Villers* Regiment forced their passage at another breach; and *Sarlabous* entered at the Street of *St. Claire*, but not without some difficulty, by reason of a barricado of cask that was made in the way. After these that were the first, entered furiously the whole Army, and with great slaughter of the Souldiers and Inhabitants, sacked the Town, in the heat of their anger sparing no persons whatsoever, but putting all to the Sword both armed and unarmed; only the Churches and things sacred, by the great diligence and exact care of the Commanders, were preserved from violence.

Town taken
by the Catho-
licks, and
sackt.

The Count of *Montgomery*, when he saw things in a desperate condition, and the Town reduced into the power of the enemy; getting into one of the Gallies that brought the succours, wherein he had before imbarqued his wife and children, passing down the River through all the Catholicks Cannon, saved himself in *Havre de Grace*, and from thence without delay passed over the Sea into *England*. There saved themselves with him *Monfieur de Columbiere*, and some few of his servants; all the rest being left to the discretion of the Conquerour, came to divers ends. Captain *Jean Croft*, who had introduced the English into *Havre de Grace*, being fallen into the Kings hands, was as a Rebel, drawn with four Horses. *Mandreville*, who from being the Kings Officer, carrying his Majesties money with him, became a follower of the English; and *Augustine Marlorat*, who from an *Augustine* Frier, turned to be a Hugonot Minister, were both condemned to be hanged. Many were slain, and many remained prisoners in the Army, who afterwards redeemed themselves for a ransom.

The City continued forty eight hours at the mercy of the Souldiers; the third day the King making his entry at the breach together with the Parliament and the Queen

1562.
1563.

his Mother, who in the heat of the sack sent all her Gentlemen and the Archers of her guard, to take care that the women which fled into Churches might not be violated; there was an end of the slaughters and rapines committed by the Army, which being drawn out of the City, quartered in the neighbouring Villages.

In the mean while, the King of Navarre through the pain of his wound finding no rest either in body or mind, would by all means imbarque upon the River to go to *St. Maure*, a place near *Paris*, whither by reason of the wholesomeness of the Air, and privacy, he used often for recreation to retire himself; and nothing prevailing that the Physicians could say to the contrary, he caused himself to be carried into a boat, accompanied by the Cardinal his Brother, the Princes *de la Roche-sur*, and *Ludouica Gonzaga*, with some few servants, amongst which some were Catholics, and others Hugonots, and the principal among them *Girolan Vincenzo Lauro*, then a Physician, by birth a *Calabrian*, who was afterwards Bishop and Cardinal. But he was scarce arrived at *Andeli*, a few leagues from *Rouen*, when through the motion of the journey his fever increasing upon him, he began to lose his senses, and in a short time after died.

The King of
Navarre dieth.

He was a Prince, as of high birth, so of a noble presence and affable behaviour; and if he had lived in other times, to be remembered amongst the most famous men of his age. But the sincerity and candour of mind with which he was induced, and his mild tractable disposition in the distractions of a Civil War, held him all his lifetime in care and pain, and many times doubtful and ambiguous in his deliberations. For on the one side, being drawn by the headlong violent nature of his Brother, and spurred on by the ardour of his Faction, in which he was the principal person; and on the other side restrained by his love of justice, and a natural inclination disposed to peace, and averse from civil broyls, he appeared many times sickle in his resolutions, and of a wavering judgment. For at the first he was reckoned and persecuted amongst those that sought to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom; and afterward was seen head of the contrary Faction, bitterly pursuing those that were up in arms. And for matters of Religion, sometimes through his Wives persuasion and *Beza's* preaching, inclining to the *Calvinist* party; sometimes through the general opinion and the Cardinal of *Lorain's* eloquence, to the Catholic Religion; he became mistrusted by both parties, and left behind him an uncertain doubtful report of his belief. Many were of opinion, that being in his heart a *Calvinist*, or rather inclining to that which they call the *Augustan* Confession; yet nevertheless his vast insatiable Ambition withdrew him from that party, which, perceiving the Prince his Brother through his high spirit and resolution, was of much greater reputation amongst them, made him chuse rather to be the first among the Catholics, than the second among the Hugonots. He died in the two and fortieth year of his age, and in such a time when experience had made him so wise, as would perhaps have produced effects very contrary to the common opinion, that was conceived of him. He left behind him his Wife Queen *Jeanne*, with the title and relics of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and only two children, *Henry* Prince of *Beaune*, then five years old, and the Princess *Catherine* an Infant, who remaining at *Van* and *Nerat* with their Mother, by whom they were very carefully brought up, at the same time received deep impressions of the Hugonot Religion.

Now whilst so much blood was spilt on both sides at *Rouen*, *Andelot* with great pains and diligence raising the aids of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, had gotten together a great company of Horse and Foot; and in the Territories of *Strasbourg* being joined with the Prince of *Porcia*, who brought with him a Convoy of two hundred Horse of the French Gentry, he considered the best he could what course was to be taken to joyn his Forces with the rest of the Confederates.

The Marshal of *St. Andre* being sent upon the Frontiers with thirteen Troops of *Geni d'Arms*, and two Regiments of Foot to hinder his passage, lay upon the way, which by *Rheims* and *Troye* leads directly out of *Germany* into *France*: and *Francis* of *Cleves* Duke of *Nevers*, who was Governour of *Champaign*, staid with all the Forces of the Province between *Chaalon* and *Vitry*, to stop the other passage from *Lorain* to *Paris*. But *Andelot*, considering if he were encountred by the enemy, he could not long keep his men together for want of money; and if he prolonged his journey, he should not come soon enough to succour his friends already reduced to an extreme point of necessity; resolved rather to contend with the difficulties of the passage, and impediments of the ways, than the opposition of the enemy. Wherefore to deceive the

the Catholics, making shew to keep the ordinary way, and having marched so two days, till he came to the confines of *Lorraine*, he raised his Camp silently in the night, and taking the way on the left hand, through rough places full of swift and rapid streams, marched with exceeding diligence out of the great Roads, till he came into *Burgundy*; and from thence, notwithstanding the continual rain and dirt which in that Country is every where very deep, preserving even Fame it self, brought all his men, though tired and weary, to *Montargis*; where at last he joined with the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, having led five thousand Foot and four thousand Horse so many leagues, excepting from the injury of the weather, safe from all other dangers.

This so powerful and seasonable supply took off in great part the grief and terror the Hugonots were stricken into for the loss of *Rouen*. But their hopes were exceedingly diminished by a defeat given at the same time to the Barons of *Duras*, who being a man of great dependences, had raised a great number of men in *Gascogne* and the adjacent Provinces, so as they amounted to five thousand Horse and Foot; with which force endeavouring to make his passage between the Catholick Towns to succour his party at *Orléans*, being set upon in the way by *Monsieur de Montuc*, and *Monsieur de Rieux*, who commanded for the King in those parts; the most of his men were cut off, and he himself with some few Horse escaped with very much difficulty. The Hugonots in diverse places received many other, though not great, losses; by which misfortunes the reputation of the Faction every where diminishing, the Prince and the Admiral resolved to undertake some notable Enterprize, to recover their lost credit; and so much the rather, because being straightened for money, they knew not how to maintain their Germans, if they did not feed and pay them by the pillage of the Country. But what the Enterprize should be, they agreed not between themselves. For the Prince, measuring all things by the greatness of his own thoughts, had a mind on a sudden to assault *Paris*; persuading himself, that in such a multitude of people, there must needs be many favourers of the Hugonots party, and many others inclined to his name; who when an opportunity was offered, would presently shew themselves. He believed farther, and sought to persuade, that the Kings Army, being employed in *Normandy*, could not come soon enough to aid that City; by the invasion and taking whereof, they should not only get great store of provisions of Arms, Munition, and Artillery, of which they began to be in no little want; but also have it in their power, with the contributions of so rich and numerous a people, to furnish themselves abundantly with money; by means whereof they should both gain a great reputation, and an exceeding advantage over the contrary Faction.

The Ministers adhered to this opinion, through the bitter hate they bore to the Barons, ever constant reverencers of the Catholick Religion, and implacable enemies to their preachings. But the Admiral *Andelot*, and the more experienced Souldiers, esteeming the enterprize rather impossible than difficult, dissuaded them from it; alledging, that the Marshal of *Brissac*, the new Governour, had cast out all those who were suspected to depend on their party; wherefore there was no reason to hope for any motion among that people, so united together for the preservation of the Catholick Faith; and that the Kings Army, having had good success at the siege of *Rouen*, and secured *Normandy*, would have time sufficient to aid that City, from which it was but eight and twenty leagues distant; whereas they on the other side were to pass four and thirty leagues, through places infested with the enemy, which would very much retard the expedition of their march. And what Artillery, what provisions for War had they, wherewith they designed to assault *Paris*? a City of so vast an extent, and by nature so replenished with people, who through custom were ever armed, having but four pieces of Battery, and very little quantity of munition? How should they draw on their Army, to an Enterprize which would prove of such length, not only without money, but also without means to sustain and nourish their men? That it would be better to recover the places near about *Orléans*, and open the way for provisions and supplies, nourishing the Army with the pillage that was near at hand and secure, than to hazard themselves upon an attempt, that would infallibly prove vain. But these reasons took no effect: for the Prince, persuaded by his own will, and the consent of the major part of his adherents, resolved to venture all upon this Enterprize. Wherefore the Army being mustered together, and such provision of victuals made as the present necessity would permit, it moved without further delays that way.

In

1562.

In the mean while, after the taking of *Rouen*, the Town of *Diepe*, having cast out the English Garison, rendered it self to the King: the same did *Caen* and *Talaise*, Towns in the lower *Normandy*, which largely extends it self upon the coasts of the Ocean beyond the banks of the River; nor was there any place that remained in the power of the enemies, save only *Havre de Grace*, which the Queen had resolved to set upon with the whole Army, that so they might be absolutely freed from the fear of the English. But news being come of the arrival of the Germans; and that the Prince with great preparations moved with the Camp through *Brailly*, (so they call that Country which lies between *Orleans* and the Isle of *France*) the Queen with the Duke of *Guise* and the Constable, in whose hands remained the power of the Government, resolved, putting off the Siege of *Havre de Grace*, to bend their course to meet with the Hugonots Army. Wherefore having left Monsieur de *Villebon* Governour of *Rouen*, and the *Rhynegrave* with his Horse to secure the Country of *Caux*, and hinder the English from making inroads into the Country, the King and the Queen, with all the remainder of the Army, marched along the *Seine* towards *Paris*.

The Prince of
Condé going to
besiege *Paris*,
amuseth him-
self before
Corbeil, by
which means
he fails of his
principal de-
sign.

The Prince marching very close through the Enemies Country, took without much difficulty *Piviers*, *Munbery* and *Dordane*; and having given the pillage thereof to his Army, went on with all possible expeditions to *Paris*. But *Corbeil*, a little inconsiderable Town upon the River of *Seine*, interrupted his journey: For four Companies of French Foot being, contrary to the Princes expectation, entred thereinto, it made such a resolute defence; as held his army play many days to no purpose, being through anger rather than mature deliberation, obstinately bent whatever happened to take it. But the Marshal of *St. Andre* following *Andelos*, though at a distance, with an intent to get into *Paris*; having by another way gotten before him, he was constrained to raise the siege with loss of time and credit, besides the total ruine of the principal design; which depended wholly upon expedition. For having spent many days there in vain, the Catholick Commanders in the mean while discovering his intent, had with the King and Queen in person brought the whole Army unto the Walls of *Paris*; and with much ease and commoditie fortified the Suburbs, and distributed their men in very good order to their several quarters. The Prince lodged the twenty third day of *November* at *La Sauvefaye* Nunnery, who in that terrour had abandoned it; and the twenty fourth day at *Ville-Juis*, two leagues from the Suburbs of *Paris*. But the twenty fifth day in the morning, though much fallen from their hopes, yet resolved to try their fortune, the Army being put in a readiness, advanced to assault the *Faux-Bourg* of *St. Victor*. This attempt at the first seemed very successful. Six hundred light Horse that were sent out to skirmish and discover the proceeding of the enemy, when they saw all the Army come resolutely towards them, ran away in such a headlong manner, that many doubted they fled rather through treachery than fear. With which unexpected tumult the Foot being disordered who guarded the Ramparts of the *Faux-Bourg*, they began already to think of retiring themselves into the City; and the people full of terrour and confusion cried out to shut the Gates, and abandon the Suburbs. But the Duke of *Guise* coming thereupon, so settled all things with his presence, that there was no more to be feared for the present, or the future. In this occasion *Philip Strozzi* issuing out with 1200 Foot to back the Horse, gave a notable testimony of his valour; for being abandoned by his men, and finding himself ingaged in the midst of the Hugonots Army, he retired under the ruines of a broken Windmill, being a place, by reason of the height, of some advantage, and there so resolutely defended himself, that it was not possible by all they could do, to drive him from thence; but he alone made it good against a multitude of the enemies that used their utmost endeavours to take that Post. The Prince nevertheless, not amusing himself therewith, but encouraged with the success of their first encounter, fiercely assailed the *Faux-Bourgs* in divers places; and for the space of two hours that the fight endured, not only the Art and Discipline of the Captain appeared, but also the readiness and courage of the Souldiers; notwithstanding, finding every where a gallant resistance, and the Cannon upon the Ramparts continually beating and galling upon his flank; he was constrained to draw off the Army for that time from the Walls, that he might have day enough to take up convenient Quarters. The weather was rainy, and the season cold; wherefore the Souldiers, not being able to lie abroad, the Army being divided into four parts, Monsieur de *Muy* and the Prince of *Porcien* lodged at *Gentilly*, *Gentil* at *Monterian*, the Prince and the Admiral at *Arcueil*, and *Andelos* with the Germans

mans at *Cachan*. There making many fires on high; and a great number of Cannon shot, they endeavoured to strike a terrour into the people, which might stir up some commotion in the Town; and yet notwithstanding, the City which is inhabited, as the report goeth, by 800000 persons, from the beginning of those disorders to the last, remained in such quiet, that the Professors in the University never discontinued their Lectures, nor the Judges forbore to sit in the Courts of Justice.

1582.
In Paris were
800000 Inha-
bitants; yet
during the
Siege neither
the Lecturers
nor the Law-
yers disconti-
nued their
Lectures or
Audiences.

The third day the Prince, having put his men in order, advanced into the middle of a plain, inviting the Catholick Army to a Battel. But in stead of fighting, the Queen, desirous of a peace, to rid the Kingdom of foreign forces, or else by a Treaty of Accommodation to slacken the first heat of the Hugonots, to whom she knew nothing was so pernicious as delays, sent first Monsieur de Gonnor, and afterwards *Rambouillet*, and the Bishop of *Valence*, to treat with the Prince of an Agreement; which in a few days advanced so far, that first the Constable, and afterwards the Queen herself coming to a parley with him, it was hoped a peace would follow; such large reasonable Conditions being proposed on the Catholick party, that the Hugonots themselves knew not how to refuse them.

But the Prince and the Admiral, not knowing how to take off their minds from the hopes of rule and domination of *France*, and the Ministers never ceasing to demand liberty and security; they could not agree upon any reasonable Conditions that were offered unto them; and the manifest desire that they saw in their adversaries to obtain a peace, as a sign of weakness, increased the ardour and obstinacy of the ignorant. Whereupon the Treaty having continued till the seventh of *December*, and the Hugonots not being able for want of money or means to nourish their Army to continue still in the same Quarters, the Treaty being absolutely broken, they resolved (to go off with the best reputation they could) the night following to assault with four thousand men the Faux-Bourgs of *St. Germain*, guarded by the Regiments of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which were counted not so good men as the rest, and being far on the other side from the enemy, not so carefully guarded. But advice thereof was given to the Duke of *Guise*, who thinking to assault the assailants in the flank, caused all the Cavalry to stand armed and in readiness from the beginning of the night till next morning; and in the mean while with great diligence visiting the guards, kept the Foot awake, and under their Arms. Yet there was no need thereof; for the assailants, partly through the great compass they were to make, that they might not be discovered, partly through the darkness of the night, which is always full of errors, so spent the time, that they came not before the Faux-Bourg till break of day. By reason whereof, finding, besides, that the Catholicks were ready courageously to receive the assault, they retired for that day, without making any trial of their fortune.

The night following they had the like design upon the Faux-Bourg of *St. Marceau*; but that was hindered by the deliberation of *Genlis*, who either perceiving, as he said himself, the wicked intentions of the chief of the Hugonots, or else offended, as others said, that the Prince made but little account of him and his Brother after the rendering of *Bourges*, went over the same night with all his men into the City: by which accident, the Hugonots being very much troubled, and believing for certain, that he who was present at the deliberation had discovered the plot, they not only feared that their design upon *St. Marceau* would prove vain, but also that it might produce some sinister event. Wherefore they resolved, the same night to raise the Camp. To which purpose, whilst the Catholicks in readiness expected the assault, and the Duke of *Guise* thought on a suddain to fall upon one of their Quarters; they being risen in great silence without any noise either of Drum or Trumpet, first the carriages marched away towards *Beaufort*, after which many hours before day followed the Germans; and lastly, the Prince and the Admiral, having fired *Arcueil* and *Cachan* where they lay, and many other neighbouring Villages, departed in great haste as soon as the light began to appear; taking the same way with the rest of the Army, not upon any certain design, but only with the best commodity they could to get food for their men.

In the mean while, the Catholick Army was exceedingly increased. For whilst the time was artificially delayed in the Treaty, the Infantry of *Gascoigne* led by Monsieur de *Sansac* arrived by the way of *Mance*; and the King of *Spain*, desirous also to have the Hugonots suppressed, had sent the King a supply of three thousand Spanish Foot.

1562. So that, not to keep such a great Force idle within the Walls of the City, the Kings Army the day after moved the same way that the Hugonots had taken; the Constable commanding as General, but with the authority and assistance of the Duke of *Guise*; and the King with the Queen-Mother resolved to remain together at *Paris*.

The Hugonots, having three days after taken and pillaged the Castle of *St. Arnoul*, were uncertain what resolution to take. For long to maintain the Army was altogether impossible, through the want of money; having no revenue but their rapines, and for the insatiable importunity of the Germans, who never ceased begging or demanding their pay; and to meet the enemy, and give him Battel, being much inferior in Foot, Artillery and other Provisions, appeared too rash and desperate a resolution. The Prince was of opinion, since the chief of the Catholicks with the whole Army had left *Paris*, and followed him into *Beauvais*, to return thither with the same expedition that he departed; hoping he might enter the City upon a suddain, and seize upon the persons of the King and the Queen-Mother, before they could recover any succours from the Army. But this Proposition being made in their Council, was rejected by all the rest; considering the enemy would follow them so close, that he would come upon them either whilst they were making the assault, or else (supposing their design succeeded) whilst they were sacking the City; in either of which cases their Army would be manifestly ruined.

At the last, after many discourses, the Admirals opinion was approved of; who advised, That they should depart as secretly as they could with all the Army into *Normandy*. For if the Catholicks followed them not, they might make a prey of that so fertile and rich a Province, where they should have commodity to raise Moneys and recruit their Forces; and if they did follow him, notwithstanding they should have such a great advantage, that if they marched with any expedition, they might arrive at *Havre de Grace* before they could be overtaken; and there being joined with six thousand English, provided with twenty pieces of Cannon, store of Munition, and fifteen thousand Duckets, which Queen *Elizabeth*; according to the Articles of Agreement, sent to their aid; they might with such an addition of strength, either hazard a Battel, or continue the War with such counsels as should then be thought most expedient. With this determination, having all their unnecessary carriages and horses in the Castles of *Beauvais*, they marched away out of the Territories of *Chartres* the 14 day of *December*, in the close of the evening, to get clear of the Enemy before he should be advertised of their departure; and so with great diligence took the way of *Normandy*.

The Catholicks knew not of the Princes rising till the day after; and to have certain intelligence how they bent their course, staid till the evening of the 16 in the same place; so as the Hugonots got in a manner three days march before them. But passing through places full of Rivers and other impediments, in the worst season of the year, they were necessitated to lose much time; whereas the Catholicks taking the way over the Bridges through the Towns which all held for their party, made a more easie and expedite journey. The Admiral with the Germans led the Van, that they might be provided with the most convenient Quarters, and to feed and content them with the pillage of the Country; having nothing else to satisfy their wonted complaints and frequent mutinies. The Prince followed with all the Infantry in the Battel: The Count de *Roch-foucault* and the Prince of *Porcien*, with the greatest part of the French Cavalry, brought up the Rear: and so the Army was disposed with the best advice that could be. For the Germans preying upon the peasants that were yet untoucht, more easily supported the want of pay; and the French Cavalry marching behind all the rest, were more ready to sustain the charge of the Catholicks if they should be overtaken. But the Prince passing near *Dreux*, entered into hope by some means or other to possess himself of it: and therefore confounding the Orders that were given, without making the Admiral acquainted with the design, hastned his march with such diligence, that his Battel was become the Van; the Rear of Horse, that followed with the same Expedition, was placed in the middle; and the Germans being left behind, contrary to the Order given, made the Rear. In the mean while the Enterprize of *Dreux* proving vain, the Admiral grievously offended at this lightness, thought it best to stay a day in the place where he was, that the Army might recover the Order it was in before. Which delay having given time to the Catholicks to overtake them, brought by consequence both Armies into a manifest necessity of fighting a Battel.

Dreux

Dreux is twenty six leagues distant from *Paris*, situated upon the confines of *Normandy*, joining to those Plains which were anciently called the Plains of the *Druids*; and on the one side of it runs a little River, which being Foordable in all places, is by those of the Country commonly called *Eure*. This River the Hugonots had passed the nineteenth, and being lodged in the Villages adjoining, expected to continue their march the morning after with like haste as before. But the Catholicks Army following them without staying any where, and a shorter way, arrived the same night at the River, and lodged in the houses thereabouts; so that there was nothing between both the Armies but the current of the water. Yet by reason of the Shrubs and many Trees that grew upon the banks, they could not see one another, though they were so near. It is most certain, that the Prince, who lodged next the River, lay there with such negligence, (a fault which hath ever proved fatal to the Hugonots) that without placing the wonted Guards, or sending out Scouts, or any other care whatsoever, he took his rest all night, and knew not of the Catholicks coming till next morning very late. But the Constable quite contrary, being a practised, experienced Captain, very well knowing the advantage he had, and making use of the Enemies carelessness, passed all his Army over the River the same night by Moon-light, without any obstacle or impediment; and going on a league forwarder upon the place where the enemies were lodged, possessed the way by which, following their design, they were of necessity to pass. There, between two little Villages, the one called *Spinal*, the other *Blainville*, which stood by side the great Road, he placed his men with great commodity and no less silence.

1562.
Negligence
the ordinary
defect of the
Hugonots.

The Army was divided into two parts; the first the Constable led, the other the Duke of *Guise*; but they disposed their Squadrons in such a manner, that in the Right-wing of the Constables were the Swisses flankt by the Regiments of Fire-locks of *Brittany* and *Picardy*; and in the Left-wing of the Duke of *Guise*, the *Germans* flankt with the *Gascon* and *Spanish* Infantry; and both the Wings closed and sheltered with the houses of the Villages, having *Spinal* on the right, and *Blainville* on the left hand; and besides the defence of the houses, they placed their Carriages and Artillery on each side; for the enemy being stronger in Horse, they doubted to be compassed in, and charged in the flank. The main body of Cavalry being divided into little Troops of Lances, that they might use them the more conveniently, and were placed between the Squadrons of Foot; which in a manner flankt and covered them; and only the light Horse taking their station out of the Battalions, were drawn up at the point of the Right-wing where the *Champagn* began to open it self, and with a large front possessed the pass of the great Road. But the Duke of *Guise's* Battalion, which was in the Left-wing, though it was nearest to the enemy, yet was it so covered with a number of Trees that it had in flank, and the houses of *Blainville*, that it could hardly be perceived by the Hugonots: and on the contrary, the Constable having his light Horse ranged upon the *Champagn* was easie to be discerned afar off; and by the largeness of their Front, might well be taken for the whole body of the Army.

The day being come, and the Admiral, who was farthest from the River, beginning according to the order given to march; on a suddain the Constables Squadrons appeared; and being assured by his Scouts, that they were the Catholicks, exclaiming against the negligence of his Officers, he turned about, saying aloud to them that were next him, The time is now come that we must no longer trust to our feet, as we have done hitherto; but like Souldiers, rely upon the strength of our hands: and having sent word to the Prince, that the enemy was arrived, he caused his Division to make a halt, that the rest of the Army might draw up to join in a Body upon the *Champagn*. The Prince, though he were advised by many to turn to the left hand, to recover a Village thereby, that he might either prolong, or else wholly avoid the necessity of fighting; yet the nearness of the enemy inciting his natural fierceness, he resolved rather to make a day of it without advantage in the open field, than to be afterwards forced to disband the Army without making trial of his fortune. So hastning his march, he joined with the Van in the middle of the plain; and having with great diligence put his men in order, continued on his way, with an intention not to provoke the Catholicks, and to pursue his journey; but if he were provoked by them, not to refuse the Battel.

The Hugonots marching in this manner, and not having discovered the Squadrons of the Duke of *Guise*, (who causing his Foot to set one knee to the ground, and his

M

Horse

1562. Horse to retire into the Street of the Village, stood as it were in ambush) passed on without perceiving they left a part of the Enemies force behind them, and came up to the place where the Constables Battalia was drawn up: who perceiving the great advantage he had, (for the Duke of Guise fetching a little compass about, (they having inconsiderately engaged themselves) might set upon them in the Rear) commanded the signal to be given to the Battel with fourteen pieces of Cannon that were placed on the outside of the left Wing. Whereupon the Prince, though his light Horse were somewhat disordered, therewith putting himself in the head of his Division, led them on with great animosity to assault the Battalion of the Swisses, which in a manner fronted him. The first that fell in upon them were Monsieur de Mux, and Monsieur de Avaray with their Horse; then the Prince charging himself, and by his example the Baron of Liancourt, the Count de Saule, Monsieur de Darnas, and the other Captains de Gens d'Arms, the whole force of that Battalia was turned upon the Swisses: some charging them in the Front, others in the Flank, with all the earnestness and violence that might be; believing, that if they were routed, the victory would infallibly incline to their side.

But the Swisses, charged and compassed in on every side by such a number of enemies, valiantly charging their pikes, received the shock of the Cavalry with such a courage, that though divers of their pikes were broken, and many of them trodden under foot by the Horses; yet they stood firm in their order, repulsing and abating with exceeding great slaughter the fury of the enemy.

At the same time the Count de la Roch-fou-cault and the Prince of Porcien, who brought up the Reer, entring fiercely into the Battel, first fell in upon the light Horse, which made but weak resistance, and afterwards upon the Regiments of Picardy and Brittany that flankt the Swisses on that side; and the Fire-locks being broken and routed, they likewise assaulted the same Squadron in the Rear; where though the danger and loss of blood were great, yet they found a resolute and hard encounter. For the Swisses standing in a close order, made a Front every way, and bravely resisted on all sides; so that two Tertia's of the Hugonots Army were fruitlessly imployed in the same place, being obstinate to break the Battalia of the Swisses, to whom (if they had been abandoned by all the rest of the Army) they must either voluntarily have yielded, or at least retired with much loss.

The Battel of
Dreux.

But the Admiral, who led the Van with better conduct and more advantage, had in the mean while charged the Constables Cavalry, and having in the first encounter killed his Son Gabriel de Momorancy, Sieur de Monbrun, and laid upon the ground the Count de Rocheforte, who likewise remained there dead; (though on all parts it were valiantly fought) yet he began to make the Catholicks yield ground; and thereupon the German Horse coming up in two great Squadrons, armed with pistols, with a new and furious assault mingled themselves in the conflict; and absolutely disordered the whole Battalion of the Catholicks; so that being defeated and routed, they manifestly ran away. There the Constable fighting valiantly, and seeking to keep his men from flight, being compassed in by the multitude of the Germans, (who if they can once find a breach open, easily overthrow any body of men) his Horse falling under him, and being wounded in the left arm, was at length taken prisoner. The Duke of Nevers, Monsieur de Givry, and many other Gentlemen and Cavaliers being fallen dead by his side.

The Constable
taken prisoner,
and his
Son with many
others killed.

The Duke of Anmale and Monsieur d'Anville were near the Constables Battalion with two Squadrons of Lances; who moving to succour that party which they saw already began to yield, came boldly on to rush into the fight: but those that were chafed by the Admiral and the Germans fled in such haste, that over-running their own men, they disordered the Duke of Anmale's Squadron; who being thrown down, and his Horse falling upon him, was maimed on the left Leg; and Monsieur d'Anville retiring out of the tumult of the run-aways, to avoid (seeing nothing was to be done) the like encounter, was constrained to return back to the same place from whence he came. So all the Constables Cavalry being routed, and the French Foot that were with him defeated; only the Swisses, beset on all sides, but standing firm in a close order and doubled Battalia, having beaten back and destroyed the German Foot, who were so bold as to assault them, though they had lost their Colonel and the most of their Captains, made still a very obstinate resistance; and the report is most certain, that the valiant resolution, even of the meanest Souldiers of that Nation, was such that

The Constables
Division
being broken,
the Swisses
only with ex-
ceeding gal-
lantry sustain
the fight.

that day, that many of them, when their pikes were broken, and their swords lost, fought, resolutely with stones.

1562.

But the Duke of *Guise*, when he saw the left Wing wholly routed, and knew the Constable was taken prisoner; there being now no danger to be over-run by the fugitives who ran away scattered in the Champagn, and perceiving the enemy was disordered and wearied with the fight, gave the signal to his Squadrons to move; and putting on his Arms, in few words encouraged his men, shewing them, that they had a great advantage to fight with an enemy already wearied out and scattered, who because they had routed the Constables Cavalry, thought themselves secure of the Victory. He had the Spanish foot on the right hand, and the *Gascons* on the left; which bending on the form of an half Moon, covered his Horse, that for the more security were placed in the middle; and about an hundred paces before all the rest, marcht the forlorn hope of Foot, led by Monsieur *de Villers*, the same that took St. *Katherines* Fort at the siege of *Rouen*: which being resolute old Souldiers, were placed there to sustain the first shock of the enemy. In this order, but composedly and quietly, with their Squadrons closed together, he marched with great fierceness to the Battel, and being in the head of his Cavalry, seemed to make but little account of the victorious Army of the Enemy.

On the other side, the Prince and the Admiral, not perceiving that they had left the Catholick Van behind them, and believing they had gained an intire Victory; when they saw such a great force come upon them, rallying their men, and joining again with the Reiters, (who when they found they could not break the Battalia of the Swisses, were in pursuit of the Enemy) came separately to the Front; but with a divers event, and diverse resolution. The Prince seeing the Forlorn hope in his way, which, despising all danger, set upon him, filling every place with death and confusion; and the *Gascoigne* Musquetiers, which entred courageously into the fight, playing upon him in the flank, before he could bring up his men to charge the Horse, was so shaken and disordered, that his Division was with much ease dissolved and overthrown, and himself, invironed by Monsieur *d'Anville*, (who through grief of his Fathers imprisonment, fought desparately) being wounded in the right hand, and all covered with sweat and blood, finally remained prisoner. On the other side, the Admiral, seeing the fierceness with which the Spanish Foot, pouring out their small shot, came to charge him in the flank; and that at the same time the Marshal *de S. Andre* with divers companies of Lances which were yet fresh and intire, began to move towards him; and finding his men and horses through weariness could scarcely be kept in order, he went not up to the Front of the Battalia, but wheeling about, and skirmishing lightly, endeavoured to rally his men which were scattered in the field, watching an opportunity to retreat in the best order and with the most reputation that he could. Notwithstanding, making divers charges, and fighting continually with his Pistols, he sustained a long time the fury of the enemy; especially, after that the Marshal, being mortally wounded, left the field. But at last, being charged by the Duke of *Guise*, who after the Prince was taken, advanced with divers Troops of his *Gens d'Arms*, to environ him; and the Foot arriving on all sides, that with their shot destroyed his horses; all hope of rallying his men being lost, he resolved to save himself in time; and getting as many of his men together as the enemies pursuit would permit, in great haste made towards the woods; and without staying or taking breath, with his horses tired and men wearied, in the close of the evening came to *Neufville*.

The Prince of Condé thinking he had won the Battel, being charged afresh by the Duke of *Guise*, is taken prisoner.

The Hugonots lost the day.

At the beginning of the disorder *Andelot* was retired to the same place; who by reason of a quartan Ague, being unable to endure the fight, having gotten to an eminent place, when he saw the Duke of *Guise's* Troops move, after, as he thought, the Kings Army was utterly defeated; he asked what men those were? and answer being made, that they were the Duke of *Guise's*; which had not yet fought: he said many times, that this tail was impossible to be flea'd; and setting spurs to his horse, thought to secure himself without expecting the issue of the Battel. Both the Brothers then being come to *Neufville*, they endeavoured to get together those relicks of the Army that had escaped the Enemy; which following the example of the Commanders, came scattering in. So the night coming on, through the darkness whereof they could not be pursued, the Prince of *Porcien*, the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and the Germans, who led the Constable Prisoner, all met in the same place; where, with a great

M 2

applause

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The Admiral
made General
of the Hugonots.

applause of every one, the Admiral was declared General of the Hugonots Army. Who, not to expose himself to the inconveniences of the night, stayed there till next morning break of day; when having put those few men that were left in order, he marched with great diligence towards *Orleans*, seeing the passage to *Havre de Grace* was already possessed and cut off by the Enemy, who lodged just in the middle of the great Road.

The two bitter
enemies *Conde*
and *Guise* sup
and lie toge-
ther in the
same bed.

The Duke of *Guise* remaining Master of the Field, together with all the Enemies Artillery and Carriages, and having received the French Infantry to mercy, which after a little resistance yielded themselves at discretion; being overtaken by the night, lodged very inconveniently upon the place at *Blainville*; whither the Prince of *Conde* being brought to him, it is very remarkable, that those two Princes, formerly and in the present Battel such mortal enemies, reconciled by the variety of fortune, supped together at the same table, and for want of carriages, and through straightness of lodging, lay together all night in the same bed. For the Duke of *Guise* using his Victory modestly, receiving the Prince with all demonstrations of honour, offered him part of his. In which the patience of the Conquered in the desperate estate of his present defeat, was no less considerable than the modesty of the Conquerour in the prosperity of his Victory.

The first news that came to *Paris*, was of the defeat and imprisonment of the Constable, brought by those that ran away at the beginning of the Battel; which filled the Court with great sadness and infinite fear: but a few hours after arrived there Monsieur *de Loffe*, Captain of the Kings Guard, dispatched by the Duke of *Guise*; who bringing such a contrary relation, with the assurance of a Victory, dissipated their grief for particular losses, in which the greatest part of the Kingdom had a share: for besides many Lords and Cavaliers of great esteem and reputation, there were slain on both sides 8000 persons.

Various were the opinions and discourses of men concerning this Battel: for many accused the negligence of the Prince of *Conde*, when having the Enemy so near, he believed he was still far off; which necessitated him to fight against his will: Many blamed the haste they saw in the Admiral to retire; believing that if he had vigorously charged them when the Marshal *de S. Andre* was killed, he would have routed and defeated that part of the Catholick Horse, and put his party in a condition to recover again their loss. And on the other side, there wanted not those, who making a sinister interpretation of the Duke of *Guise's* proceedings, were of opinion, that he might at the beginning, coming behind the Enemy, have rendered the Victory more easy and more secure, without expecting first the disaster of the Constable, and the slaughter of the Horse and Foot; but that being desirous of the Constables ruine, and to remain sole Arbitrator of the Catholick Faction, he had craftily suffered the Enemy to rout the right Wing, on purpose to assume all the glory and command to himself. To which notwithstanding, he and his partisans made answer, That he moved not at the beginning, first to let the Enemies pass, and then to avoid the blind fury of them that ran away, by which he might have been disordered, as were the Duke of *Anjou* and the Constables Son himself; but that he had patiently expected an opportunity to accomplish the Victory with security; which by an inconsiderate haste would have proved uncertain and dangerous. Howsoever it were, it is certain, that as the Duke of *Guise* gained all the glory of the day; so the reputation of the Hugonots, rather by accident than any real loss, was in great part diminished. The Duke remained in the same place three days after; as well to put in order and refresh the Army, as to provide for the wounded men, and the burial of his dead: and being by the King and Queen declared General of all the Forces, of which charge he took possession with the Victory, not to give the Enemy time to recover himself, directed his course towards *Orleans*.

The Duke of
Guise made
General of the
Kings Forces.

In the mean while, the Admiral with a great part of his Forces, and particularly the German Horse, which received but little hurt in the Battel, was returned into *Beaufse*; where granting a Warlike liberty to gain and assure the affections of the Souldiers, he at last brought them to *Beaugency*, to take such resolution as was most expedient for the present necessity. There a Council being called of all the French Lords and German Commanders, it was disputed with great variety of opinions, what in that change of fortune was fittest to be done. It was not to be doubted, but the Duke of *Guise* pursuing his Victory, would come directly to besiege *Orleans*, which in the

the bowels of *France* was the chief seat and foundation of the War. Wherefore it was expedient to think how to defend that City, and also to provide for it in time a fitting supply : which being very hard to be done, by reason many already wavered in their affections, and the fortune and reputation of the Hugonots declined in all parts of the Kingdom; the two Brothers of *Coligny* boldly took upon them the charge of taking care for both. For *Andelot* proffered himself, with the German Foot, and part of the French Horse, to defend *Orleans*; and the Admiral, laying before the Reiters (so they call the German Horse) the booty and riches of *Normandy* with the near succours of *England*, perswaded them to follow him into that Province; where whilst the Duke of *Guise* was in person employed in such a difficult siege, they might have opportunity to join with the English, receive the moneys sent by *Queen Elizabeth*, and bring all their succours together : with which forming a great body of an Army, they should be able afterwards time enough to succour and relieve the besieged.

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With these counsels the heads of the Hugonots directed their Actions. But the Duke of *Guise*, not to lose by delays the fruits of his Victory, at the beginning of the year put all things in readiness to besiege *Orleans*; having sent for the great Cannon from *Paris*, with all other provisions necessary for so great a work : at which siege, as well to hasten the issue thereof, as not to trust wholly to any one person, the Queen resolved to be present; and having past over with exceeding patience the sharpest and most incommodious season of the year, came with the King to *Chartres*; and staying there some few days, at the last arrived at the Army, lodging with much incommodity at the adjacent Villages. At the coming of the Kings Army, *Piviers*, *Estampes*, and all the other places thereabouts were already rendred : after the taking of which, the Duke of *Guise*, having gotten all his men together, drew towards the Town the fifth day of *February*, and encamped between the Faux-bourg d'*Olivette*, and the Town of *S. Aubin*; a convenient Quarter, and being placed upon the River of *Loire*, abounding with provisions. There were in *Orleans*, besides *Andelot*, who commanded all the rest, Monsieur de *St. Cyr*, Governour of the City, the Sieurs d'*Auaret*, *Duras*, and *Bouchavenes*, fourteen Companies of Foot, partly Germans, and partly Gascons, and five Troops of French Horse, consisting for the most part of old experienced Souldiers; and besides these, the Citizens, refusing neither labour nor danger for the defence of their Town, being divided into four Squadrons, with wonderful readiness hazarding themselves upon all services.

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Orleans is divided, though not equally, by the River of *Loire*; for on one side stands the whole body of the City, and on the other lies only a great Faux-bourg vulgarly called the *Portereau*. The *Portereau* is joined to the City with a fair Bridge, at the entrance whereof towards the Faux-bourg are two Forts, called the *Tourelles*, which hinder and shut the entry of the Bridge; at the other end whereof is the Gate of the City strengthened with good Walls, but without any Rampart, defended with a high square Tower built after the ancient fashion, of a great thickness. The Walls of the City were in themselves of little strength; but the Defendants had repaired and made them more defensible. Amongst other things, they fortified also the *Portereau*, raising two great Bastions before it, which might entertain and keep off the Enemy for a time from the Town : the one being right against the place where the Catholics encamped, was guarded by four Companies of the Gascons; and the other which was farther off, was kept by two Companies of the Germans. The Duke of *Guise* upon very good reasons thought it best to begin the Siege on that side. First, that his men being conveniently lodged, might the better support the incommodities of Winter; then, because, esteeming it an easie matter to take the works of the *Portereau*, he designed to make use of the commodity of the River to assail and batter the Walls of the City with a great number of Barks covered with Gabions, and full of other Warlike Instruments, which would in wonderful manner facilitate the assault. Besides on that side those within had neither Rampart of Earth within the Wall, nor any allurum place capable to receive a body of men. Wherefore the next morning the whole Army advanced in very good order within sight of the Town; Monsieur de *Sipierre* leading on the first Divisions of the Catholics with six hundred Horse, and two Regiments of Foot, with which force he easily beat back again into the Faux-bourg those who to shew their courage sallied out to skirmish. Whereupon his men being heartned with such good success at the beginning, he caused a furious assault to be given to the Bulwark guarded by the Gascoigns; at which the Duke of *Guise* coming in, and making shew

The Siege of
Orleans su-
stained by *An-
delot* with the
reliques of the
Hugonot Ar-
my.

1563. shew to draw all the forces of his Army to that place, at the same time sent *Sanjac's* Regiment to surprize by Scalado the other held by the Germans; who being amazed with the suddenness thereof, made so little resistance, that the Bulwark being taken, the Catholicks entered the Faux-bourg before any body perceived there was an attempt made upon that part. By which means the assailants having already made themselves strong within the Rampart, and all the Army that stood in order marching to them, the Defendants were constrained to abandon the Suburbs of the *Portereau*; but not without great terrour and confusion: in which *Duras* being slain, with many other persons of remark, they were so closely pursued by the Catholicks who came up to them on all sides, that if *Andelot* himself, fighting valiantly with a great Squadron of Gentlemen, had not withstood them, they had in that fury entred the Towrells. But he standing at the entry of the Bridge all covered with Arms, and bravely assisted, they were with much difficulty at length repulsed; and the Ports of the Towers and the City being shut, that bloody conflict ended with the day. The Faux-bourg being secured, the Army approached to the Towrells; which proving very hard to be taken, by reason of the strength of the place, the Duke of *Guise* notwithstanding with Gabions, Trenches and Engines of War, so far advanced the work, that he found they could not long maintain that Poste; though from the Cannon planted in certain Islands in the middle of the River, those upon the banks received much molestation and damage.

In the mean while, the Admiral with his Reiters and some few French Horse, having left all their carriage and baggage at *Orleans*, passing the *Loire* at *Georgeau*, marcht with such expedition, that the Marshal of *Brissac*, who endeavoured to lie in their way, could by no means stop them in any place, or hinder them from passing into *Normandy*; which Province the Reiters, slaughtering, firing, pillaging and destroying all things both sacred and prophane, over-ran without resistance; there being no forces in that Country which were able to hinder their incursions. So passing through all places like a horrible and fearful tempest, they came at last to the coasts of the Ocean at *S. Sauveur de Dive*. There the Germans not knowing in what part of the World they were, and seeing the Sea grow furious and enraged with the tempestuousness of the weather, and no news at all appearing of the succours so often promised from *England*, began fiercely to mutiny; demanding with clamour and threats the arrears of their pay, and calling upon the Admiral to observe his promise: who coming out of his Lodging, and shewing them with his finger the swelling of the Sea, and the impetuous contrary winds, excused with the perverseness of the weather, and the season, the delay of their expected supplies. But the Germans not to be appeased with any thing, he could hardly obtain of them the patience of a few days; though to satisfy their greediness, he gave them free licence to plunder all, as well friends and adherents, as adversaries and enemies. Wherefore destroying with barbarous cruelty all the tract of that Country which with wonderful fertility and richness of the inhabitants extends it self along the Ocean, he stayed so long expecting about the Sea-coasts, that at length the storm ceasing, they descryed from *Havre de Grace* the English Ships, which brought with them both the 150000 Ducats, and the two Regiments of Foot, besides fourteen pieces of Cannon, with all manner of munition proportionable. The English under the conduct of the Count of *Montgomery* and Monsieur de *Colombiere*, being received with incredible joy, and the Reiters satisfied for their arrears; the Admiral having sent for the Count de *la Roch-foucault* and the Prince of *Porcien*, who brought succours out of *Brittany* and the neighbouring Countries, making in all eight thousand Foot and four thousand Horse; put himself in order with great diligence to go to the succour of his Brother with all the speed that was possible: hoping, either by force or art to make them raise their siege from that place. But the Duke of *Guise* having already, though with loss of much blood, taken the Towrells, the Defendants were reduced to great straits; nor could the Admiral have arrived soon enough to succour the besieged; if other stratagems and means had not been used to deliver them from that imminent danger.

John Poltrov ... feigns to forsake the Hugonot party, leaves Orleans, insinuates himself into the Duke of Guise's Court, whilst the Duke gives order for an assault, shoots him in the shoulder, whereof he dies.

There was among the Hugonots Faction one called *John Poltrov* Sieur de *Mereborn*, of a noble Family near *Angoulesme*. This man being of a ready wit, and by nature subtle, having lived many years in *Spain*, and afterwards imbracing *Calvin's* opinion, being made cunning by the preachings and practises of *Geneva*, was esteemed by all (as he was indeed) fit to undertake any great attempt. Wherefore being known

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to all the heads of the Hugonot Faction as a proper Instrument for any such designs, which are the daily effects of Civil Wars, he was perswaded, as they say by the Admiral and *Theodore Beza*; to endeavour to kill the Duke of *Guise*; the one proposing to him infinite rewards and acknowledgments; the other laying before him, that by taking out of the World so great a Persecutor of their Faith, he should merit exceedingly of God. Which perswasions working upon *Polrot*, feigning to have abandoned the Calvinists party, he went to be a Souldier in the Kings Army; and there insinuating himself likewise into the Duke of *Guises* Court, watched an opportunity to put in execution his purposed mischief. So the 24 of *February* in the evening, being the Feast of *St. Matthias* the Apostle, the Duke having given order for an assault, which the day after he intended should be made upon the Bridge of *Orleans*; and retiring unarmed to his lodging, was was little less than a league from the Trenches. *Polrot*, lying in wait on Horseback upon a swift Jennet, and seeing him come alone discoursing with *Trijtan Rostine* a servant of the Queens, discharged a Gun at him, laden with three bullets, which all three hit him on the right shoulder, and passing through the body, laid him upon the ground for dead. At which suddain accident, his Gentlemen, who, not to seem to hearken to what their Master said, rode a little before, running to help him: *Polrot* aided by the swiftness of his Horse, saved himself in the neighbouring Woods; and the Duke being carried to his lodging, shewed at the first dressing very little hopes of life. At the News of this sad accident, the King and Queen-Mother, with all the Lords of the Army, went presently to see him; but neither the diligent care nor remedies that were applied taking any effect, the third day after his hurt he died, with great demonstrations of Religion and Piety, and discourses full of constancy and moderation.

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He was a man of mature wisdom, singular industry, and sprightly valour; wary in Council, quick in execution, and most fortunate in conducting his designs to their intended ends. For which qualities, he was reputed by the general consent of all men, the chief Captain of his time. Likewise by the merit of his own Actions, he acquired the title of Defendor and Protector of the Catholick Religion; and dying, left the glory of his Name to be celebrated and renowned to all posterity.

The Murtherer, as if he had been besides himself, either through consciousness of the fact, or else through fear that he had to be pursued from every part; not finding the way to *Orleans*, wandred all night in the ways and woods thereabouts, and at last in the morning, neither he nor his horse being able to bear themselves longer upon their legs, he fell into certain companies of Swisses that were in guard at the Bridge d'*Oli-vonne*; by whom being taken, and carried before the Queen and the Lords of the Army, First, he confessed voluntarily the whole plot of the Fact; and afterwards, being put upon the torture, ratified the same confession: wherefore being led to *Paris*, he was by sentence of Parliament publicly quartered.

Polrot taken and condemned.

The Admiral and *Theodore Beza* endeavoured, by large Writings scattered in all parts of Christendom, to clear themselves of the suspicion: but the common opinions of men, confirmed not only by reason, but from the mouth of the Delinquent, refuted all their excuses; and the memory of it stuck close to his posterity, till the consummation of their revenge. The proceedings of the Queen-Mother were much different; to whom a Hugonot Captain commonly called *la Motte* having offered himself to find a means to kill *Andelot*; She causing him to be apprehended by her Guards, sent him bound to the same *Andelot*; that he might punish him as he pleased himself. Which though some interpreted sinisterly, believing that the Queen had either discovered a treacherous intent in the assassin; or else that she hoped to win *Andelot*, by such a kindness; in gratitude to deliver up *Orleans*, which they found hardly to be reduced by force; yet it is certain, that the greatness of the Queens mind made it generally believed, that she used no dissimulation in so generous an Action: and surely there are few examples of the like in any of our modern Stories.

A Hugonot Captain offering to kill Andelot, the Queen sends him to the same Andelot.

After the death of the Duke of *Guise*, an Accommodation followed without difficulty, the treaty whereof was never intermitted in the greatest fervour of the War. For the Queen being freed from the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise*, the one of which through his nearness to the Crown, and the other by reason of his immense power and great esteem amongst men, was always suspected by her; She desired by a domestick quieting the troubles of the Kingdom, to drive out the foreign forces before they settled themselves. Neither had she now any jealousies of the Prince of *Conde*

or

1563. or the Constable. For they had so offended each other, that she believed it was impossible that they should ever be sincerely reconciled. Besides, the Constable being grown decrepid with age, had neither force nor thoughts to aspire to the Government; and the Prince of *Conde*, though in the quality of first Prince of the Blood, for things past, and particularly for the Agreement made with *England*, was become odious to the whole Kingdom, except only those that followed the Hugonot party. Wherefore thinking it most expedient for the present to settle a peace, that with their united Forces they might without diversion attend the recovery of *Havre de Grace*, the alienation of which place into the hands of so powerful Enemies, more than any thing else troubled the Queen; that those things might be effected, and the Reiters expelled the Kingdom, (who without regard destroyed the Country, and with unheard of cruelties oppressed the people) She was inclined to grant very large Conditions. Also this other consideration was no small motive to persuade an agreement; That the Duke of *Guise* being dead, and the Constable prisoner to the Enemy, there was no Captain of like Authority and esteem, who having the command of the Kings Army, could in any degree equal the Admirals weariness, or the fierceness of *Andelot*. For the Duke of *Amale*, Brother to the late Duke of *Guise*, though he were a man of great courage, yet he was not esteemed answerable in counsel or wisdom. Besides, he was for the most part held unfortunate in the War; and which imported most, he was at that time, by reason of the hurts he received in the Battel, unfit for labour; and the Marechal of *Brissac*, though a Captain of great experience, and known valour, had not such an Authority as was requisite for a General of the Kings Army, composed of the chief Princes and principal Lords of his Kingdom. To these was added one reason more, that it made it very necessary to desire a peace: For the devastations of a Civil War had so wasted, broken, and hindred the Kings Revenues; and the excessive expences which the beginning of a War brings along with it, had so exhausted the Publick Treasury, that they were not only unable to pay the interests of those debts contracted by the former Kings, but the King was constrained to make them greater, having received in the time of her necessity a considerable Sum from the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and 100000 Duckets from the Republick of *Venice*. Wherefore having not wherewithal to continue the War, she thought it wisdom to lay hold on the advantage of the present conjuncture.

On the other side, the Prince of *Conde* seeing himself prisoner to the Enemy, to obtain his liberty, ardently desired a Peace; and *Andelot*, being reduced to a necessity of yielding, thought it would be more for his reputation to be included in a general accord, than to deliver up the Town upon a capitulation made only by himself. The Admiral was of a contrary opinion; who neither trusting to the Kings reconciliation, nor the Queens promises, and knowing he was inwardly hated and detested, chose for the best, rather to continue the War now the chief Leaders of the adverse party were gone, than to expose his person to the danger of a suspected and dissembled Peace. But he being absent, and the accommodation treated at *Orleans*, where the Queen was in person in the Camp, and the Constable prisoner in the City; whither also came about the same business Madam *Eleanor* wife to the Prince of *Conde*; without having any regard to the opinion of the Admiral, the Peace was concluded and established upon these Conditions; That all those that were free Lords over the Castles or Lands that they possessed, not holding of any but the Crown, might within their Jurisdictions freely exercise the Reformed Religion; and that the other Feudataries, who had not such dominion, might do the same in their own houses, for their families only; provided, they lived not in any City or Town. That in every Province certain Cities should be appointed, in the Faux-bourg whereof the Hugonots might assemble at their devotion. That in all other Cities, Towns and Castles in the City of *Paris*, with the Jurisdiction thereof, and all places whatsoever where the Courts resided, the exercise of any other but the Roman Catholick Religion should be prohibited. Yet every one to live free in his Conscience, without either trouble or molestation. That the Professors of the pretended Reformed Religion should observe the holy-days appointed in the Roman Kalender; and in their Marriages, the Rites and Constitutions of the Civil Law. That all the Lords, Princes, Gentlemen, Souldiers and Captains, should have a full Pardon for all delinquencies committed during the time, or by occasion or ministry of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royal Majesty; and therefore every one to be restored to his Charges, Dignities, Goods, Priviledges

Conditions of
Peace concluded
at Orleans
the 18 of
March, 1563.

Privileges and Prerogatives. That the Germans should be sent, and have safe conduct out of the Kingdom; and that it should be in the Kings power to recover all his Places, Towns and Castles, from any persons whatsoever that presumed to withhold them from him.

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This Capitulation being published in the Camp, and in the Court, the eighteenth day of *March* the Prince of *Conde* and the Constable came out of prison; *Andelot* delivered the City of *Orleans* into the Queens hands; the Nobility no less wearied with the toils than expences of the War, very willingly departed; and the Reiters being conveyed to the confines and satisfied for their pay, returned to their own houses.

The Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, but particularly those of *Paris*, *Tbolouſe*, and *Aix*, those three being always more averse than the rest to the Hugonot party, refused to accept and register the Edict of Pacification. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Montpensier* appearing in the name of the State at *Paris*; at *Tbolouſe*, the Vicount de *Joyeuse*; and the Count de *Enze* at *Aix*, they laying before them, that the King thought it most convenient for the quiet of the Kingdom and the welfare of his Subjects, that the Pacification should be accepted and approved; at last the Articles were published: yet still reserving a power in his Majesty, whensoever he should think fit, to correct, or revoke it. There was no less resistance amongst the enemies and Hugonot Ministers, seeing the Edict of *January* so streightly moderated; and it was exceedingly resented by the Admiral, who had conceived a great hope to overcome the War. But the Prince of *Conde* being pleased it should be so, and the Nobility greedily concurring with him, they were forced to comply for the present; though in the mean while contriving among themselves new and more dangerous revolutions.

The Peace being agreed on and published, the Queen not giving her self leisure to breathe, having sent the Army into *Normandy* under the command of the Mareſhal de *Brissac*, went thither in person; designing, without delay to reduce *Havre de Grace* by force, and to order matters by her own presence and directions. Whereby, besides that she was secured from the arts and treacheries of the great Ones, and her Councils were more effectually directed to their proper ends; she also gained the affections of the Souldiers to the King, who being brought up amongst the Armies, and present at all Councils and Actions, was replenished with generous lively thoughts; daily learning by experience the practical part of governing his Kingdom.

Charles was of magnanimous and truly Royal nature, of a sharp ready wit; and for the Majesty of his aspect and gravity of manners in so tender an age, not only esteemed, but greatly revered by those that were about him. On the other side, the English which were to the number of 3000 in *Havre de Grace* under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*, failed not, carefully to provide for and fortifie themselves; hoping by the strength of the place to be able to make a bold resistance, until the arrival of their Fleet, which was coming with great preparations, not only to succour that place, but also to land men, and to infest the borders of the lower *Normandy*, and all the coasts towards the Brittish Sea. But the Queen having summoned them by an Herald, within the term of three days to deliver up the Town, which contrary to the Articles of Peace they had unjustly usurped; that short time being expired, the Army was brought before it, and Batteries raised in divers parts.

Not many days after, the Constable arrived at the Camp: whose presence added a greater vigour to the Assiegers; and however the pains and directions was divided between him and the Mareſhal de *Brissac*, all the authority and command remained in the Queen; who lodging in the Abby of *Fecan*, rode every day to the Army, soliciting the advancement of the siege in such a manner, that one of the Towers which stood at the entry of the gate being already taken, and Colonel *Sarlabous* with a good number of Foot lodged therein, the Defendants were reduced to great extremities; which daily more and more increasing by reason of the heats, it being then about the middle of *July*, the Town was infected with such a grievous Plague, (to which the English through the temper of their bodies and manner of diet are exceeding subject) that a horrible mortality consumed in few days the greatest part of their men. Wherefore the Earl of *Warwick*, not being able longer to resist the force of the Army, and the anger of Heaven, at length, upon the seventeenth day of *July*, agreed to render himself upon these Conditions: That he should freely deliver up *Havre de Grace* into the hands of the Constable for the use of the most Christian King; with all the

Havre de Grace delivered up upon conditions.

N

Artillery

1563, Artillery and Munition belonging to the French, and all the Ships and Merchandize taken or seized upon since the War began. That all the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty without ransom; and that the English within the term of six days should transport their arms and baggage, without receiving any impediment whatsoever.

The Capitulation was scarcely confirmed, and Hostages given on both parts, when the English Fleet, consisting of sixty Ships, and well furnished with men, appeared at Sea, steering their course with a very favourable wind directly to the Haven. But the Earl of *Warwick*, thinking it dishonourable not to stand to his Capitulation, gave notice to the Admiral of the Fleet, that the Town was already rendred. Wherefore casting anchor till he had received the Souldiers of the Garison aboard, when they were all embarked, he set sail again, and without making any other attempt returned into *England*.

The Queen having with such facility dispatched the strangers, she presently applyed all her endeavour to pacifie the troubles of the Kingdom, and to reform things in the Government. Her intention was, since the King was in the fourteenth year of his age, to cause him to be declared past his Minority, and capable to govern of himself, knowing that such a Declaration would take away from the Princes of the Blood and other great Lords the right of pretending or aspiring to the Government; and that through the Kings youth, and the absolute authority her counsels had over him, she should still continue in the same power and administration of the Kingdom. But this design was opposed by the opinions and authority of many Councillors and Lawyers, who disputed, That the King could not be freed from the Government of his Tutors, nor have the Rule put into his own hands, nor be declared out of Minority, if he had not fully finished and altogether accomplished the time prefixed of fourteen years; of which he yet wanted many months. With the *Archives* of the Crown that are kept in the Monastery of Monks at *St. Dennis*, amongst the Acts of the Court of Parliament, there is a Constitution of *Louis* the Fifth King of *France*, (he that was surnamed the Wise) made solemnly in the Parliament of *Paris* in the year of our Salvation 1363. sealed by the High Chancellor *Dormans*, and subscribed by the Kings Brothers, the Princes of the Blood-Royal, and a great number of the chief Barons and Lords of the Kingdom; by which it is declared, That the Kings of *France* may in the fourteenth year of their age assume to themselves the Government and Administration of the Kingdom: But it is not clearly specified, whether this Constitution be of force at the beginning, or else at the end of the fourteenth year. For which reason many Councillors, particularly those of the Parliament of *Paris*, (perhaps knowing they had greater power during the Minority of the King, and therefore desiring to enlarge the time of exercising it) affirmed, That it could not be said the Pupil was come to the age of fourteen years, if he had not fully accomplished them; nor could by any means, before that time, free himself from the obligation of a Minor. On the other side, the High Chancellor *de d' Hospital*, a man of profound learning, and those that favoured the Queens intentions, alledged, That in matters of honour and dignity, they were not to count the minutes of time, as is usual in the * Reintegration of Pupils; the Laws having an aim to be gracious in the favour of those in minority, to whom it was a benefit to have the time prolonged, before they be settled in their Estates. But in conferring honours, it was matter of advantage and favour to abbreviate the term, and cut off delays; that the space of a few months was of no moment for the confirming the judgment and understanding of a man; and that the Laws prescribe the age of fourteen years for a man to remain in his own power. These their reasons they proved with the same testimony of the Imperial Laws, by which all Christian Potentates are governed, and with the clearest and most famous Expositors of them; who in the distribution of Honours and Offices, have, by a common rule practised in civil right, ever reckoned the year begun, and as they say, *incubatus*, for the year ended and finished. But because the Parliament of *Rouen* had ever shewed it self more obedient to the Kings commands than all the rest, and in the late restitution of the City the particular Councillors thereof had received many special graces and favours from the Queen; they resolved to make this Declaration pass in that Parliament, rather then expose themselves to the contradiction of the Councillors of *Paris*, who had gotten a custom to take upon them to moderate by their sentences the Royal Decrees. So the King and the Queen, after the reduction of *Heure de Grace*, returning with great reputation

* Livery made to Wards.

In matters of favour the year begun is taken for the year ended.

taxation to *Rouen*; the 15 day of *September* they went solemnly with all the Court-Lords and Officers of the Crown, to the Parliament; where, in the presence of the Councillours, the King took upon him with the wonted Ceremonies, the free absolute Government of the Kingdom.

1563.
After much
opposition,
Charles the
Ninth is de-
clared out of
minority by
the Parliament
of *Rouen*.

The Parliament of *Paris* exceedingly resented, that a business of such great weight should be decided and determined in any other seat than theirs, which hath the pre-eminence of all the rest, and is ordinarily held as a general Council of the whole Nation. But the King being already declared out of Minority, and by nature of a manly masculine Spirit, was much the more offended, that the Parliament of *Paris* presumed to interpose in matters of Government, which belonged not to them; and sharply admonished the Councillours that they should busie themselves to do Justice, to which they were deputed, and not meddle with the affairs of State, which depended wholly upon his will and arbitrement. By which admonitions the Councillours being somewhat mortified, they accepted and published without farther contest the Declaration of his Majority.

The King having assumed the power of the command in name and appearance, the Queen (whose counsels were of more authority than ever) turned all her thoughts to quiet and pacifie the Kingdom, which (like the Sea when the storm is newly past) after the conclusion of the Peace remained troubled and unquiet. It was no longer necessary to keep the parties divided, and balance the force of the Factions, since on the one side the Kings Majority had removed all pretences of affecting the Administration of the Government; and already his Authority, partly by such notable Victories, partly by taking the power into his own hands, was so confirmed and established, that the past suspicion ceased of the machination and treachery of the great ones; who, it was doubted, aspired, by casting the Pupils out of the Royal Seat, to transfer the Dominion of the Crown upon themselves: and on the other side, the death of the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise*, had so notoriously weakened the Catholick Faction; and the rash proceedings of the Prince and the Admiral had so abated their credit, and diminished their followers, that the power of both parties being suppressed, disorders quieted, and civil dissensions removed, the Kingdom might easily reassume that form in which the preceding Kings had so many ages past enjoyed it. Upon this, the Queen bent all her intentions, (having devised together with the King, and the High Chancellor de l'*Hospital*, who by their secret counsels wholly managed the affairs) to try all means possible to draw the Prince of *Conde* from the protection of the Hugonots Faction; to appease the Admiral and *Andelot*; who being full of suspicion, stood as it were retired from frequenting the Court; and having in this manner deprived that party of Heads and Protectors, by little and little, without noise or violence, to eradicate and destroy them; so that at the last, as in former times it hath happened with many others, it should fall of it self, and be extinguished as it were insensibly. By these arts, dissimulations, wariness and dexterity, they hoped so to work, that the Kingdom should be settled again in that sincerity of quiet, to which by violent sharp means, by force and the sword it was very difficult and dangerous to seek to reduce it.

For the effecting these ends, it was necessary to have a peace with *England*; to renew the confederacy with the Commonalty of the *Swisses*; and to maintain a good intelligence with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; that the Hugonots might be deprived of such support; and stranger Nations of pretences to come into the Kingdom, from whose invasions they had lately freed themselves with such infinite labour, danger and prejudice, both publick and particular. To this purpose an Overture of a Treaty was made with Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Guido Cavalcanti* a Florentine, who was conversant in the affairs, and understood the interests of both Kingdoms. To the Protestant Princes of *Germany* they sent *Rasculane*, a man formerly employed in that Country by the Duke of *Guise*, to quiet and gain the Protestants; with power besides to treat of divers things that concerned the mutual instruments of both Nations. And to the Republick of the *Swisses* went *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* Bishop of *Limoges*, to renew the ancient Capitulations made with the Father and Grandfather of the present King. But with the Prince of *Conde* they used all subtil arts to convert him sincerely to his obedience. For the King and the Queen receiving him with great shews of confidence, and respecting him as first Prince of the Blood, presently conferred upon him the Government of *Picardy*, the taking away of which was the first spark

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that kindled in him a desire to attempt alterations in the State, and entertaining him as much as could be at Court with Plays, Feasts, and all manner of pastimes, sought to make him in love with the ease and pleasures of peace; and in some measure at least to forget the fierceness of his nature. To these practices being added the death of *Eleanor de Roye* his Wife, a woman of an unquiet nature, and that continually spurred him on to new undertakings, the Queen perswaded *Margarite de Lustrac*, Widow to the *Mareschal de S. Andre*, who was left very rich both by her Father and Husband, to offer her self to him in marriage; believing, that the Prince by this match supplying the necessity of his fortune, and living at ease, and in the splendor belonging to the greatness of his Birth, would not easily be induced hereafter to involve himself in new troubles, which had already proved so disastrous and dangerous.

But to separate and withdraw him from the friendship of the *Chastillons*, whose conversation, it was plain, stirred his thoughts to innovations; they indeavoured by the same Court-flatteries to make him believe, that the loss of the Battel of *Dreux* proceeded from the cowardise and treachery of the Admiral and *Andelot*, who either too careful of saving themselves, or envying the valour with which he began to conquer, fled a great deal too soon, leaving those alone that fought courageously, and principally him, in the hands of the Enemy; which things being prest home and instilled into him, might distract his mind, and put him in diffidence of his ancient friends and confederates. But he being exceedingly enamoured of *Limeville*, one of the Queens Maids, whom (he not seeming to take notice of it) he enjoyed, having besides the hope of so rich a match that was offered him, these two Considerations contributed more to the pacifying of his natural fierceness, than all the arts that were used to withdraw him from the adherence of the Admiral and the other Brothers of *Chastillon*; who, not trusting in the Queen, nor believing she could ever have any confidence in them, could by no means be secured; but continually practising to raise new hopes in the Hugonots, stood upon their guard at a distance from the Court.

The common peace and the Queens intentions were not more opposed by the Hugonots, than the Catholick party intent to revenge the death of the Duke of *Guise*, and impatient to see a toleration of Religion.

French Duke of *Guise* left his widow *Anne d'Est*, sister to the Duke of *Ferrara*, with three sons, *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, *Lodovick* that was Cardinal, whom *Henry* the Third caused to be murdered, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was afterwards Head of the Catholick League.

Francis Duke of *Guise*, by his Wife *Anne d'Est* Sister to *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara*, left three male children, *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, a youth of singular hope and exceeding expectation, *Lodovick* destined to the Church and the dignity of Cardinal, and *Charles*, first Marquis, then Duke of *Mayenne*, (he who in the late Wars maintained the Catholick League against *Henry* the Fourth.) These Sons, who neither for greatness of mind nor courage degenerated from their Father, though they were very young, yet being upheld by the fierceness of the Duke of *Aumale*, and the authority of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, their Uncles, boldly attempted to make themselves the Heads of the Catholick party: and therefore indeavoured to gain credit in the world, and to promote new motives to maintain the ardour of the Faction. For which cause, having assembled a great number of their kindred and servants, they went together all clad in mourning to the King, demanding very earnestly, and with great clamour, of the people of *Paris* (who ran in multitudes to this spectacle) that justice might be done upon those who had so brutishly caused their Father to be murdered, whilst in the service of GOD and the Crown loyally and gloriously bearing arms, he laboured for the good of the Commonwealth. To which demand the King not being able to make other answer, than that in due time and place he would not fail to do exemplary Justice upon those that were found guilty of so hainous a crime; the Brothers of *Caligny* became more diffident than before, and were brought as it were into an inevitable necessity again to arm their Faction, that they might be able to withstand the powerful enmity of the *Guises*.

But if all Arts were used to raise the Catholick party; the endeavour was yet greater to suppress the *Calvinists*. For the Cardinal of *Lorain*, knowing that the interests of his Nephews being united and mingled with the cause of Religion, they would gain greater honour, and render themselves more strong and powerful; as soon as the Council of *Trent* was broken up, which hapned this present year in the month of *November*, he went to *Rome*, and perswaded the Pope *Pius Quartus* (who was ill satisfied with the Peace concluded in *France*) that he should press the King and the Queen-Mother to cause the Council to be published and observed in their Kingdom: promising, that his Nephews, with the whole house of *Lorain*, and the greatest part of the French Nobility,

The Council of *Trent* breaks up in *Nov. 1563*, in the Papacy of *Pius Quartus*.

Nobility, would be ready and united to cause declaration thereof to be made; and sufficient afterwards by force to suppress the followers of the Hugonot Doctrine. The Pope was solicited to the same effect by the Catholick King, and the Duke of Savoy, being entred into a jealousy, that the nearness and introduction of the Hugonots might endanger their States, seeing the Low-Countries, belonging to King Philip were already infected, and not only Savoy, but even Piedmont also exceedingly pestered with them; where through the neighbourhood of Geneva they had sowed the seeds of their heresie. Wherefore they both desired, that this dangerous fire kindled in so near a Country, might without further delay be extinguished. Nor was it a difficult matter to perswade the Pope to be earnest in a business which more than any thing else concerned the greatness of the Apostolick See, and the Authority of the Papacy. For which reasons, they resolved to join together to send Ambassadors to the King of France, to exhort him that he should cause the Council to be published and observed, with proffers of forces and aid to expel and extirpate heresie out of his Dominions. This Embassie (which to give it the more credit was sent in the names of them all) exceedingly troubled the King and the Queen-Mother: For though they concurred with the Pope and other Princes, to irradicate and suppress the Hugonot Faction, which they knew to be the source of all the troubles; yet they judged it not agreeable to their interests to do it tumultuously, and with such a noise on a suddain; nor to precipitate their deliberations; which being designed with great wisdom, were not yet come to maturity. And they took it wondrous ill, that the Catholick King, and much more the Duke of Savoy, should presume as it were by way of command to interpose in the Government of their State: Besides, that this so pressing solicitation put them in an evident necessity, either to alienate the Pope from them, and with publick scandal and ignominy of their names to separate themselves from the obedience of the Apostolick See; or else to discover the designs, with which proceeding leisurely, they had determined without the hazard of War to attain (by the benefit of time) to the same end: but if they were by this means discovered, whilst they endeavoured with their uttermost skill to conceal them, it was evident, that the knowledge thereof coming to the Hugonots, not only a Civil War would be kindled again in the bowels of the Kingdom, but a way opened for stranger Nations to invade and spoil the best parts of France; as the example of the past War had sufficiently proved. For which reason, there being no other way but by art and dissimulation to render this negotiation of no effect, they received the Ambassadors privately at *Fountain-bleau*, (a house remote from the concourse of people) that by the little ceremony used at their reception, their business might be thought of less consequence. Afterward they endeavoured by delaying their answer and dispatches, to make the Negotiation antiquate it self, and by degrees fall to nothing. And lastly, sought by ambiguous speeches, capable of divers interpretations, to leave the Ambassadors themselves doubtful of their intentions: concluding in the end, that they would forthwith send Ministers of their own to the Pope and the other Princes, to acquaint them particularly with their resolutions.

The Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, send Ambassadors to Charles the Ninth to sollicite the publication of the Council.

The Ambassadors being thus dispatched away at the end of *January* in the year 1564. the King and the Queen resolved to visit all the Provinces and principal Cities of the Kingdom; meaning by this progress to advance those designs, which was the only end they aimed at for the present. For coming to a Parley with the Duke of Savoy in *Dolphins*, with the Popes Ministers at *Avignon*, and with the Catholick King, or else with the Queen his Wife upon the confines of *Guienna*, they might communicate their counsels to them without the hazard of trusting French-men, (who either through dependance or kindred had all the same interests) to have them revealed to the Hugonots. So that in this manner preserving the amity of the Pope and the other Catholick Princes, they might by common consent have leisure enough to bring their projected designs to maturity. They thought it also no little help to have the opportunity to treat in person with the Duke of *Lorain*; and by his means, with the Protestant Princes, with whom they hoped to make so firm an alliance, that they should not need to fear they would any more shew themselves in the favour of the Hugonots, or interpose in the affairs of their Kingdom. From this journey arose another benefit of great importance; that by visiting the principal Cities, and informing themselves particularly what condition they were in, they might take order to secure them with new Forces, or the change of Magistrates and Governours, so that at another time they might not apprehend their revolt. Besides this, they hoped, that by appealing the

1564.

tumults,

1364: tumults, and satisfying the complaints and grievances of the people, the King would greatly augment his authority, and so gain the affections of his Subjects, that by degrees they would turn to their ancient loyalty, which by nature and custom they used to pay with such devotion to the persons of their Sovereigns. The voyage was also requisite in regard of Queen *Jane*: For she, after her Husbands death, being wholly abandoned to the worship and belief of the Hugonots, had by publick Edicts, and with open violence, taken away the Images out of the Temples, banished the Priests, possessed the Churches, and thrown down the Altars; commanding that all the People subject to the Principality of *Bearne* should live according to the Rites and Ceremonies of *Calvins* Religion. At the noise of which proceedings, the Catholick King, either watching all occasions to conquer the reliques of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, or else through an apprehension that the infection of Heresie coming so near might penetrate into his Country of *Spain*, made great complaints thereof to the Pope; advertising him without further delay to provide against so great an inconvenience. And the Pope moved not only by the advice and exhortations of the King of *Spain*, but also the open prejudice the interests of the Apostolick See received thereby; first, kindly admonished the Queen by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, a near kinsman and ancient dependent upon that family, not to introduce such an intolerable innovation; and afterwards, seeing those admonitions profited nothing, sent out a Monitor; whereby he required her, to desist from persecuting the Catholick Religion, and to return within the Term of six months into the bosom of the Church; or else threatned, when the time was expired, to expose her to the Ecclesiastical censures, and grant her Country to those that could first conquer it.

The Queen of *Navarre* causeth Churches to be ruined, and expelleth the Priests. Whereupon the Pope sends out a Monitor against her, which is opposed by the King of *France*.

The King of *France* openly declared himself against the Monitor; alledging, that the States of *Jane* being held directly of him, the Pope could not through any fault in her, who was simply a Feudatary, make a grant of them; but that they devolved immediately upon him, as the Supream Lord. By which opposition, the vehemency and ardour of the Pope being somewhat abated, Queen *Jane* continued so much the more resolute by new Laws, and promulgation of new Orders, to banish the Catholick, and establish *Calvins* Religion. But the King, not willing that any Act of his should give the Spaniards a colourable pretence to intermeddle with businesses on this side the Mountains which separate *France* from *Spain*; or whilst he was busied with the Insurrections of his Subjects, that such a large passage should be opened to enter into his Kingdom; gave order to the Parliaments of *Toulouse* and *Bordeaux*, that they should oppose the attempts of the Queen of *Navarre*; pretending that she could neither make new Laws, nor introduce a new Religion in those States without the consent and permission of the King of *France*, who was the chief Lord. Which though it were true of *Nérac*, *Oleron*, and the County of *Bigorre*; yet it was not so for the Principality of *Bearne*, that had been many times brought into controversy, and always declared independent upon any but the King of *Navarre*. But the state of the present affairs, and the apprehension of the future, to prevent the growing disorders, caused these disputes to be revived, which hath been so long buried and decided. Wherefore the King and the Queen thought it very material in visiting all parts of the Kingdom, to pass likewise upon those Confines, to try whether they could alter Queen *Jane* in her opinions; or if they could not effect that, to bring away her Son Prince *Henry*, that being first Prince of the Blood he might not be brought up in the Doctrine of the Hugonots, whereby to prepare new protection and support for the men of that Faction. These be the reasons that moved them to undertake this Voyage. But not to discover to those upon whom they had designs, what was the end or secret intention of this Visitation; they made shew, and were content every body should think, that the King, only through a youthful vanity, to shew himself in all parts of the Kingdom, and to taste several delights in several places, desired to make this progress; and that the Queen consented thereunto through an ambition to let the World see the Magnificence of her Government, and through a desire to visit her Daughter the Queen of *Spain*. Wherefore with an appearance much different from their inward designs, they made publick and plentiful Preparations of sumptuous Liveries, of all manner of things for several kinds of Huntings, for Stage-Plays, and Royal Entertainments; with a great train of Courtiers fitted for Pomp and Delights. Which things when they were ready, not farther to delay the business in hand, as soon as the

The Principality of *Bearne* holds not of the Crown of *France*.

The King and the Queen make a general visitation of the whole Kingdom.

the season of the year would permit, they went through *Brye* and *Champagne* to the City of *Bar*, (placed upon the confines of *Lorain*) whither came to receive them the Duke himself, with the Dutches *Claudia* his Wife the Kings Sister, and Daughter to the Queen. There, by *Rascalone* and the Ministers of the Duke of *Lorain*, the Queen began to treat of an interview with the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the chief of the Protestant Faction in *Germany*, believing if she could treat in person with him and the other Princes of the same Religion, by her Arts to draw them to such a confederacy with the Crown of *France*, that they should not need for the future to fear any opposition from them. But the Duke of *Wittembergh* through the infirmities of age refusing to come, they began (though with less hope) by way of Treaty to perswade him and the other Princes to receive pensions from the King, with honourable Title and other large Conditions; conceiving, that in reason they would rather desire to have certain Stipends and assured Conditions from the King, than the uncertain promises and vain offers from the Hugonots. Notwithstanding, the Count *Palatine* of *Rhine*, *Wolphangus* Duke of *Denx-ponts*, and the Duke of *Wittembergh*, inclining to favour the Hugonots, though more for the common interest of Religion than any other consideration, refused to accept pensions of the Crown of *France*; and only with good words promised in general, not to send any Aids to the Faction of the Male-contents, except in case they were molested in their Liberty of Conscience. On the contrary, *John William*, one of the Dukes of *Saxon*, and *Charles* Marquess of *Baden*, either through emulation of the other Princes, or else moved with the profit proposed, accepted the Kings Stipends; promising to serve him in his occasions with a certain number of men, and to bear Arms against all his Enemies.

1564.

The Queen treats with the Protestants of *Germany*.

From *Bearne* the King continuing his Visitations came to the City of *Lyons*, in which the Hugonots had so great a party, that in the last War it was one of the first that rebelled, and the last that returned into obedience. Wherefore considering the importance thereof, the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and *Germany*, with other conditions of the place, it was resolved in the Council to build a Cittadel between the *Rhofne* and the *Saone*, (two great Rivers that run through the Town) whereby to bridle the people, and secure the City from the treachery of its neighbours. The foundation of which Fortification being laid then in the presence of the King, it was afterwards brought to perfection by the diligence of Monsieur *de Loffe*, newly put into that Government by the discharge of the Count *de Saut*, who had rendred himself suspected by favouring the Hugonot party. From *Lyons* the King being come to *Valence* in *Dolphine*, he caused the City to be dismantled, and built there a new Fortress; that Town having ever been a great place of receipt for those that were in rebellion. But being arrived at the Castle of *Roussilion*, *Filibert Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* came thither post to meet him, with whom having treated of such things as concerned both States, this Prince was sufficiently informed of the Kings intentions, and of the way designed to free himself without noise or danger from the molestation of the *Calvinists*. So that being fully perswaded and satisfied, he promised such aids as could be sent from those parts.

Lyons the first that rebelled, and the last that returned to obedience.

An Interview between the King and the Duke of *Savoy*

From *Roussilion* the King went to *Avignon*, immediately under the Jurisdiction of the Pope, where *Fabritio Serbelloni* the Governour, and the Bishop of *Fermo* Vice-Legate, received him with very great solemnity: and *Lodovico Ansuori*, one of the Popes trusty Ministers a *Florentine*, being according to the Queens desire come thither, they began to confer about busineses of common interests. There the King and the Queen gave an Answer to the Popes Embassie, which they would not trust to the Embassadors; shewing, that they were ready to extirpate Calvinism, and to cause the Council to be observed in their Dominions: but to avoid the Introductions of the English, with the Incursions of the Lutherans of *Germany*, and to effect their purpose without the danger or tumult of new Wars, in which so many thousands of Souls perished, and the Christian Countries were miserably destroyed, they had deliberated to proceed warily, with secret stratagems, to remove the principal Heads and chief Supports of that party, to reduce the Prince of *Conde* and the Brothers of *Chastillon* to a right understanding, to fortifie such Cities as were suspected, re-establish the Kings Revenues; gather Moneys, and make many other provisions, which could not be had but by the progress and benefit of time, that they might be able afterward to work their ends with more security, without those dangers and prejudices which a too precipitate haste would plunge them into, with little hope of good success. By the appearance of which reasons the Pope being perswaded, who was by nature averse from cruel

The King meeteth with the Popes Ministers at *Avignon*.

1564. cruel counsels, and the effusion of Christian Blood in civil dissensions, he consented, that the publication of the Council should be deferred till such time as they had brought their designs to maturity.

1565.

Charles the IX.
and the Queen-
Mother came
to an inter-
view with the
Queen of
Spain at
Bayonne.

It was now the beginning of the Year 1565. when the King continuing his Voyage through the Province of *Languedock*, and celebrating the Carnival with youthful pastimes, arrived at *Bayonne*, situated in the Bay of *Biscay*, and upon the confines of *Spain*, just in that place where ancient Writers describe the *Aque Augusti*. The Queen of *Spain* being come to this place, accompanied with the Duke of *Alva* and the Count de *Beneventa*, whilst they made shew with triumphs, turnaments, and several kinds of pastimes to regard only their pleasures and feasting, there was a secret conference held for a mutual intelligence between the two Crowns. Wherefore their common interest being weighed and considered, they agreed in this, That it was expedient for one King to assist and aid the other in quieting their States, and purging them from the diversity of Religions. But they were not of the same opinion concerning the way that was to be taken with more expedition and security to arrive at this end: for the Duke of *Alva*, a man of a violent resolute nature, said, That to destroy these Innovations in Religion, and Insurrections in the Commonwealth, it was necessary to cut off the Heads of those Poppies, to fish for the great Fish, and not care to take Frogs (by these conceptions he expressed himself:) for the winds being once allayed, the billows of the common people would be easily quieted and calmed of themselves. He added, That a Prince could not do a thing more unworthy or prejudicial to himself, than to permit a Liberty of Conscience to the people; bringing as many varieties of Religion into a State, as there are capricious fancies in the restless minds of men; and opening a door to let in discord and confusion, mortal accidents for the ruine of a State: and shewed by many memorable examples, that diversity of Religion never failed to put Subjects in Arms, to raise grievous treacheries and sad rebellions against Superiours. Whence he concluded at the last, That as the Controversies of Religion had always served as argument and pretence for the Insurrections of Male-contents; so it was necessary at the first dash to remove this cover, and afterwards by severe remedies, no matter whether by sword or fire, to cut away the roots of that evil, which by mildness and sufferance perniciously springing up, still spread it self and increased.

On the other side, the Queen fitting her deliberations to the customs and disposition of the French, desired to avoid as much as was possible the imbruing of her hands in the Blood of the Princes of the Royal Family, or the great Lords of the Kingdom; and reserving this for the last resolution, would first try all manner of means to reduce into obedience and the bosom of the Church, the Heads of the Hugonots; who being withdrawn from that party, they should likewise take away, though not by the same means, the fuel that nourished the fire of civil dissensions. She said, that she well knew the inconveniences that were derived from a Liberty of Conscience; and that it would have been indeed expedient, to have provided against it by severity at the beginning, when it was newly planted; but not now, that it had taken root, and was grown up: that the motives of Religion are so universal and efficacious, that where they once take footing, it is requisite to tolerate many things, which without that necessity would not be indured; and to make a long various navigation to that Port, where they could not arrive by steering a direct course: shewing withal, that in the Government, they were to do what they could, not all that they would; and in matters of Conscience, it was requisite to proceed with great dexterity: for they are fires that flame out with too much violence. Wherefore it was necessary to slacken them by degrees, and secretly to suffocate them, before by breaking out they filled all places with desolation and ruine: and by so fresh an example as the late War, demonstrated unto them, how near the Kingdom of *France* was to be dismembred and ruined, not only by the English, but also by the Germans. In which regard she thought it most requisite, as much as was possible to avoid the necessity of a War. The opinions were thus divers by reason of the diversity of circumstances, the variety of customs, difference of interests; and above all, the different quality of the natures of men, rendered the matter diverse, and administered different counsels: notwithstanding they disagreed not in the end. For both parties aimed at the destruction of the Hugonots, and the establishment of obedience. Wherefore at last they made this conclusion, That the one King should aid the other either covertly or openly, as was thought most condu-

cing

ing to the execution of so weighty and so difficult an enterprise: but that both of them should be free to work by such means and counsels as appeared to them most proper and seasonable; praying to God, that severity and clemency (ways so different) might nevertheless succeed to the same end.

The interview of Bayon being ended in this manner, and Queen Elizabeth departed to return into Spain, the King, following his Voyage, went towards the Territories of the Queen of Navarre; whom not being able to persuade to return to the Rites of the Catholick Church, yet he required, that in all places where Mass had been forbidden, it should be restored; and that the Priests should be re-established in their possessions. He obtained of her further, that she with her children should follow the Court; which seemed no hard condition: not that she was affectionate to the Kings Person, or approved the manner of the present Government; but there being at that time a matrimonial process depending before his Majesty, between the Duke of Nemours and Frances de Rhean her Niece, (whom, being of the same Religion, she exceedingly loved) it seemed necessary for her to be present at the discussion of a business in which she was so much concerned. Being therefore resolved to follow the Court; the King, the more to invite her to stay there, made great shew of kindness both to her children and her self: but his having seen with his own eyes through all the Provinces of Aquitan the Churches destroyed, the Altars profaned, Images thrown down, Monasteries burnt and destroyed, and even the bones of the dead raked out of their graves, and thrown up and down the fields; made him inwardly conceive such an hate against her, and against all the Hugonots, that he ceased not afterwards to persecute them most severely, until the rage which was kindled in his breast against them were fully satisfied. But the general visitation of the Provinces being ended, and desiring to remedy the disorders which they had discovered in divers parts by the complaints of the people, he caused an Assembly of the most eminent persons of the eight Parliaments of the Kingdom to be summoned for the year following to meet at Moulins, in the Province of Bourbonnois, there to give such orders as should seem most proportionable to the present affairs. His Majesty designed in so noble a presence of his chief Subjects to reconcile the Houses of Guise and Chastillon, which were so bitterly incensed against each other; their private enmity drawing along with it by consequence the division of the people, and dissention in the Kingdom. He thought by this occasion to get the Prince of Conde and the Admiral to come to Court, to work by some fit means to separate them from the commerce and protection of the Hugonots, to take them off by a present certainty from future machinations, to make every one taste the benefits of peace, with the advantage of publick and private repose; and by this way to deprive that party of their Authority and Conduct, that they might be able afterwards more easily to restrain and suppress them.

But all these attempts were in vain. For the Admiral, who had laid down his arms unwillingly; and Andelot, who only to free himself from the Siege at Orleans, consented to a peace; were more intent than ever to contrive new matters; and neither trusted the Kings demonstrations, nor the Queens dissembling; nor believed they could ever be sincerely reconciled with the Guises. And the Prince of Conde, always voluble, and of vast thoughts, fatiated with the delights and pleasures of the Court, despising the marriage with the Widow of St. Andre as unequal to him in birth, had taken to Wife Mary Sister to the Duke de Longeville, and was more than ever united with the Lords of Chastillon. So that what the Queen built up with her Art, the disposition of the Prince, and the subtilty of the Chastillons threw down. There was no less disorder threatned from the dissention that arose in the Constables Family; which being kindled before, brake forth now with greater violence. For Francis Marshal of Momorancy (his eldest Son) drawn by nearness of kindred, and a certain ill-understood ambition, which inclined him (though with a mind and understanding much inferiour) to imitate the Admiral; more than ever openly declared himself for the Lords of Chastillon; professing for their sakes a passionate enmity to the Guises. And on the contrary, Henry d'Anville, in respect of his Wife (who was Niece to Madam Valentine) allied to the Duke of Anmale, and putt up by being newly created Marshal in the place of Brissac lately deceased; through emulation also of his Brother, clearly depended upon the Catholick party, and the friendship of the Princes of Lorraine. By reason of which discord, they not only divided the followers of their Family, but also held the judgment and counsel of their Father in great suspence; seeing they mani-

1565.
The King not being able to persuade the Queen of Navarre to change Religion, moves her to restore the Mass and Priests to their former liberty.

1563. Ictly prepared, the one to side with the Hugonot party, and the other to foment the resolutions of the Catholics; and by their private contentions augmenting the publick distractions.

It hapned at the same time the more to incite the animosity of the parties, that the Cardinal of *Lorain*, returning from *Rome*, and offering to enter *Paris* with a certain guard of armed men, as he had power to do by a *Brevet* (so they call it) from the King, sealed by the High Chancellor, and subscribed by the Queen; the Marshal of *Mons-ranty*, after the death of *Brissac* made Governor of that City, first injuriously forbade his entry; and afterwards in a tumultuous manner put him out of the Town; pretending he knew not that the Cardinal had a Licence from the King and the Council. In which tumult the Admiral, who was near, seeking an occasion of new Rins, and burning with a desire to appear the Arbitrator, and as it were the Oracle of *France*, ran thither, accompanied with a great train, and appearing in the Parliament, a thing not usually done except in great necessity, but by the King himself, or by his Authority gravely advertised the Counsellors, promising his care to pacifie the uproars of the people, and to free them from so imminent a danger. Which kind of proceeding exceedingly offended the King and the Queen; it appearing to them, that those people presumed too evidently to counterpoise the Royal Authority. But the end at which they aimed made them artificially dissemble their displeasure. With these seeds of discord ended the year 1563.

1566.

The Assembly
at *Montins*,
and the decree
made there.

At the beginning of the year following, the King and Queen being really intent, though inwardly exasperated, to put an end to the troubles of the Kingdom rather by the arts of Peace, than the violence of War, went to *Montins*; where those that were summoned met from all parts at the Assembly; in which the complaints of the people being proposed and considered, and the abuses introduced; according to the advice of the High Chancellor, there was a long punctual decree formed, in which was prescribed a form of Government, and a manner of proceeding for the Magistrates, taking away those corruptions and disorders that use to give the subject just cause of complaint. At the same time the King, insisting upon the pacification of his subjects for the general peace of the Kingdom, a reconciliation was endeavoured between the Houses of *Guise* and *Chastillon*, at which appeared on the one side the Marshal of *Momoran* with the *Chastillons*; on the other, the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Guise*: but with such backwardness in both parties, that there was little hope of sincere intentions, where there appeared so much disorder, and such an adherence to private interests. For on the one part, the Duke of *Anmale*, Brother to the Cardinals, had absolutely refused to be present thereat; and *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, yet in age of minority, came thither, only not to displease his Tutors; but carried himself in such a grave, reserved manner, that it clearly appeared, though his Governours brought him against his will, when he was once come of age, he would not forget the death of his Father, nor observe this peace, to which he could not, being then so young, remain any way obliged. But on the other part also the Marshal of *Momoran*, not enduring so far to humble himself, denied to speak certain words appointed by the Queen and the Council for the satisfaction of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; nor would ever have been brought to it, if he had not been forced by his Father; who if he refused, threatened to disinherit him; and the *Chastillons* opposing by their Actions this seeming Agreement, ceased not to calumniate and make sinister interpretations of the proceedings of the *Guises*. At the last they were brought together in the presence of the King, where they embraced and discoursed, but with a general belief, even of the King himself, that the reconciliation could not long endure; which within a few days proved so indeed. For the Duke of *Anmale* arriving at the Court, denied expressly to meet with, or use any act of salutation or civility to the Admiral, or the rest of his Family. On the contrary, in the Queens presence he said, that the Admiral laying to his charge that he had hired one to kill him, he should think it a great happiness to be shut up with him in a chamber, that he might hand to hand let him know, he had no need of help; but that he was able to determine his own quarrels himself. And because the Queen being moved therewith, answered, That they might meet in the field; the Duke replied again, That he came thither with fifty Gentlemen, but would return only with twenty; and if he met the Admiral, he might perhaps make him hear more: and in this fury he would have left the Court, if the King had not laid an express command upon him to stay. After which new exasperations, *Andelos* seeking all occasions of new scandals, publicly charged the Duke of *Anmale* in the

An interview
between the
Princes of
Guise and the
Chastillons; but
no reconcilia-
tion.

the Council, that he had set one Captain *Atin* to murder him : to which the Duke replied with great shew of resentment, It was necessary to lay hold of *Atin*; who not being found culpable in any thing, was at last released. Both parties ceased not mutually to persecute each other both in words and deeds, each of them accusing their adversaries, that they went about to raise men, and had an intent to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom. Which (though diligently inquired into) proving but vain surmises, at length it was thought the best way to continue the peace, that the Lords of both parties should absent themselves from the Court, where daily new occasions arising of contestation between them, the things already quieted were disturbed and subverted. To this end, and to give example to the rest, the Constable with the Marechal d'Anville his Son, taking publick leave of the King and the Queen, went to their Castles in the Isle of France. So the great Lords following the same resolution, within a few days after they all departed; and particularly the Prince and the Admiral, went severally to their own houses; and the Duke of Aumale being left Heir to Madam Valentine his Mother-in-law, who died about that time, retired himself to Anet, a place of pleasure which she had built. There remained at the Court only the Cardinal of Lorraine, whom the King employed in all businesses of importance; and the Marechal Morancy, whose Government of Paris the Queen meant by some slight or other to take away; that so powerful a people might not be under the command of a person that was inclined to innovations; and that the chief support of the Kings Authority for the present might be put into such hands as depended absolutely upon himself.

At this same time happened the distastes and departure of the Queen of Navarre from Court. For sentence being given by the King against *Frances de Rohan*, by which the contract of marriage between Her and the Duke of Nemours, though subscribed by their own hands, was made void; and he having concluded to marry *Anne d'Este*, Widow to the late Duke of Guise; Queen Jane, after infinite, but vain attempts in favour of her Niece; at the last, (just as they were Marrying in the Kings presence) caused one whom she had hired with promise of Reward to interpose, and make a Protestation in the name of *Frances*: but he being taken and imprisoned, without interruption of the Marriage, and finding her designs took no effect; equally offended withal, thinking her self injured and despised, she resolved to leave the Court, and retire into *Bearn*: designing in her mind, to raise new and more dangerous troubles. She took for occasion and pretence of her departure, That she could not be suffered a free exercise of her Religion. For the King being advertised by the Popes Nuncio, and divers others of the great resort of persons of all sorts to her lodging, to hear Hugonot Sermons; and knowing the Parisians were greatly scandalized thereat; he one day sent his Provost de l'Hôtel (as they call him) to seize upon her Minister: and though he were not taken, (for the Provost gave him secret notice, that he might be gone) yet Queen Jane esteeming it as an huge affront, and having made many complaints thereof to the Queen, pretended that this was the cause of her departure. But the Court was full of joy and feasting for the Marriage of the Duke of Nemours and Madam de Guise; besides many other Weddings that were celebrated, made the Carnival appear indeed a time of pomp and pleasure; that custom of the Nation giving a testimony to those who govern, That to lead a merry pleasant life, is a way in some measure to mitigate the fierceness of mens minds, by reason of such great dissensions then amongst them not a little enraged.

The Feasts were continued with great solemnity for the Marriage of Prince *Lodovico Gonzago*, before contracted, and now consummate. This second Son of *Frederick* Duke of Mantua coming, when he was but a youth, to the Court of France, by the advantage of his Birth and nobleness of presence, but much more for quickness of his wit and Courtly behaviour, got a great reputation; which continually increasing, by giving upon all occasions large testimonies of his valour, there was not any that surpassed him either in the Kings favour, or general esteem of the Court.

It hapned, that as the young Cavaliers of France used to court some Lady whom they pretend to marry, this Prince, full of modesty and prudence, passing by those which flourished in beauty or wealth, and were therefore sought after by many, made his addresses to *Henriette de Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of Nevers, a Lady of great discretion and wise behaviour; but neither for beauty nor portion equal to many others in the Court. But the Prince liking her, and she esteeming his affection; after her Brother was killed in the Battel of *Drenx*, and she, as eldest Daughter remained Heir

1566.

Provost de l'Hôtel (called now adays le grand Provost de l'Hôtel) is the ordinary Judge of the Kings Household; his power extends to all unprivileged places within six leagues of the Court.

Lodovico Gonzago Son to *Frederick* Duke of Mantua, married *Henriette de Cleve*, Sister to the late Duke of Nevers who was killed in the Battel of *Drenx*. This was Father to *Charles* Duke of Nevers, now Duke of Mantua.

1566. to the State ; with a rare example of gratitude, declared freely, that she would not chuse a Husband amongst any of those that newly pretended ; but whatever came of it, would marry the Prince *Gonzaga*. For she had sufficient testimony, that he, being her Servant when she was poor and forsaken, loved her person ; whereas all the rest could not deny, but that they sought her at the present, only in regard of her fortune. So this greatness of mind being approved of both by the King and the Queen, the Marriage followed without delay, and at this time was solemnized : After which was celebrated the Wedding of the Prince *Dolphine*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, who married the only Daughter and Heir of the Marquess *de Meziere* ; which was an unequal match for Birth, but she brought him forty thousand Franks yearly Revenue ; and having been before promised to the Duke of *Mayenne*, second Son to the late Duke of *Guise*, those of the Hugonot Faction hoped that this Alliance would breed discord between the Houses of *Montpensier* and *Lorain*. But the Cardinal and the Duke of *Anmale*, with the rest, who knew how much it concerned them not to break friendship with a Prince of the Blood, and for Estate the most considerable amongst them, wisely dissembled this injury ; seeing it was impossible to hinder the Match already concluded. After these principal ones, many other lesser Weddings following, the Court seemed in appearance altogether turned to pomp and delights ; but nourished inwardly the pestiferous seeds of long discords and bloody Wars.

The End of the Third BOOK.

THE

1701

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The FOURTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THe Fourth Book relates the occasion of the Second Civil War: the sudden rising of the Hugonots to take the King and Queen-Mother Prisoners, who were at Monceaux a place of pleasure in Brye: their fright, flight and retreat; first to Meaux, and afterwards to Paris: the deliberation of the Hugonots to besiege that City, and famish it; to this purpose they take the Towns about it, burn the Mills, go close under the Gates, and possess themselves of the Bridge at Charenton: the Queen promotes a Treaty of Agreement, which is drawn out in length by many parlies; but takes no effect: Foot and Horse come to the King from all parts: so that having gotten a great Army, the Constable issueth out of the City to make the Enemy retire: the Battel of St. Denis followeth, in which the Hugonots are routed, and the Constable is killed: they take the way of Champagne to meet with Aids sent them out of Germany; and in the place of the other, the King maketh Henry Duke of Anjou his Brother, General of the Army: Supplies arrive out of Flanders, sent by the Catholick King, and from Piedmont, and divers other places: the Duke of Anjou pursueth the Hugonots to fight with them before they join with the Germans; he overtaketh them near Chalons, but through the discords and impediments put in by his Counsellors, the Battel is hindred: The Hugonots pass the Meuse, and join with Prince Casimir, and the other German Supplies. They return with new courage and force into Champagne: The Queen-Mother goeth to the Army to remedy the disorders; where it is resolved not to fight with the Hugonots who were grown so powerful, but to draw out the War in length: wherefore the Armies go on, both the same way: this counsel troubleth the Prince of Conde and the Admiral, unable through want of Money to keep the Army long together: They resolve to besiege Chartres, whereby to provoke the Catholicks to Battel: The danger of Chartres, bringeth on a new Treaty of Peace, which at last is concluded: The Armies are disbanded; but the Hugonots restore not all the places that they held; and the King dismisseth neither the Swisses nor the Italians; whereupon new differences arise; the King seeing the Conditions ill performed upon which he promised a pardon, giveth order to apprehend the Prince of Conde and the Admiral, who

1585.

who with a good Guard were retired to Noyon in Burgundy, upon advice given, they fly and save themselves at Rochel; raise an Army, make themselves Masters of Xaintonge, Poictou, and Tourain: the King sendeth the Duke of Anjou with all the Army against them: the Armies draw near each other at Jelenevil, but fight not: they march towards Loudun, but the contrariety of the season hinders their fighting: both Armies, overcome with cold, retire; and being infected with sickness, suffer a great mortality: they return into the field in March: The Hugonots pass the River Charente, break the Bridges, and stop the Passages: the Duke of Anjou finds a stratagem to pass the River; the Battel of Jarnac follows; in which the Prince of Conde is slain, and the Hugonots are defeated. The Admiral causeth the Prince of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, Son to him that was killed, to be declared Heads of the Faction; and by reason they were young, the direction of the War remaineth in him; he divideth all his forces to defend the Cities belonging to his party. The Duke of Anjou pursueth the Victory, and layeth siege to Cognac; but finding it strongly defended, raiseth the Camp, and takes divers other Towns. A new Army of Germans cometh into France in favour of the Hugonots, under the Command of the Duke of Deux-ponts; he marcheth towards the Loire; taketh the la Charite, and there passeth the River. The Duke of Deux-ponts, General of the Germans, dieth of a Fever; and Count Mansfield succeeds him in his Command. The Prince and the Admiral go to meet the Germans: The Duke of Anjou, that he may not be encompassed by them, retires into Limosin; the Hugonot Forces join; follow the Kings Army; skirmish hotly at Rochabaille; through the barrenness of the Country the Hugonots are forced to retire. The Queen-Mother cometh to the Camp: it is resolved to separate the Kings Army, to let the Enemies Forces consume with time: the Army disbands, and the Duke of Anjou retires to Loches in Touraine.



Hillt these things were in agitation at the Court, all other parts of the Kingdom groaned under several afflictions, and frequent Insurrections. For the Hugonots arrogating to themselves a much greater liberty than was granted them by the Edict of Pacification, endeavoured in many places, without any regard of the Magistrates, by tumults and violence to extend it to the uttermost: and on the other side the Catholicks desiring to have that power which was permitted them restrained, sought by often complaints, and sometimes by force of Arms to molest them: whereby in the midst of Peace, the War was in a manner kindled again in all parts.

These distractions in the Provinces, not only troubled the Parliaments, which were wholly employed how to remedy the disorders that proceeded from matters of Religion; but also the Kings Council, together with the whole Court, where all the weight of the business falling at last, there arise many obstinate disputes between the Protectors, and Favourers of both Factions; the Marshal of Momorancy and the Admirals Adherents labouring to obtain an enlargement, or at least a confirmation of the liberty granted to the Hugonots, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, but much more the Cardinal of Lorraine pressing that the Catholicks might be satisfied in their desires, and the liberty of the other suppressed. Wherefore the contestations so increased when any thing of this subject came to be handled, and the minds of men were so sway'd by passion, that it was thought necessary to appoint the Duke of Anjou, the Kings second Brother, though yet a Youth, President of the Council, and to make an order that no business concerning Religion should be debated, if the King or the Queen were not present: nor was this sufficient, for the persons engaged on both sides accustomed now to a liberty of speech as well as of action, all reverence due to the Royal Majesty being laid aside, appeared exceeding violent in their disputes, shewing clearly that they were more inclined to the interests of the Factions, than either to the publick peace, or preservation of the Commonwealth.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the Queen still remained constant to her own rules, and the King persisted in the resolution already taken to dissemble with all possible patience and sufferance, the insolencies that were committed, and to endeavour that policy rather than force might at length put an end to these evils. And therefore by plausible Declarations sometimes in favour of one party, and sometimes of the other, they sought to to appease both, that things might not come to a manifest rupture, but that by prolongation of time, those wounds might be healed which were yet open and fresh bleeding: for this reason the King bestowed many favours upon the Admiral; and his dependants and followers got more than the Courtiers themselves: for this cause the Prince of Conde was suffered to enjoy such an absolute power in his Government of Picardy, that shewing a dislike to have the Marshalls of France in their ordinary Visitations of the Frontiers to visit that Province, the King gave the Marshal d'Anville particular order not to go thither: and in this consideration, the complaints brought in continually against the Hugonots were passed over; as also the resentments of the Catholics put up with silence, that so these discords might be buried in oblivion, and the troubles cease of themselves.

At the same time, the Constable who through age, and indisposition of body, desired to retire himself, made suit to the King, that he might surrender his Office to his Son Memorancy, which the Queen by reason of his humour and inclinations absolutely disliking, the King was perswaded by her to return answer, That having already designed whensoever the Constable left off, or could no longer exercise his charge, to make the Duke of Anjou his Brother Lieutenant General, it was not at all necessary to think of any body to supply that place; nevertheless not wholly to distaste the Constable, nor by this refusal absolutely to lose his Son, they were content to admit Memorancy into the Council of the Affairs, a thing which he had sought after before, but could never compass; and besides gave him 30000 Francks to pay his debts, though it were in a time when Money was exceeding scarce. And though the Constable very much troubled to receive a repulse, was not altogether satisfied with these other demonstrations, yet at last he gave over his suit: but such was the inconsiderateness of the Prince of Conde, being governed rather by violence than reason; that as soon as he heard mention of surrendering the Constables Office, he openly pretended to it for himself, without any consideration of the Memorancy's Allies; which not only rendered the Kings denial excusable, who being solicited by two such powerful pretenders, made choice of his Brother as a mean between both, but also made an absolute breach between him and the Constable, and in some measure took off Memorancy, who was before so much inclined to favour his proceedings.

To this good success the Queen endeavoured to add the reconciliation of the Cardinal of Chastillon, who being openly a Hugonot, and the Pope soliciting by the Bishop of Ceneda his Nuncio in the Court of France, that he might be commanded to lay by his Cardinals Hat, and quit the Ecclesiastical preferments that he held, the Queen with divers excuses always putting off that business, by offering the Cardinal a liberal recompence in temporal revenues and preferments, sought by fair means to effect that which could not be done by force. But these delays (which as the instances were greater from Rome) still increased, together with the favour that was shown at Court to the Bishops of Ufex and Valence, whom the Pope as Hereticks had degraded from their Bishopricks, and many other such like things, made Pius Quintus, newly succeeded to Pius Quartus in the Apostolick Sea, conceive a very hard opinion of the Queen; which was yet more increased by a rumour spread abroad by her ill-willers, that she had sent a Gentleman expressly to Constantinople to perswade the great Turk to send an Army against the Christians, that so being busied in their own preservation, they might not persist to think of, or interpose in the affairs of the Kingdom of France: which opinion, though it were not grounded upon any reason, yet it being generally believed for a truth that there was a Gentleman sent to Porta, the Pope, little satisfied in other matters, was not alone moved therewith, but also the Republick of Venice, the Senate there thinking it not only a thing pernicious to all Christian Princes, but very contrary to what they expected from the Queen in gratitude, whom they had so readily assisted in her greatest extremities with their counsel, and much more with supplies. Insomuch that the Nuncio made many complaints of it at the Court, and the Venetian Ambassador by order from the Senate demanded, and had an Audience to the same purpose both of the King and Queen, at which he modestly desired repayment of the 100000

Pius Quintus who succeeded Pius Quartus, requires that the Cardinal of Chastillon be deprived of his Cardinals habit, and Ecclesiastical preferments, because he followeth the belief of Calvin; which being delayed, for that, and other things, he is displeased with the Queen.

Duckets,

1566. Duckets, which in courtesie were lent by the State for the service of the Crown, al-
leading this reason, That the Turk (as report went) coming so near them, they
were necessitated to make use of what they had, and to arm themselves for their own
security.

The Queen being troubled at these rumours, and the ill opinion that was con-
ceived of her, and desiring above all things to preserve the friendship of the Princes in
confederacy with *France*, but especially the Pope and State of *Venice*, because upon
them she had grounded many hopes, thought it necessary to send the Chevalier *de*
Seure expressly to *Rome* to clear her of those jealousies, which business he knew so well
how to manage, laying before the Pope all those reasons that *Ludovica Austenori* had re-
presented to his Predecessor, that his Holiness though he were of a difficult scrupulous
nature, remained fully content and satisfied. She omitted not to perform the like Ce-
remony with the Venetian State, the amity and wisdom of which she always made great
account of, having for that purpose dispatched away one of her Gentlemen, who with
the Leiger Ambassador at *Venice* was to negotiate that business: but he falling sick
upon the way, and dying afterwards at *Milan*, the Ambassador took the whole care of
it upon himself, and at an Audience he had of the Prince in the presence of the Seig-
nory, which they call the *Colledge*, he said, That the King his Master had sent a Gen-
tleman on purpose to treat of certain business with the Republick, which he was now
forced to do alone, for the said Gentleman being arrived at *Milan*, fell sick there and
died; That his Majesty commanded him to say, That the amity and affection King
Francis his Grandfather, and King *Henry* his Father always bore to the Republick were
very great, but his alone surpassed them all, by reason of the great benefits he had re-
ceived from it, and especially the supplies of money it sent him in his greatest necessity;
that he would not only satisfy the debt, but return the like or a greater courtesie; that
his Father by reason of the long War he had, left him many debts, which he might well
enough have paid, and gotten before-hand with money, if it had not been for the Ci-
vil dissensions of his Kingdom; that if they were ceased, yet the expence would not
be taken away; for the jealousies that continued would necessitate him still to keep an
Army on Foot; that the suspicion of War is worse than War it self; for there is one
certain fence against this, but that requireth a vigilance on all sides; that to this was
to be added the great scarcity which equally afflicted all parts of his Kingdom, and
the tumults in *Flanders*, which being so near, obliged him according to the Maxims
of State, to make preparations, with great expence, for his own security: Wherefore
he desired to be excused if he did not immediately satisfy the whole debt, that he
would presently lay down a third part, and in some time after the rest, and that if
the Republick had occasion, he would not only pay what was due, but furnish as much
more if it were required; wherefore they might make account of that money as if
they had it in their own Treasury: that the more his Majesty grew in years, the more
he grew to the knowledge of the love and friendship of the Republick, and the obli-
gations he had to it, both for his own particular and his own Kingdom. To this the
Duke made answer, That in repayment of the money the King might take his own con-
veniency, for it was lent to serve his occasions.

Then the Ambassador continuing his discourse, said, That the second thing he had
in charge, was concerning a bruit spread abroad that his Majesty had solicited the
Great Turk to send his Army against the Christians, which it seemed proceeded from
a Letter written by one of *Raguse*, which was afterwards divulged with additions by
the Emperours Ministers, and the Spaniards who were in that City, it being interpre-
ted by them, that the Gentleman the King sent the *May* before to *Constantinople*, was
to this effect, though the truth were, the occasion of sending that Gentleman, was to
solicite the release of certain Provincial Slaves, that the King being desired to call
home the Gentleman that was resident there, had granted his request, and established
this other in his place, who seemed to like of the employment; that his Majesty would
continue his ancient correspondence with the Turks, just upon the same terms that his
Father and Grandfather had done before, without innovating any thing therein, that
if he had any business to treat with the Turk, or a new capitulation to make with any
Prince on Earth, he would never do it without the privy, advice and consent of the
Republick; for he so well knew the amity and affection which that State bare unto
him, and the prudence and wisdom thereof to be such, that it would never approve of
any thing that should not be beneficial to *France*, and all Christendom; that if the Re-
publick

publick would continue as it had done hitherto with the Turk, he would do the same; and if it changed resolution, he would follow the like steps, for the King would never separate himself from it, but ever go along in all things that concerned their common interest. The Senate was very well content with so ample a Declaration, and desired the Léiger Ambassador to testify both to the King and the Queen their satisfaction therein, by which means all the distastes at *Rome* and *Venice* being removed, and the ancient intelligence with both those States confirmed, the whole care was directed to the particular affairs of the Kingdom. 1566.

But all the pains and industry used to appease the Prince, and to secure the *Chastillons* was in vain: He knew not how to leave his natural disposition, nor would these by any means trust to the Arts of the Court, and the Hugonots aiming at such an ample liberty as was granted by the Edict of *January*, could not contain themselves within the limits of the Articles agreed upon at the Pacification: Wherefore following the example of the Catholicks, who by a joint Embassie from the Pope, and the other Princes, solicited the publication of the Council of *Trent*; they procured likewise from the Protestant Princes of *Germany* to send an Embassie of some eminent persons, who complaining that those of the same Religion with them were very ill treated, should desire the King, that in consideration of those Princes, and for the quiet of the Kingdom, he would permit the Hugonots a full liberty to assemble themselves in all places.

This Embassie sent by the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the Duke of *Deux-ponts*, one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Pomerania*, and the Marquess of *Baden*, many thought it was made at the expence, and with the money of the Hugonots; for the interests of those Princes were not such, that they should make this Expedition, which was so extraordinary, at this time. However it were, the Ambassadors having first conferred with the Prince, the Admiral, and the rest of that faction, went afterwards to the King, who was returned to *Paris*, and at their Audience, in a tedious formal Narration testified the good will of their Princes, and the intentions they had to continue their ancient friendship with the Crown of *France*; after which preamble, they desired first the observance of the Edict of Pacification, and afterwards by little and little expressing themselves more at large, demanded that the Ministers of the Reformed Religion might preach both in *Paris*, and in all other places of the Kingdom, and that the people might freely in what numbers they pleased go to hear them.

The Protestant Princes of *Germany* send Ambassadors to the King in favour of the Hugonots, and receive a sharp answer.

The King by nature beyond measure cholerick, and by reason of his long conversation in the War, of a rough behaviour, being now of an age to discern good from ill, was before exceedingly offended, knowing since they came into the Kingdom they had first treated with others besides himself, but afterwards when he heard their demands, he was so out of order, that he could hardly answer them in short, that he would preserve a friendship and affection for those Princes, as long as they did not interpose in the affairs of his Kingdom; as he did not meddle in their States: and after he had recollected himself a little while, said, with manifest shew of disdain, That he had need likewise to sollicite their Princes to suffer the Catholicks to preach and say Mass in their Cities and Towns; and with these words took his last leave of the Ambassadors: Notwithstanding, that they might not remain altogether unsatisfied, and return with this distaste to their Princes, the Queen, to make them some amends for the liberty her Son had used, besides many other honours, gave order that they should have great and noble Presents.

The Kings anger was wrought to the heighth by the carriage of the Admiral, who being come to Court in this conjuncture, and fearing to lose his reputation with his party, or else ashamed whilst stranger Princes solicited in the behalf of the Hugonots not to shew himself, the morning after being in the Kings Chamber, and seeing there by chance a Declaration published a little before; That at the Preachings tolerated in private houses, none should be present but those of the Family, he took occasion to make great complaint thereof; saying, In this manner we are deprived the liberty of admitting a Friend who cometh by chance to our houses in a visit, to hear the Word of God; whilst on the other side, the Catholicks are permitted to assemble wheresoever they please, without prescribing their number, manner, or any other circumstance of their meetings: at which words, the Constable being present, sharply reprehended his Nephew, and answered, The case is not the same, for the King doth not give a Toleration to the Catholicks; but it is the Religion he himself professeth, which is derived

1566.

Charles the IX. sharply answereth the Admiral, and takes a severe resolution against the Hugonots.

to him by a long succession from his Ancestors; whereas on the contrary, the exercise of the new Religion was simply a grace of his Majesty, for what time, number or place he was pleased, or should be pleased to grant it them. And the King in choler added, At the first you were content with a little liberty, now you will be equal, within a little while you will be chief, and drive us out of the Kingdom. The Admiral held his peace, but was much troubled in his countenance; and the King in a great chafe went to the Queen-Mothers Chamber, where aggravating the business, he said in presence of the Chancellor, That the Duke of Alva's opinion was right, that their Heads were too eminent in the State, that no arts could prevail with such subtle Artificers, and therefore it was necessary to use rigour and force: and though the Queen endeavoured to appease him, from that time forward he was so fixed in that belief, that it was not possible to alter or make him of another mind.

Daily something or other hapned to increase and augment the Kings anger: For the Queen of Navarre shewing as much malice as she could, had a little before made a sudden Insurrection at Pamiers, a City in the County of Foix, where the Hugonots taking a scandal at a Procession on *Corpus Christi* day, betook themselves to their Arms, and falling upon the others that were unarmed, made a great slaughter among the Churchmen, and in the same fury burnt and ruined their houses; and by her instigation, with the other principal Heads of that party, strange tumults were raised at Montaban, Carbois, Rhodex, Perigieux, Valence, and other places in Languedoc and Dauphine; in which, though no great matter hapned, no killing of men nor shedding of blood; yet, as it came to their turns, either the Catholics or the Hugonots were driven out of their Countries, according as the one party or the other was most powerful in the place, with perpetual trouble to the King and Queen, who many days together were very much in doubt of the revolt of Lyons, where through the great concourse of people that from all parts, but especially from Savoy, fled thither for Religion, the Hugonots were so increased, and raised such commotions, that the City had certainly remained in the power of that party, if Renato di Birago, President, who was afterwards Chancellor, and successively Cardinal, had not with great dexterity and courage suppressed those tumults; after which, though the first fury were over, yet the Factions ceased not continually to persecute each other, and in particular, the Hugonots were accused to have wrought a Mine a thousand paces long under the Bulwarks, with an intent, whilst the people were in these distractions, to give fire to it, and surprize the City: and though they excused themselves, by shewing that the Cave found under ground was the remains of an ancient Aqueduct; yet the King remained not without jealousies, and sent the President order to reinforce the Garrison, and to use all possible diligence to secure the Town; who providing with great care and rigour to hinder the Assemblies of the Hugonots, they were exceedingly offended, and murmured thereat in all parts.

The like suspicion was at the same time had of Avignon, which the Kings of France, through common respects and interests, have ever no less than their own, taken into their care and protection. For all those who dissented from the Roman Catholick Faith, being by order from the Pope expelled that City, they retired to the adjacent places in Provence and Languedoc; where they practised underhand to surprize it; and so far their design was advanced, that they had already intelligence to possess themselves of one of the Gates; but the business being discovered by the vigilance of the Citizens, the Cardinal of Armagnac, who was Governour there, causing diligent search to be made after the complices, apprehended some of them, and sent Scipione Vimarcati post to the Court, to render an account thereof to the King, who sent a positive command to the Count of Tende Governour of Provence, to Monsieur de Gordes Lieutenant of Dauphine, and to the Viscount of Joyeuse Lieutenant of Languedoc, that they should furnish such forces as were necessary for the securing of it; by which means the attempt of the Hugonots at length proved vain; who not being daunted with this success, were still ready to embrace any new occasion, having likewise laid a plot to enter into Narbonne; and indeed their practices kept all the Provinces and Fortresses of the Kingdom in perpetual apprehensions, but especially the King and Queen, who seeing the fire already kindled in so many places, reasonably enough feared the flame thereof would at length burst forth with greater violence, and in some place or other cause a notorious ruine.

The

The Hugonots were no less bold with their pens than their swords; for at the same time a Minister, who was born at *Orleans*, preached seditiously against the Kings Authority; and had likewise printed a Book in which he maintained, That the people of *France* were no longer obliged to be obedient to the King, because he was turned Idolater; and for this reason affirmed, That it was lawful to kill him; from which impious diabolical seed afterwards sprang up in other times and in other persons, that pernicious Doctrine, which with such horrible perversion of all humane and divine Laws, instructed men, under the pretence of Piety and Religion, to imbrue their hands in the Blood of their lawful Kings, by GOD's Ordinance appointed over them as His Deputies. And perhaps by this Doctrine, which sounded well in their ears, because agreeable to their designs, the Admiral and the rest of his party were persuaded to plot, not only against the Queen-Mother, but even against the Person of the King himself; of which (either truly or falsely) he was accused by a Gentleman; who (being imprisoned for another great offence) sought to obtain his pardon by discovering, that he and two other Gentlemen were seduced, and suborned with money by the Admiral to kill the King when they should find a fit opportunity; and though at the first there was not much credit given to what he said, yet being confronted with those whom he named as Complices, with unexpected Questions he so amazed and silenced them, that the King was put into an exceeding jealousy; yet the proofs not being sufficient for so great a conspiracy, the business was passed over with silence, and the Gentleman for his other offences condemned to die.

1566.

An Hugonot Minister printed a Book and preacheth that it is lawful to kill the King.

A Prisoner confesseth that he was hired by the Admiral to kill the King.

To this great suspicion was added this other accident; that the Queen-Mother going one morning out of her Chamber to Mass, there was found at her feet a long Letter directed to her self, in which she was threatned, that if she changed not her course, and suffered not those of the Reformed Religion to enjoy full Liberty of Conscience, she should be murdered, as the Duke of *Guise* was formerly, and *Maynard*, President of the Parliament of *Paris*; who at the beginning of the tumults about Religion, for having passed a severe Vote against the Hugonots, was killed at Noon-day with a shot, it never being known by whom. Wherefore the Queen was admonished to guard her self from the wrath of GOD, and the desperate resolution of men.

The Queen-Mother is threatned in a Letter to be killed.

All these things laid together, and continually multiplying on all sides, exceedingly incensed and exasperated the King, who as he grew in years, conceived still a more inveterate hate against those who obstinately opposed his will; wherefore his nature suiting with the Duke of *Alva's* counsel, and the Hugonots not ceasing continually to offend and provoke him, he was every day in secret consultation with his Mother to find some prompt expedite remedy to extirpate this evil. The Queen remained doubtful, or rather of a contrary opinion, and much more the Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, being both of them averse to those dangerous violent proceedings, as altogether disagreeing to the disposition of the French; insomuch that together and apart they earnestly desired and advised the King to be patient, and dissemble his anger; even the Cardinal of *Lorain* himself, with his Brothers and Nephews, though they were very well pleased to see him so passionate, yet wished he would have kept himself more reserved until some seasonable fit opportunity had been offered. But there was no end of the complaints of the people, nor of the jealousies and dangers stirred up by the Heads of the Hugonots: all parts abounded with bloody mournful dissensions; the Prince and the Admiral sometimes leaving the Court, sometimes returning, but ever with some new complaints or pretensions, gave great occasion both of jealousy and offence: and the King being passionate and furious, could no longer indure them; so that at length it was resolved together with policy to employ force, and to bridle the excessive Liberty of the Rebellious Faction. And the Catholick King sending at the same time the Duke of *Alva* Governour into *Flanders*, to curb the insolencies of those (who under a pretence of Religion, but truly through the hate they bare to the Spanish Government, had at once withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Catholick Church and the temporal Jurisdiction) the Treaty of *Bayonne* was renewed, and by consent of both Princes an Agreement made, that by mutually aiding each other, they should endeavour the suppression of such eminent persons who were the Incendiaries to nourish Rebellion in their several Dominions.

The Duke of *Alva* went with great force towards the Low-Countries, which in divers places border upon *France*, so that this occasion served the King and Queen for pretence to arm, who feigning to have great apprehensions of the Spaniards, gave pre-

1566,

sent order to hire a considerable number of Swisses, commanded all the Provinces to have their forces in a readines, levied men in *Lyonoise*, under colour of sending divers companies of French Infantry into the States beyond the Mountains, and getting money from several parts, made a bargain with certain Italian Merchants, to furnish eight hundred thousand Crowns, with a full intent to imploy these preparations to restrain and humble those insolent Spirits, who after so many attempts would hardly ever be appeased of themselves, and to put an end to the miserable distractions of the Kingdom.

But the very same reasons that necessitated the King to this resolution, necessitated the Heads of the Hugonots likewise to be vigilant for their own preservation; for having many testimonies of the Kings avernesse to them, seeing the Pope reconciled with the Queen, who before in shew seemed to favour them, perceiving the Princes of *Lorain* powerful at Court, and finding all the policies that were used tended only to their suppression, if at first the restlessness of their natures only made them desire to return to arms, they thought it now an unavoidable necessity; and though the passage of the Duke of *Alva* gave sufficient colour to their proceedings, yet they saw that quite contrary to what was pretended, the King and the Queen-Mother (notwithstanding the High Chancellor opposed it) were resolved not only to furnish Victuals and all other commodities for the Spaniards, (who in their passage into *Flanders* were to touch upon their Dominions) but also to send provisions into *Bresse* and *Savoie*, which wanted them, and could not possibly otherwise have nourished such a multitude of people as were to pass there. Besides this, they had advice that the Count of *Brissac*, Colonel of the French Infantry beyond the Mountains, who entertained five Companies of Foot, every one consisting of two hundred men, though he said he was to pass into the Marquisate of *Saluzzes* to secure the places in that State, yet he left the greatest part of them at *Lyons*, and the rest under excuses remained in *Dauphine*, as places suspected to be at the devotion of the Hugonots: of which to be the more assured, they perswaded *Andelot* as General of the Foot, to desire the charge of those Levies, and saw he was refused it. They observed, that no occasion was omitted to restrain the liberty of Religion, and that the injuries the Catholicks did the Hugonots were not so ill interpreted as any the least action of the others. They marked the repulse was given to *Membrancy* when he pretended to the Constableship, because he inclined to favour them, and that the Marquis *d'Elbous* General of the Gallies being dead, his place was presently bestowed upon the Baron *de la Garde*, that Monsieur *de Meru*, *Membrancy's* Brother, might not have time to make suit for it, a man who had ever applyed himself to the profession of the Sea, but of the same inclinations with his Brother. They took notice likewise that when the Marshal *de Burdillon* died, Monsieur *de Guen*, Brother of the Marshal *de Brissac* deceased, was the very same night chosen in his place, to hinder the pretences of *Andelot* and *Mey*, who had a promise of it before. All these things considered together, they doubted that the King of *France* holding intelligence with the King of *Spain*, would at length chastise them for their past insolencies, and force them to live conformable to the Catholick Religion: and though the King sent the Viscount *de Joyeuse* to besiege *Pamiers*, that had openly revolted, where the Rebels at first sight of the Cannon abandoned the Town, and fled into the Mountains; yet by the advice of his Mother, he still made shew of bearing great respect to the Authority of the Hugonot Lords, excused and palliated the things that were done; and to keep them in their duty until such time as the Swisses were come, and the other forces gotten together, continued a seeming affection to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral, without assuring them, his intencion was that they should enjoy a Liberty of Conscience, and live according to the Capitulation, omitting no kind of art that might any way conduce to please or secure them. And the Queen-Mother (upon whose actions the warrest of the Hugonots chiefly cast an eye) to cover with a more profound dissimulation the secret of their Counsels, and to take away the suspicion which some hasty actions, or any the least inconsiderate speech of the Kings might give them, making use of the common report spread abroad, that King *Philip* had resolved to pass himself in person into *Flanders*, and divulging and making more of it than was yet spoken of, seemed to have exceeding jealousies, and to apprehend that this Voyage of his was with some further end than merely to suppress the *Gueux*, for which the forces of the Duke of *Alva* were more then sufficient, whereupon she put on such a shew of perplexity, that she made most men indeed believe all these preparations of men and money were only for

Gueux, a Sect
of Hereticks.

for this occasion, which that it might be the more credited, divers of the Lords were sent for to the Court, and making a kind of assembly, whereat many of the Hugonots were present, they entred into a consultation of the means not only how to defend the Frontiers, but also to make an offensive War against the Spaniards, if they found the Catholick King came with any sinister intention; and as it were by the advice of this assembly they resolved to send young *P. Aubespine* the Secretary into *Spain*, who pretended he went for no other purpose but to dissuade that King from coming, or else by observation to make probable conjectures of the end, and designs of his Voyage; but the truth is, he was sent to confirm the former agreement. Withal to be sure that these dissimulations should be well acted on both sides: the Queen dispatched away post Father *Hugo* a Franciscan Fryar, who having communicated to the Catholick King the intention of their proceedings, ordered it so, to give the more colour to the jealousies in *France*, that he should receive *P. Aubespine* without any manner of respect, delaying his Audience, and making no account of him, and in all other occurrences, shew little confidence or satisfaction either from the King or the Queen-Mother, who on the other side ceased not to complain in publick of the Spaniards, discovering a design and resolution suddenly to move with their Forces against them; which was so excellently dissembled, that not only the common sort of people who were not concerned in the affairs, but even the Pope himself so far believed all that was done to be real, that he very earnestly interceded by his Nuncio to perswade the Queen, that the Catholick King intended nothing at all against the King her Son, and therefore it was not necessary to make such great preparations of Souldiers, who if they were led up on the Confines, might perhaps be an occasion of some mischief, which was not thought on before. The Queen answered the Nuncio with ambiguous artificial speeches, neither denying nor affirming the War, expressing a mistrust of the Catholick Kings designs, and complaining of him, that he had in no measure answered the confidence she had of his integrity, and the care that was taken, that the Insurrections in *France* might not encourage his Subjects to rebel; but at the same time declared, That the King her Son intended not to violate the League with the Spaniards, nor to resolve upon a War, unless he were necessitated and provoked first by them: Which uncertain kind of discourse rather increased the doubts, than any way satisfied concerning the truth.

The Pope was not alone deceived with these dissimulations, but the Prince of *Conde*, of a disposition apt enough to receive any new impressions, counselled the King to take this occasion to make War with the Spaniards, offering to bring him a great number of men of the Hugonot Faction, which served only to exasperate the King, who could not be well pleased, that any body should presume to have a greater credit or authority in his own Kingdom, and wish the Subjects thereof, than himself; and though the Queen perpetually desired him to dissemble his passion, and the other Catholick Lords did the same; yet he could not forbear to express his displeasure with the Prince, and to reprove him for what he had said, though afterwards he excused himself to the Queen, that he treated him so on purpose to take him off from the hopes of being Constable; for which the Prince at length moving the King himself, the Duke of *Anjou*, being first thoroughly instructed by his Mother, without expecting the Kings Answer, replied in a disdainful manner, That his Majesty having promised to make him his Lieutenant-General, he was not of such a temper, to suffer that any body else should pretend to command the Army but himself; which repulse displeasing the Prince, he shortly after left the Court, the same did the Admiral and *Andelot* with much greater reason of discontent; for the Colonels *Brissac* and *Strozzi* having refused to obey the command of *Andelot* General of the French Infantry, the Council through hate of him, determined it, contrary to custom, in their favour.

Nevertheless the Queen continuing her wonted arts, endeavoured by many demonstrations of kindness still to entertain the Hugonot party with hopes, often discounting of her diffidence in *Spain*; of the jealousies of the Duke of *Alva*, of the troubles in *Scotland*, where there were commotions of great consequence, for which she seemed to take exceeding thought; by reason of the reciprocal intelligence ever held with that Crown; and of the little correspondence with *England*; for having refused upon the instance of that Queen to restore *Calais*, with many more things of the like nature, which all tended to fill the hearts curiosity of the Hugonots. But it is a hard matter to deceive those who are full of jealousies, and careful to observe every little accident.

The

1564.

The Prince of *Conde* perswades the King to make war with *Spain*, and offers him a great number of the Hugonots, which more exasperates the King

1566. The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, who knowing the guilt of their own Conscience, put no trust in the flatteries of the Court, calling to mind all the past occurrences, and considering them thoroughly, resolved not to be prevented, but to gain the advantage of being first in Arms. Wherefore, at the beginning of the Summer in the year 1567. six thousand Swisses arriving in the Isle of *France* under the conduct of Colonel *Fifer*, a man of great esteem amongst his own Nation, the Heads of the Hugonots being come to *Valeri*, shewed their adherents certain secret advertisements which they said they had from a principal person at Court, in which they were advised to stand upon their guard; for the intention of those that governed, was, to seize upon the persons of the Prince and the Admiral, with a resolution to keep the first in perpetual imprisonment, and presently to put the other to death; then making use of the Swisses and other Souldiers, on a sudden to clap Garisons into those Cities which they thought inclined to the Reformed Religion, and revoking the Act of Pacification to forbid the exercise thereof in all parts of the Kingdom.

The Hugonots
jealousies of
the Kings pre-
parations, re-
solve upon a
War.

At the beginning there were many different opinions amongst them, for divers gave no credit to this advertisement, others were diffident of their own strength, and a great part abhorred the necessity of a War; insomuch that they left *Valeri*, with a resolution not to proceed any further till they were better assured of the truth of their intelligence: but the Swisses being already come into the Isle of *France*, who at first it was said should stay upon the Confines, and the Cardinal *de S. Croix* from his Bishoprick of *Arles* arrived at Court, who, the Hugonots suspected, came as Legate from the Pope, to authorize with the Kings consent the observation of the Council of *Trent*, the chief Leaders of the Faction re-assemble themselves at *Chastillon*, where the Prince, the Admiral, and *Andelot*, perswaded them without further delay to take Arms; which opinion, though with some difficulty, at length prevailing; they presently entered into a consultation what course they should take in the administration of the War.

Some thought it best to get possession of as many Towns and places as they could in all parts of the Kingdom, to the end to separate and divide the Kings Forces. Others by the example of the late War thought this advice both unprofitable and dangerous; and perswaded, having made themselves Masters of two or three strong places at a reasonable distance one from the other, where the Forces of the Faction might assemble, as soon as was possible to put it to a Battel, seeing without some notable Victory they could never hope to bring their business to a prosperous end.

But the Admiral who with long premeditation had thoroughly weighed these opinions, placing all his hope in expedition and prevention, proposed a more desperate indeed, but far more expedite way, and advised, that before they were thought of, they should make an attempt on a suddain to seize upon the persons of the King and Queen-Mother, who imagining they had with their arts brought the Hugonots into a stupid security, or else believing they could not so soon or so easily bring their Forces together, passed their time without any apprehensions for the present at *Monceaux*, a House of the Queens, and at some other places of pleasure in *Brye*, where they might with much facility be surpris'd and carried away. He made appear to them that by this suddain alteration they should gain that power, that appearance of reason, and those Forces which in the late War their adversaries had, and through which the Victory at length inclined wholly to their side, and concluded, that though the King and the Queen for their security kept the Swisses in the same Province, in a place not far from the Court, yet if they came upon them on a suddain they would not have time to expect their aid; so the King being taken, they might presently set upon the Swisses, who being divided in their quarters would be easily suppressed, and they once defeated, there remained in no part of the Kingdom a body of men together, that could make resistance, or hinder the progress of their Arms. This stratagem wonderfully pleased them all, and without farther dispute they appointed to meet armed with as many Horse as they could get the 27 day of *September*, and assigned *Rosay*, a Town in the Province of *Brye* very near *Monceaux* where the Court remained, for their general Rendezvous.

Many have reported, and some who in several occasions were taken in *Gascony* by Monsieur *de Montluc* and put to their trial, confessed upon the torture, that the chief scope of this enterprize was to murder the King and the Queen, with all her other Children, that the Crown might come to the Prince of *Conde*; but so great a cruelty was not generally believed of all men.

Now

Now whilst the Hugonots made their preparations in divers places, and whilst their Confederates and Dependents assembled themselves together, the enterprize was carried with marvellous secrecy: but when they began to move from several parts to the place appointed, the Queen though late, and when it was even ready to be put in execution, had advertisement thereof, who never imagining that the Hugonots could so soon, or with such secrecy unite themselves; or make any insurrection, that she should not have notice of it long before; and thinking her self secure through the strength of her Swisses who lay so near, was at this time surprized with danger, when she least dreamt of any molestation, having perhaps too much relied upon those dissimulations and arts which she used to appease the restless minds of the Hugonots, yet not being at all daunted with the greatness of the danger, believing her preservation depended wholly upon quickness, as soon as ever she received the news, she presently with her Son and some few near about them took Horse, and leaving all their carriage and train behind, went in great diligence to *Meaux*, which was the nearest Town, not having time to save themselves in any place that was stronger or better defended. There they sent one Messenger after another for the Swisses, who quartered in the same Province but a few Leagues off, and the Marshal *de Momorancy* was dispatched away to the Hugonots to demand of them in the KING'S Name the cause of their taking Arms.

1567.

Momorancy, as is said before, in his heart favoured the Princes and the Admirals Factions: but his natural averisness to action, the respect he bore his Father, his modesty of mind, and the little satisfaction he received from the Prince of *Conde*, made him nevertheless hold with the Catholick party, and therefore he was thought a fit person to serve the Queen's design, which was to amuse the Hugonots. Forces till the Swisses were come to Court. And it fell out according to their desire; for meeting the Prince and the Admiral upon the way, whilst he informed himself of their reasons for this commotion, whilst he disputed with them the injustice of the open violence they intended to the Kings person, and whilst they were consulting and debating with contrariety of opinions amongst themselves, what answer they should return to the Queen, the Swisses not losing any minute of the time, but beginning presently to march with wonderful speed, as if it had been to run a race, arrived where the King was, and the Hugonots lost the opportunity of effecting so great a design.

But the Swisses being already come, and knowing the Hugonots would be there also within a few hours after, the Kings Council entered into a debate whether it were better to stay in the Town, and abide a Siege, or else endeavour to make a retreat to *Paris*, which was ten leagues off, and hazard fighting with the Enemy upon the way. The Constable believing for certain the Hugonots would set upon them in their march, and thinking it very dangerous, having no considerable company of Horse, to fight in such an open champion Country, perswaded all he could, that it was not fit to expose the persons of the King and Queen to such an evident certain hazard.

The Duke of *Nemours* on the other side, thought it not only dishonourable, but much more dangerous likewise to expect a Siege in a little Town, that had no Defence but an old broken Wall without any provision, or method of War: between which opinions they remained long in suspense, and the Constables advice had at length prevailed, if Colonel *Fifer*, having desired to be admitted to the Kings presence whilst he was in Council, had not with great effectual speeches humbly requested his Majesty not to suffer himself to be besieged in such a poor place, by a company of insolent rebellious Subjects, but that he would be pleased to commit himself and the Queen his Mother to the fidelity and courage of the Swisses, who being six thousand strong, would with the heads of their Pikes make a way for him through any Army whatsoever of his Enemies. To this speech the Swisse Captains, who staid at the Council-Chamber-Door, adding their earnest desires, the Queen standing up, and with gracious speeches commending their fidelity and vertue, gave order they should refresh themselves those few hours of the night that remained; for in the morning she would freely commit to the protection of their valour the Majesty and welfare of the Crown of *France*. At which resolution the Air redounding with the shouts of all those of that Nation, they went to prepare themselves for the next day, and the Lords of the Court were very diligent to put the Archers of the Kings Guard and their own servants in order.

Presently

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Presently after midnight, the Swisses with great chearfulness beating up their Drums, went a mile out of the Town to put themselves in order, and the King with the Court taking the shortest way, just at day break was ready upon the place, where the Swisses having received him and the Queen, with the Ambassadors of Foreign Princes, and all the Ladies of the Court into the midst of their Battalion, began to march with such a fierceness and bravery, that in many years *France* had not seen so remarkable a spectacle.

Colonel Fifer with 6000 Swisses saves the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, from a great Army of the Hugonots, and marching in an excellent order fighting with the Enemy, conducts them safe to *Paris*.

They had not marched thus above two miles, (the Duke of *Nemours* with the Horse of the Kings Guard going before, and the Constable with the Gentlemen of the Court following after the Battalion) when they saw some Troops appear of the Hugonots Horse which advanced a good pace to charge them. The Swisses closed their ranks and charging their Pikes, shewed such an undaunted courage to receive the assault of the Enemy, that the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral being come up to the Rear with a party of six hundred Horse, making caracols, and wheeling about the field durst not charge their Battalion, who standing in a very close order, and fiercely shaking their Pikes, shewed little fear of the fury of their Horse: But the Count *de la Roche-foucault* with a Troop of three hundred Horse, and *Andelot* with another of two hundred being joined with them, they returned furiously to charge them again in the Rear. At the same instant the Swisses with admirable nimbleness faced about to fight, and the King with great ardour spurred on his Horse to the front of the Battail, being followed by the chief Lords of the Court, but for the most part without any weapons but their Swords, none of them finding in such haste Arms either defensive or offensive fit for such an occasion. The Hugonots made some shot as if they meant to fall in upon them in good earnest; but seeing the frank resolution of the Swisses, they wheeled off, and caracolled again, and began to keep at a distance. Thus sometimes advancing, sometimes making a stand to receive the charge of the enemy who followed them in the Rear seven Leagues together, they kept on their way with an admirable constancy, till the Hugonot Captains being wearied, and seeing they could do no good, partly through the daring courage of the Swisses, partly because their Forces arrived not soon enough at the place appointed, left off pursuing them; and perceiving the night draw on, retired to lodge in the adjacent Villages: which when the Catholick Lords knew, (not to expose themselves the next day to a greater hazard) they resolved, leaving the Constable and the Duke of *Nemours* with the Swisses, that the King and Queen should go on towards *Paris*, which they did with more than an ordinary pace, not without some fear, and very much danger; for if the enemy had been advertised thereof, and sent but two hundred Horse before to lie in their way, they might very easily have taken them. All that were present were exceedingly moved to see the Queen with all her Sons so environed by their Enemies, that in an instant all the Royal Family might have been lost, and it was a great chance it fell out otherwise, nor less good fortune that the Swisses had such an address; for without them it had been impossible to escape the hands of the Enemy.

The King being come to *Paris*, was received with great joy of the people, even shedding tears through tenderness; and the Duke of *Aumale*, who was there before, went with three hundred Horse that he had gotten together to meet the Swisses, who arrived not till after midnight in the Suburbs. The next morning they entered the City with the same order and bravery, being received by the King himself at *St. Martins Gate*, who having highly commended their valour, and made them a donative of a pay, the reward of Conquerours, they were sent back to the Suburbs, where Quarters were provided for them.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* saves himself by flight from the Hugonots.

The Hugonots resolve to besiege *Paris*, stop the passages whereby provisions are conveyed to the City, make incursions into the Suburbs, and burn the Mills.

The Cardinal of *Lorain*, of whom the Hugonots had a principal design to rid themselves, at the same time the King and Queen marched away, went with a small train out of the great road through by-ways towards his Archbishoprick of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, and falling unawares into certain Hugonot-Troops which were gathering together in those parts, leaving his coaches, and losing his baggage, with much difficulty saved himself by flight.

But the Prince and the Admiral, though they saw the miserable ill success of their design, which wholly depended upon expedition and prevention, yet they resolved they would besiege *Paris*, being of opinion that a City so replenished with people, and not at all furnished with victuals, would in few days be brought to such extremity, that it must be delivered up to them of necessity, for there was not any Army ready that was

was not any Army ready that was able to succour or relieve it. To this end they began to possess themselves of all the passages of the Rivers, by which provisions are conveyed to *Paris*, fortifying and placing Guards in all the little Towns about the City, which being but weak, and unprovided of any defence, in this sudden commotion were with little delay, and less pains reduced into their power; so that being Masters of *Montereau*, *Lagny*, *S. Denis*, the Bridge of *S. Cloud*, *Dammartine*, and all the places thereabout, the fifth of *October* they made incursions even to the walls of *Paris*, and burnt the windmills without the Ramparts, between *S. Honore's* gate and the port *de Temple*, with great terrour to the Parisians, and extream offence to the King, who in the heat of passion, could not forbear with threats and rough language to express an anger full of revenge. In the mean while, the Queen, upon whose prudence and care the whole welfare of the State depended, employed all her industry to get an Army soon enough together, to raise the enemy from the Siege. To which purpose, besides the general order given all over the Kingdom, that the Catholicks should take arms, the Colonels *Brissac* and *Strozzi* were sent for in all diligence with the old French Infantry, the Sieurs *de Sansac*, *Savigny*, *Tavannes*, and *Martignes*, with the *Gens d'Arms*, the Duke of *Guise* from his Government of *Champagne*, the grand Prior from that of *Auvergne*, the Marshal *d'Anville* with the Forces of his Family, and particular Orders and Letters directed to all the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, to hasten them away, who at the first report of the Kings danger instantly ran together; wherefore though the occasion were pressing and urgent, yet it was hoped all these aids would arrive before the City were reduced to an extream necessity, which by the help of the Swisses, and readiness of the Parisians was able to hold out many days. But the thing that troubled the Queen, was the great scarcity of money: wherefore having called together the Catholick Princes Ambassadors that were resident at Court, she very effectually recommended to them the present occasions of the State, and desired every one of them to procure some convenient aid from their Masters: nor content with this, dispatched away *Annibal Ruccelai* post into *Italy*, to get what considerable Sum he could of the Pope and the great Duke: with *Giovanni Corraro* the Venetian Ambassador, she treated in private with great shew of confidence, to dispose the Senate to lend 100000 Ducats: To the Duke of *Ferrara* she writ very earnestly that he would give her leave to make use of 100000 Francks and more that remained in *France* to satisfy certain debts; and into *Spain* sent Monsieur *de Malassise* to the same purpose. But foreseeing the slowness of these Supplies in respect of the urgency of the present occasions, the King calling together the chief Citizens of *Paris*, obtained of them 400000 Francks; and it fell out very opportunely, that the Prelates being assembled at the same time in *Paris*, to consult of the affairs of the Clergy, agreed among themselves to make the King a present of 250000 Crowns towards the present maintenance of the War: besides these provisions which were presently brought in, the King being informed that certain Merchants sent 60000 Reals of Eight into *Flanders*, and exceedingly offended that they would not furnish him with any part of it, caused the money to be stoppt, which was an exceeding help in so pressing a necessity.

Nevertheless the Queen, to protract the time till supplies of men and other necessary provisions arrived, and to abate the fervour of the Enemy, being constrained to have recourse to her wonted arts, excellently dissembling those so fresh injuries, and the late danger she passed, began to make overture of a Treaty for an Accommodation by Monsieur *de S. Sulpice*, a person in whom she reposed much confidence, and that was not ill thought of by the Hugonots, who not shewing themselves altogether averse from peace, there went to them in a place equally distant from both Armies the High Chancellor, the Marshal of *Memorancy*, and *la Vieux-Ville*, Monsieur *de Morvillers*, and the Bishop of *Limoges*; to whom though they proposed insolent exorbitant conditions, such as Conquerors use to impose upon the Conquered; yet to gain the benefit of time, they artificially spun out the Treaty still, giving them hopes of condescending to their desires.

The Propositions of the Hugonots were these: That the Queen-Mother should have nothing to do in the Government: That those who till then had managed the affairs, should render an account to them of their proceedings: That the King should disband all his Forces: That all strangers should be sent out of the Kingdom, and particularly the Italians, to whom they attributed the invention of their new Impositions

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1587.
* Any kind of
imposition, e-
specially that
which is paid
unto the King
upon sale of
Salt.

and *Gabelles*: That the Edict of *January* should be reauthorized, and punctually observed with a free exercise of the Hugonot Religion in all places, and particularly in *Paris*: That *Meaux*, *Calais*, and *Hawe de Grace*, should be consigned to them for their security: That all Taxes should be taken away: That a general Assembly of the States should be called: That Justice should be done them against the Princes of *Guise*, by whom they said they were persecuted and calumniated, and other things not unlike these; which seeming rather ridiculous than matter of hate, chiefly that Article in which they demanded a present disbanding of the Kings Forces, whilst they had an Army on foot at the Gates of *Paris*, afforded no hopes at all of an accommodation: yet the Queen sending every day new persons to treat, according to her design, drew out the business in length, and gained time to free her self from so great an exigence. Nor were these delays displeasing to the Hugonots, who thinking it more probable to prevail by a Siege, than by strength, did what they could to stop all the passages to the City, hoping rather by famine than force to reduce it into their powers; and in the mean while expected a supply of men from their party, which were raising with exceeding diligence in all parts of the Kingdom. But these aids that were hoped for on both sides, bred grievous and dangerous Insurrections in the Provinces: For in *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, (which lie nearest to *Paris*, and environ it on all sides) the Hugonots were assembled together in great multitudes, with a resolution to succour their party, and the Governours did the same for the King; so that being kept in play there, they could not go to join with the Army before *Paris*: by which commotions the Villages and Towns were pestered with Souldiers, and the ways so broken, that all intercourse and traffick was hindered and destroyed.

The City of
Orleans taken
again by the
Hugonots and
divers others.

At the same time the Hugonots possess themselves of the City of *Orleans* and the Fortresses; which being scarcely finished, and ill guarded, was easily reduced into their power. The taking of this place was of very great importance; for besides the benefit of having so considerable a City so near *Paris*, they found there three Cannons and five Culverins, which was very advantageous to the Army, that before had never a piece of Artillery. In *Burgundy* they took *Auxerre* and *Mascon*, but the last not without some blood, for the Catholicks made a valiant resistance. In *Dauphine* they got *Valence*; *Lyons* was full of tumults, and the *Sieur de Ponsenac* taking arms in their favour, brake the ways, and fomented the commotions within the City. The Count de *Montgomery* surprized *Estampes*, which was of so much more consequence, because near *Paris*. In *Languedoc*, *Nismes* and *Montpellier* were revolted to the Hugonots. *Metz*, a strong place of very great importance upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*, was upon the point of revolting, Monsieur de *Difans* who commanded the Garison, having declared himself for the Hugonots: whereupon not only the *Marechal de la Vieux-Ville* the Governour of that place was constrained to leave the Court, but the Duke of *Guise* also took a resolution to march that way. Upon the coasts of the Ocean they made themselves Masters of *Diepe*; and in *Gascony* they were so strong, that Monsieur de *Montau* having such an enemy to deal with, could not send those aids that were intended to *Paris*.

These stirs that were not without much blood-shed, rapine, and frequent encounters, retarded for some days both the Kings supplies, and the recruiting of the Hugonots Army. But the first that arrived, were the Kings Forces; for *Timoleon* Count of *Brissac*, and *Philip Strozzi* who commanded the Infantry, though *Andelot* and *Mary* (having left the Camp on purpose, lay in the way to hinder their passage, yet) coasting the Country through Woods and Vineyards, and having carriages to flank them, arrived safe in *Paris* with four Regiments of Foot; and the Catholick Nobility at the news of the Kings being besieged, came together from all parts in great diligence to the Court.

The King having now no more occasion to dissemble, sent an Herald to summon the Prince and the rest of his Confederates assembled at *St. Dennis*, within the space of four and twenty hours to lay down their arms and return to their obedience, or else to pronounce them Rebels and Traytors. At the appearance of the Herald, who brought the Summons in writing, the Prince of *Conde* in a fury protested, *If he said any thing that toucht upon his Honour, he would presently cause him to be hanged*: to which the Herald knowing himself backed with the Royal Authority, answered boldly, *I am sent from your Master and mine, nor shall words terrifie me from executing my Commission*, and put the Writing in his hand, which being read, the Prince said he would return

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an answer within three days; but the Herauld replied with the like boldness as before, that he must resolve within four and twenty hours: so that the same Herauld being sent again the next day, carried back an answer in much milder terms than ordinary, the Heads of the Hugonots professing, *They were resolved still to remain his Majesties loyal Subjects, nor to desire any thing but the conservation of their Propriety, their Religion, and their Lives; and only demanded such conditions as they thought necessary for security of the same, which they would ever acknowledge as testimonies of his Royal favour and goodness.*

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This kind of proceeding renewed the hopes of an Accommodation; whereupon it was concluded, that the Constable should the next day have a conference with some principal persons of that party; so that going out of the City with about two thousand Horse, when he was in the mid-way toward St. Denis, he commanded his company to stand, and advanced himself, accompanied only by the Marechal de Cousse, his Son Momorancy, and l'Aubespine Secretary of State. The same was done by the other side; for the rest staying behind, the Prince, the Admiral, the Cardinal of Chastillon, Roche-fou-cault and Andelot came to meet them. The Prince spake very modestly, though he departed not at all from the conditions already proposed; but the Cardinal of Chastillon told the Constable, who perswaded him to rely upon the Kings word, without seeking any further security for their Propriety and Lives, that they could not trust to the King, and much less to him, who had broken his word, and was an occasion of the present calamities, by having counselled his Majesty to violate the Edict of Pacification. Whereupon the Constable gave him the Lye, and so they parted with ill language, no hopes remaining of an agreement. Wherefore the King having called together the Princes, Knights of the Order, Captains of the *Gens d'Arms*, and Colonels of Foot, in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Speech full of couragious resolute expressions, in which he told them, *That there was nothing he desired more than the peace and quiet of his Subjects, which had induced him to grant the Hugonots many things repugnant to his own inclinations, and contrary to his nature; but notwithstanding so many graces, and privileges, some of them abusing his favours, with divers scandalous imputations sought to raise a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and were grown so bold in their wickedness, that they durst conspire against him, the Queen and his Brothers, for which enormous Treason he might justly chastise and cut them off; nevertheless, nothing altering him from his first resolution, on the contrary, to the prejudice of his own Authority, and to the diminution of the Royal Dignity, he had sent some of the principal persons in the Kingdom to treat with them, to whom they were not ashamed to make those Propositions which were already well known to every body: therefore he had at length determined to have that by force, which he could not obtain by their consents; and that he was confident easily to effect his desires by the assistance of those Lords he saw there about him, who having been ever faithful to the Kings his Predecessors, he hoped would not abandon him now in so great a necessity, and in so lawful and just a cause; wherefore he desired them couragiously to embrace the occasion of meriting both from their King and Country, and not to consider those dangers to which he would first expose his own Person for the preservation of the Commonwealth.*

The Constable comes to parley with the Hugonots; the lye passeth between him and the Cardinal of Chastillon, and no hopes remain of an agreement.

The Constable answering for all, said, Intreaties were not necessary, for every one there was ready to venture his life and fortune in his Majesties service: and then turning about to the Nobility, continued his Speech in this manner; *Gentlemen, there is no such true real Nobility as that which is acquired by Vertue; and you that are born Gentlemen, not to degenerate from your Ancestors, cannot better imploy your selves than in defence of our King against those, who to make a King for their turns, endeavour to extinguish this Race. Be resolute then, and as with one accord you environ his Majesty in this place, prepare your selves with your Courage and Vertue to encompass him in Arms; and I who have the charge of the Militia, though I am old, promise to be the first to assail the Enemy.* Which Exhortations were followed by general Acclamations and consent of all that were present, though for the most part it was believed the Constable and his, more in words than in deeds favoured the Kings party, and gave too willing an ear to the discourtes of the Hugonots, who were no less hated by the Nobility, than detested by the Parisians, and not without reason.

The City began to feel the incommodities of a Siege, and suffered extremely through want of Victuals; for the Admiral in a bravery at Noon-day, in the face of the Kings Army, possessed himself of the Bridge at Charenton, a league distant from the Walls, whereby the passage of the River being cut off, all manner of provision began to be

Paris besieged and streightned for victuals.

1567. at an excessive rate; but the greatest difficulty was how to nourish such a number of Horse as were then in the Town: for which reason the Constable, provoked by the cries of the people, and impatient, having a much greater Army than the Enemy, that the City, to the small reputation of the Kings Forces, should be so straitened and incommodated, issued out of *Paris* the ninth day of *November*, and quartered his Van-guard at *la Chappelle*, a place upon the high-way between the City and the Enemies Camp, which resolution obliging the Hugonots to lie close together in a Body, that they might not be surprized apart, they quitted the Villages about, so that the passages were again open, and the ways free to carry all things that were necessary into *Paris*. They sent likewise to call back *Andelot*, who with eight hundred Horse and about two thousand Foot had passed the River to streighten the Siege on that side, believing that the Constable (as it was true) being much superiour in force, would advance, and presently either shut them up in *St. Denis*, or else force them with great disadvantage to fight.

The Prince of *Conde* with the Battel lodged close under the Walls of *St. Denis*, keeping that Town for his security behind him; the Admiral with the Van lay on the right hand, at *St. Oynne*, a Village near the bank of the River, which served him both for a fence against the Waters and the Enemy; and *May* and *Genlis* with the Rear at *Aubervilliers*, a Town on the left hand; and because on one side of them was a great open champagne, they made a ditch, and raised an indifferent work to secure them from being assaulted in the Flank, and placed a guard there of six hundred small shot. But the Hugonots entring into debate, what was best to be done, being so much inferiour in number to the Kings Army, in which were sixteen thousand Foot, and more than three thousand Horse, many were of opinion it would do well to retreat till the Supplies they expected from divers parts were arrived; the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral thought it impossible to retreat without receiving an absolute defeat; for the Kings Army lying so near, they could not possibly march away without being discovered, and consequently followed and assaulted: wherefore they judged it best, as well to maintain their reputation, which to the Heads of a popular Faction, and especially at the beginning of a War, is ever of great consequence, as also that they might the better make a retreat, to give them battel; for the days being at the shortest, it would quickly be dark, and soon stay the fury of the fight, in which they hoped their Horse (which were very good) would so damnifie the Kings Army, that they would not be able to follow them that night, by the benefit whereof they might retire, and meeting *Andelot* with fresh supplies, secure themselves from danger.

On *St. Martins*
Eve the Kings
Forces meet
with the Hu-
gonots Army
out of *Paris*.

Whilst the Hugonots were in this consultation, the Constable was not idle, but being confident they would either make a retreat; or if they came to fight, be totally ruined: the morning after, being the Vigil of *St. Martin*, one of the Protectors of the Crown of *France*, having put the Army in order, sent resolutely to assail the Enemy. The Duke of *Anmale* and the Marshal *d'Anville* led the Van, and were placed against the Admiral: the Duke of *Nemours* with a great number of Horse which were ranged upon the champagne brought up the Reer, and the Battel commanded by the Constable was placed against the Prince of *Conde*, after whom followed the Swisses in their orders flanked by the Count of *Brissac* and *Strozzi's* Foot. It was already past mid-day when the Constable seeing the Enemy resolved to give them Battel, not to lose time, advanced with his Squadrons in such haste to charge them, that the Foot marching in order were left a great way behind, and could not come up to fight; which falling out according as the Hugonots desired, they with their Cavalry (in which they had much the advantage) drew up behind the Constables Battle, and charging him courageously quite through, made a great slaughter amongst his men. The Duke of *Nemours* thought to stay the fury of the Enemy by charging them in the Flank; but the Ditch being in his way, and a gallant opposition made by the Hugonot Musquetiers at the work, there was so much time to be spent there, that he could not make such haste as was requisite to succour the Constable. The Duke of *Anmale* and the Marshal *d'Anville* attempted the same, but were hindered by the Admirals Van, who having moved from his place, and retired almost to the bank of the River that he might not be surrounded, mingled valiantly with them, by which means the Constables Battalion being assailed and shaken by divers Troops of their Horse, besides the Princes own which was in the midst, remained without receiving any succours, so over-matched by the Enemy in number, that in a short time it was absolutely routed and destroyed.

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The Constable had four little hurts in his face, and a great blow with a Battle-axe upon the head, yet he still continued fighting valiantly, and was endeavouring to rally his men, when Robert Stuart a Scotch-man rode up to him with his Pistol bent toward him, whereupon the Constable said, Dost thou not know me? I am the Constable; he replied, Yes I do, and because I know thee, I present thee this, and instantly shot him in the shoulder, which made him fall; but as he was falling, he threw his Sword (which though the Blade were broken he held still in his hand) with such a violence at Stuart's face, that he beat out three of his teeth, brake his jaw-bone, and laid him upon the ground by him for dead. The Constable lay a good while abandoned by his men that ran away, and left him in the power of the Enemy; but the Duke of Anmale, and Monsieur d'Anville having routed and defeated the Admirals Van, when they once saw them flee, left the pursuit, and came up to succour and sustain the Battalia; by which means the Constable was redeemed out of the hands of the Hugonots, who were then carrying him away prisoner, and his Son with much difficulty convey'd him though already half dead to Paris. The Duke of Nemours having in the mean while passed the Ditch, and with great slaughter driven the Hugonots out of their Work, with the like Massacre brake their Rear, and having chased those that ran away into their quarters, rallied his Horse, and returned furiously to mingle with the Enemy in the hottest of the fight. So the Catholick Van and Rear which had put to flight the Hugonot Van and Rear coming close up to the Princes Squadrons, charged them so furiously in the Front and in the Flank, that many of his Troops being disordered, the Victory manifestly inclined to the Catholicks. In the mean while the night overtook them, which was very dark and rainy, by favour whereof the Prince of Conde, who having had his Horse kill'd under him, with much difficulty recovered another, and the Admiral who by the fierceness of a Turkish Horse that he rid that day, was so far engaged amongst the Enemies, that he had like to have been taken prisoner, retired in haste to St. Denis, leaving the Field and the possession of their dead as an assured token of a Victory to the Enemy. The Catholicks though victorious, partly through the loss of their General, partly through the darkness of the night, left pursuing them, and the Foot having not had time to mingle in the fight, returned intire to their Quarters.

In the Battel of St. Denis the Catholick Army prevails, but is much damaged.

The slaughter on both sides was much more considerable in regard of the quality than number of the dead; for on the Kings party none fighting but the Horse, and on the contrary those Foot only that defended the Ditch which flanked the Rear, they that were killed were without doubt the most part Gentlemen or Persons of Note, amongst which, those of the Hugonots side were the Count de Saxe, the Vidame of Amiens, the Count de Saut, Messieurs de Pignigny, Canisy, S. Andre and Garemma: of the Kings men few were killed, but very many hurt, as Monsieur de Sansac, a Cavalier of great courage and expectation. The day after the Battel the Constable died, having at the 80th year of his age fought fiercely, with a youthful courage, and shewed no less ardour of mind than vigour of body. At his death he had no disturbed thoughts, but on the contrary testified an exceeding constancy, insomuch that a Confessor coming to his bed-side to comfort him, he turned about, and with a serene quiet countenance desired he would not molest him, for it were a brutish thing having lived fourscore years, not to know how to die a quarter of an hour. He was a man of an exquisite Wit, and mature Wisdom, accompanied with a long experience in the changes of the World, by which Arts he acquired happily for himself and for his posterity exceeding great Wealth, and the chief Dignities in the Kingdom; but in his Military Commands he had always such ill fortune, that in all the Wars of which he had the Government, he ever remained either a Loser, or grievously wounded, or a Prisoner; which misfortunes were occasion, that many times his fidelity was questioned; even in this last action, where fighting he lost his life, there wanted not some who were envious enough to accuse him, That having the command of the Kings Army against his own Nephews, he charged so late, and left the Foot behind on purpose, because he would not, though he might, gain a compleat Victory.

Those that spake without passion, gave him three principal attributes, That he was a good Souldier, and a loving Servant, but an ill Friend; for in all his actions he was ever swayed by the consideration of his own interest. The same day died Claud de l'Aubespine, chief Secretary of State, a man of very great esteem, and a faithful Instrument of the Queen-Mothers, in whose place was substituted Nicholas de Neufville, Seigneur de Ville-roy, his Son-in-law, he who with great reputation of wisdom,

1567. dom, following the steps of his Predecessor, continued in that place to an extream old age.

The same night after the Battel, *Andelot* joined with the Hugonots at *St. Denis*, who having passed the River with great difficulty by reason the Catholicks had sunk or carried away all the Boats, could not come soon enough to the fight; but by his counsel the next morning, being the Eleventh of *November*, judging, as indeed it fell out, that by reason they had lost their General, the Catholicks would not appear again in the Field; the Hugonots shewed themselves in a body without the Trenches ready again to give Battel, maintaining with this bravado the reputation rather of Conquerors than otherwise. They stood still in that manner a quarter of an hour, and in their retreat carried off some of their dead bodies: but having lost the greatest part of their Foot, and most of the principal Gentlemen amongst them being either killed or grievously wounded, they resolved not to stay any longer, left the Kings Army, being provided again with a General, should resent their former loss; but having sent advice to their friends that were already advanced to succour them, the fourteenth they began to march in great haste towards *Champagne*, with an intent to pass that way into the Confines of *Lorain*.

The Prince and the Admiral at the beginning, when the Swisses raised by the Kings Order entered the Kingdom, sent Messieurs de *Frankfurt*, and *Chastelliere* into *Germany*; and perswaded Prince *Casimir*, Son to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, to raise an Army in their favour; to which purpose they had already furnished some small sum of money, with a promise, when he was arrived upon the Borders, that they would give him 100000 Crowns of the Sum for the payment of his men, which promise, with the hope of booty, and prey, stirring up Prince *Casimir*, and divers other Captains used to live in Armies, and by the benefit of War, they got together (not long after they were in Arms, seven thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, and the Hugonots had advertisement that they were ready with these Forces to enter upon the Confines of *Lorain*. For this reason they took a resolution to march that way, that they might as soon as was possible join with the Germans, and be enabled with this addition of Force to pursue the War with such counsels as the times and occasions would administer. The Army kept very close together, being all the way to pass through the Enemies Country, nor did any one man disband from the principal divisions, necessity having taught them discipline; *Andelot* only with Harquebusniers scoured the Country, on all sides cleared the passages, discovered the situations of places, and brought in provisions; nevertheless they made all the haste they could to arrive upon the Confines, though being straitned of victuals to nourish their men, they were forced likewise to assault divers little weak Towns upon the way, with the pillage and prey thereof to supply the wants of the Souldiers, notwithstanding they proceeded with such celerity and address, that they lost not much time, nor suffered any of their men to disband or straggle from their company. In this manner without using their Cannon they scaled and took *Bre-Conte-Robert*, *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, and *Pont-gone*, populous great *Bourgs*, in which, and in the Villages about, they found such store of Horses, that having mounted all their Foot, they marched with less difficulty and more expedition.

In the mean while the Queen being by the death of *Momorancy* freed from the power and reputation of the great ones, and left sole Moderatrix and Arbitress of the Catholick party, not meaning by the Election of a Constable or General of the Army again to subject her self to the danger of being over-awed, but desiring to preserve an absolute Authority in her self and her Son, perswaded him with many arguments to confer the command of the Army upon his Brother *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, a Youth of singular wit, and wonderful expectation, but scarce sixteen years of age; and so much the rather because the Council thought it not honourable for the King to go himself in person to command the Army, or to take Arms against his Subjects, because it would give them too great a reputation.

Wherefore in this manner hindering all emulations or pretentions of the great ones, and not advancing any body to so supream a power, *Henry* was in the Kings Council declared Lieutenant-General of the Army; but because he was so young, there were appointed for his assistance *Francis Siegneur de Carnavalet*, under whose discipline he was brought up from the beginning, and *Arthur de Cossé*, Marechal de *Gonar*, a man for the opinion was had of his wisdom and courage ever held in great esteem. Be-

sides

Henry Duke of Anjou made Lieutenant-General of the Army.

sides these, there were in the Army the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Nemours*, and *Longeville*, *Sebastian de Luxembourg*, *Signeur de Martignies* made Colonel General of the French Infantry, *Jasper Viscount of Tavannes*, *Timoleon Count of Brissac*, and *Armand de Byron* then Master, or (as they call it) Marshal of the Field, who for his valiant exploits, will be often mentioned by us in the ensuing story. Neither the Marshal de *Montmorancy* nor *d'Anneville* followed the Camp; for the Duke of *Montpensier* being appointed as Prince of the Blood, to lead the Van, they pretended that Dignity belonged to *Montmorancy* as first Marshal of *France*, who after the General, is to have the chief place in the Army. But the King not being willing to recal what was already done, as well not to disoblige the Duke, as because he was not confident of *Montmorancy*, and thought it dangerous to commit that part of the Army which was first to front the Enemy to his trust; the two Brothers in discontent chose rather to remain near the Kings person than to prejudice their right. The Duke of *Anmale* likewise left the Army, having the same pretensions with the Marshals as he was the antientest Captain in *France*, yet he did not declare himself, because he would not break with the Duke of *Montpensier*, but under pretence of going to assist with his advice the young Duke of *Guise* his Nephew, (in whose Government, when the Germans, who were expected, came, the chief weight of the business would fall) went with the King and Queens approbation to employ himself where there was most need of his assistance.

In this conjuncture arrived the Count of *Arenberg*, sent out of *Flanders* by the Duke of *Alva* according to the former agreement at *Bayonne*, with one thousand two hundred Lances, and three hundred Harquebushiers; a supply very considerable in it self, but wrought a far greater effect through the Union that was seen to the same end between those two Crowns. With these Commanders, with eighteen pieces of Cannon, and the whole Army, the Duke of *Anjou* moved to follow the Hugonots, hoping to overtake and to fight with them, before they could join with the Germans; which undoubtedly he had done, if there had been as much prudence and union amongst his Counsellors, as there was in him desire of glory, and a readiness to encounter the Enemy.

The Prince with all his Army was come near *Sens*, the chief City in *Brye*, but neither by art nor nature much fortified, wherefore he thought he might take it as he had done divers other Towns in his march, by scaling; but the Duke of *Guise*, who with the forces of his Government had already reduced *Mets* into the Kings obedience, and placed the Marshal de *la Vieux-Ville* Governour there, taking that way which he heard the Enemies Army inclined, entered very opportunely into that City, and being prepared to defend it courageously, was an occasion that the Prince despairing to take it, not to interrupt the principal or necessary design, with his wonted readiness turned another way; so that having received at *Monterolle* a recruit of certain Troops of Horse, which came out of *Gascony*, together with three Field-pieces that were taken at *Orleans*, which they brought with them, he continued on his march; in which, though he used all possible diligence, yet he was unawares interrupted by a weighty and dangerous accident; for being now advanced as far as *Chaulon*, the principal City in *Champagne*, he met there the Marchioness of *Roteline* his Wives Mother, being sent from the Court to make a new overture of peace, with an intention, as many said, only to hinder the Princes Voyage, and amuse him till the Kings Army was come: and the issue confirmed this suspicion; for she having imprudently proposed a suspension of Arms for three days, in which the Kings Deputies were to come to a place appointed, and the Prince having no less imprudently accepted it, with a purpose to refresh his Army, tired with their hard march, the Deputies appeared not; but the Duke of *Anjou* hastning his march with exceeding diligence, as the truce expired, arrived so near the Camp, that reason perswaded without farther delay to set upon them; for he knew the Hugonots with their speedy march were so tired and broken, and were necessitated to lodge upon the plains of that Province in such an open disadvantageous place, that they could neither defend themselves, nor refuse a Battel; and fighting, there was no doubt (being so far superiour in number) to give them a total overthrow.

The Count of *Brissac*, who led the first Troops of the Army, believing all the rest followed, as it was before resolved, and according to which resolution they had marched with great expedition in the Bourg of *Sarri*, furiously assaulted the last Squadrons of the Enemy, commanded by three Captains, *Blosset*, *Bais* and *Cleri*, and having with little resistance put them to flight, pursued the rest, who ran away as fast as they could

1567. could to save themselves. Monsieur de *Martigues* with part of the Van followed the Count of *Brissac*'s example, and having overtaken three hundred Horse which being placed in the Enemies Rear made their retreat, began a hot skirmish to keep them in play till all the Army came up; but whilst the Marshal of *Gonor*, and *Carnaulet* who were the Dukes chief Counsellors, either took too much care to range the Army, or else, as it was said, interposed artificial delays on purpose to hinder the destruction of so many of the Nobility, who were of their own blood, they gave the Hugonots time to save themselves; for the Prince and the Admiral having given order, That the three hundred Horse which were in the Rear, should as long as they could sustain *Martigues* charge, they in the mean while endeavoured to get off their men, and retreated with such speed, that in three days they marched more than twenty French Leagues, and staid not till they had passed the *Mense*, a River upon the Confines of *France*, and gotten out of the Kingdom into a place of security, where though freed from the danger of being overtaken, or oppressed by the Enemy, they were stricken with a much greater fear; for being arrived near *Pont a Mousson*, a place in the State of *Lorain*, where they thought to meet the Germans, but neither finding them, nor hearing in the Country about any news of their approach, the Souldiers seeing that hope fail for which they had suffered so many miseries, and finding themselves out of their Country, in a strang place, and which was worst of all, without any provision of victuals, entred into such a fright, that they were resolved to disband, and make the best shift they could by separating themselves, either through *Flanders* or *Lorain* to return to their own houses, and many doubting they could not escape the hands of the Catholicks, through whose Country they were of necessity to pass, resolved upon a voluntary exile, and to shelter themselves in the Cities of *Germany* till more quiet times. But the Prince and the other Commanders, with their intreaties, comforts, authority and reasons so far prevailed, that for the present they stayed them from this resolution, deferring for a few hours so desperate a purpose, till they were altogether destitute of any manner of means to subsist.

On Christmas Eve the Catholicks having an opportunity to fight with the Hugonots, would not, to prevent the effusion of so much of their own blood, by which means the Hugonots save themselves.

Prince *Casimir* Son to the Palatine of the *Rhine*, enters *France* with an Army, and joins with the Hugonots.

They stood still thus in this perplexity of mind two whole days, till the morning of the third day, whilst despair suggesting against the same thoughts as before, arrived unexpectedly the desired news that Prince *Casimir* was upon his way, and not far from them. Then every private Souldier, as if restored from death to life, with exceeding expressions of joy, tenderly embraced each other, and with frolick cheerful speeches went forth to meet the Germans, as their benefactors and deliverers: but the chief Leaders were again more perplexed and troubled than ever: for having promised Prince *Casimir* and his men at their arrival upon the Confines to pay them one hundred thousand Crowns, and being unfurnished not only of the whole Sum, but of the least part of it, they were assured the Germans would advance no farther, and saw all their hopes, through which they had undergone so many hazards, vanish away to nothing. At length the Prince of *Conde* having called together all the Army, discovered the condition they were in; shewing, that since the general welfare depended upon the union and readiness of the Germans to assist them, it was necessary, though with private loss, to sustain the publick occasions, and dispoiling themselves a little sooner of that poor remainder which was left, with the price thereof to redeem their liberty and common safety. So exhorting all to contribute what they could; and two Ministers being chosen, in whose hands the money, or whatever else was brought in, should be deposited, he was the first that gave not only all his money and plate, but even the rings off his fingers, and every thing else he had of any value, depositing it to be given to the Germans. By this example, and with the same readiness the Admiral following; and all the chief Officers of the Army, and from hand to hand the Gentlemen, with the common Souldiers, and even the Footmen and Boys in the Camp, they made up the sum of 30000 Crowns; with which, and the addition of infinite promises, the expectation of the Germans being satisfied, the Armies joined upon the eleventh day of *January*, in the year 1568.

1568.

The Armies thus united, and the men having reposed some few days, they resolved to return the same way through *Champagne* to *Beauvise*, as well to nourish the Souldiers in a plentiful Country, full of Towns, in the which they might shelter themselves from the incommodities of winter, as to streighten again the Country and City of *Paris*, which was the head of the Catholick party, and in the possession whereof the Victory was ever thought to depend through the whole course of the Civil Wars. They were spurred

spurred on to this resolution through the desire they had to succout *Orleans*, which they knew was hardly pressed, and to gain an opportunity to join with the Forces of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, which they were advertised marched in great numbers that way. 1568.

François Seignieur de la Noue, a man of great wisdom, and no less vertue, who in his time held the chief place among the Hugonot Faction, at the first breaking out of these troubles had posselt himself of *Orleans*, and taken the Castle, which by order from the King was begun to be built, but not so far perfected that it could make any defence, and into that place, as more secure than any other, all the wives and children of the principal Lords of that Faction were retired for safety; but not with such provisions that they could make a long resistance against a powerful Enemy; wherefore Monsieur *de la Valette* Colonel of the light Horse, and the Count *Siarra Montinengo Bressan* of the Kings party, having gotten together seven hundred Horse and four thousand Foot, came before that City, which being ill furnished with men, and other things necessary to maintain a Siege, was so streightned, that in a few days it would either be rendred to the Catholics; or else taken by force, if it were not very speedily relieved.

In this regard the Hugonot Army made all the haste it could into those parts, the Leaders thinking they might perhaps meet an occasion upon the way of fighting, which they would not have refused; for wanting the foundation to continue a long War, they were constrained to think how, as soon as they could, to bring it to the issue of a Battel. The Duke of *Anjou* in his heart was not averse to their intentions, who being young, and desirous of glory, thought by the success of a Battel to gain a great reputation at the first, and to render himself known and considerable to other Nations: but the Queen, who had other designs, soon removed her Son from this opinion. She resolved notwithstanding the impediments of the season, to go in person to the Duke of *Anjou's* Army; for not relying upon any body so much as her self, she intended to be certainly informed concerning the report that was spread abroad, and to remedy those disorders which it was said hindred the late Victory; wherefore being with extraordinary speed, much more than women use to make, arrived at *Cbaalon*, she went afterwards to the Camp, where having called a Council of all the chief Commanders, she desired to understand particularly the reasons why they omitted the opportunity to fight with, and suppress the Enemy. The Duke of *Montpensier*, a dextrous ready man, not to offend any body, spake ambiguously of the late passages, commending the Duke of *Anjou*, and imputing the cause of the disorders to their ill fortune. The Duke of *Nemours* excused himself, that he marching before to follow *Martignes*, knew not what was done or determined in the Camp. But Monsieur *de Tavannes* speaking more freely, though he named no particular person, blamed the doubts, demurs, idle delays, and impediments that were interposed; intimating, that the discords which were amongst those of the Council, and the compassion some had of the Hugonots, were the occasion of so much coldness in so great an Army.

After this they entred into consultation what course was to be taken for the future; in which debate, many to please the General having concluded that it was best to fight, the Queen in a grave discourse shewed, that the events of the Battel were different; for if the King lost the day, he would put the Kingdom in great confusion, and in a manner leave it totally a prey to the Enemy; whereas, if the other side happened to be overthrown, they hazarded nothing but some wretched baggage that they carried with them, and that desperate fortune which they saw in time must of necessity come to nothing: she laid before them likewise the difference there was in the means to maintain a War, for the King had wherewithal to keep his Army a long time, and to feed and sustain it; but the Hugonots being hindred of all supplies, and reduced to such extream misery, that they had nothing to live upon, but that little that they got by pillaging the Country, could not long satisfy the craving and greediness of the Germans; and so scattering of themselves, would leave an absolute Victory to the King; which if they came to fight, would depend much upon chance: She considered that there wanted not divers other ways to dissipate this Army; and when all failed, they ought rather by an Accommodation to separate and divide the Enemies Forces, than by a destructive miserable War to expose his Majesties Subjects to be devoured and eaten up by strangers; and for the Duke of *Anjou*, it was no less worthy a great Prince and a great Commander, to overcome by policy and conduct, than by violence and force of Arms; and that at his first entring into an action, he

1568. ought to be careful of shewing himself prudent and moderate, as well as bold and valiant.

The General being persuaded by these reasons, it was determined, that he, following the Enemies Army at a distance that they might not destroy the Country, should still keep near them, by some good Town in fast quarters, that he might not be forced to fight, and endeavour by drawing out the War in length, to shake and raine the weak foundations of the Enemy. And because *Carnavalet* and the Marshal of *Conor* were both of them no less suspected in the Camp, than at the Court, to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, that were removed from about the Dukes person, and *Brissac* and *Martigues* put in their places; that for courage, and this for conduct held by the Queen the fittest men for this employment. Notwithstanding she made the Duke of *Aumale* the chief amongst them, who after the Enemy had repassed the *Meuse*, came back again to the Army, and to him, as to the antientest Captain in the Kingdom, she publicly recommended the counselling and directing her Son.

Now whilst *Champagne* was thus become the principal seat of the War, the other parts of the Kingdom were not at quiet; but through the frequent continual Insurrections of the Hugonots all places were full of tumults and blood: for they having at the beginning of these commotions gotten many Towns in all parts into their hands, the Provinces were so divided, that through the animosity of both Factions, a dangerous War was kindled in every the most remote hidden corner in France. In *Languedoc* Monsieur de *Acher* ruled all the Country, the Vicount de *Joyeuse*, who commanded there for the King, not having force sufficient to suppress the multitudes of the Hugonots, or to oppose the industry and boldness of their Leader. In *Provence*, *Montvans* and *Mont-brun*, men that by their violent proceedings got themselves an esteem, with more than ordinary success crossed the Catholick party under the Command of the Count de *Sumnerive*. In *Gascogne* there wanted not store of troubles, that Province being all in Arms; but Monsieur de *Montluc*, an old experienced Captain, had in so many incounters abated the fury of the Hugonots, that the Incendiaries thought it best for them to quit the Country, and many of them, though with much difficulty, fled to their main Army. In *Dauphine* des *Gourdes* the Kings Lieutenant, and the Sieurs de *Monfalez* and *Lerride*, who were in their march towards *Paris*, many times fought with Hugonots forces and beat them, and at last forced Monsieur de *Ponsenac* to leave those parts, by which means the ways to *Lions* were open; but he being afterwards joined with the Vicounts de *Montclair*, de *Paulin*, and *Bourniquet*, valiantly incountred the forces of *Auvergne* and *Dauphine*; and though the fight were long, obstinate and bloody, the Kings Party in the end got the advantage, with so much the greater detriment to the Enemy, by reason that *Ponsenac* (who by his violence more than any thing else, gave life to the War) was at last in the retreat (together with many others) killed.

The Pope sends aids to the King.

At the same time *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who brought four Troops of Horse out of *Piedmont*, that were raised in *Italy* by the Pope, together with six companies of Italian Foot, two French Regiments, and four thousand Swisses that were newly entertained to join with the Duke of *Anjou's* Army, arrived opportunely in *Burgundy* to suppress the remainder of the Hugonots in those parts: for having divers times encountered and defeated them, he at length laid siege to *Mascone*, which being taken, the Rebels had no place of retreat left whither they could retire for safety. From *Burgundy* the Duke went to join with the Duke of *Anjou*; but not many days after, as he returned with a few Horse to visit his own Country, he was set upon by the Enemy; and though with his wonted Valour he put them to flight, yet he received such a grievous wound in one of his Knees, that he continued lame ever after.

* Or Judge.

Rochel revolts to the Hugonots, which ever after serves them for a Sanctuary.

But the Kings Party received a greater and more considerable blow in *Xaintonge*: for through the negligence or connivence of Monsieur de *Jarnac* the Governour, and through the diligence of *Travares* the principal Deputy, called by them the * *Scabin* of *Rochel*, that City revolted to the Hugonots, which standing upon the Ocean over against *England*, strong of situation, being every way incompassed with marsh grounds, or the Sea, rich with traffick, numerous in people, abundant in provisions, and commodious to receive succours from other parts, hath ever since been the Sanctuary and main prop. of all those who adhered to that Faction.

In the mean while both Armies continued their march through *Champagne*, keeping the direct way that leads to *Paris*. The Hugonots kept close together, and durst not attempt the taking of any Towns by the way, for fear of giving the Catholicks an opportunity to fight with them at an advantage. The Kings lodging in strong secure quarters, had no other design but to hinder the Enemy from effecting any important enterprise, with which circumspection they both kept on their march till they were arrived, at the end of *February*, the Hugonot forces in *Beauvais*, and the Kings not far from *Paris*. But the Prince of *Conde* having raised the siege at *Orleans*, (for at the news of his approach *la Valette* and *Martinengo*, not having forces to resist him, retired of themselves) was brought into great difficulties through the Counsels of the Duke of *Anjou*, who he saw was resolved to avoid all occasions of fighting, and to draw out the War in length; by which kind of proceedings knowing his Army would be soon destroyed, by reason he had neither money nor provisions to sustain or keep his own men together, that were all Voluntiers, nor wherewithal to satisfy the importunity of the Germans, who were ever craving, he was in a mighty perplexity, and every day held a Council of War to advise what was best to be done in so great a streight. At length, to try whether the Catholicks might be forced to that which otherwise they would not do willingly, he resolved to besiege *Chartres*, for extent and numberousness of people one of the principal Cities in *France*, and so near *Paris*, that with the Country about it furnished a great part of the provisions that went thither, believing that the Duke of *Anjou*, for his own credit, and the reputation of the Kings Army, would never suffer that place to be taken for want of relief, and not to give them longer time to reinforce the Garison, or fortifie it, having in two days with his Horse marched twenty leagues, which are forty English miles, the second day of *March* sat down before it. There went to command in the Town Monsieur *de Lignerres*, a Cavalier of much esteem, and with him entred fifteen Companies of old Foot, and about two hundred Horse, with which forces at the beginning of the siege he exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, and by frequent skirmishes kept them off a while; but was at length forced to keep in to maintain the Walls: for the Hugonots having taken all the passages, and placed guards upon the advenues, with four pieces of Cannon, so furiously battered that part of the Wall which joins to *Dreux*-Gate, that the sixth day they had made an assault, if the Defendants had not with great labour and diligence raised a Rampart within, with Casemats and other works, which hindered them from entring upon the breach.

But the siege of *Chartres* changed the face of things, and put the Catholicks to a great streight: for to relieve the Town with all their Army was contrary to their former resolution; and to let that City be taken, was, besides so considerable a loss, a very great prejudice to their reputation; and that which then happened to *Chartres*, would afterwards be the condition of many other great Towns; by succouring of which they should hazard the uncertain issue of a Battel; and if they succoured them not, they would be lost before their eyes: wherefore, after many attempts had been made, but in vain, to put men and munition into the Town, the Queen in this difficulty having recourse to her old remedy, which had so often succeeded, began to press a Treaty of Accommodation.

When she left the Camp, she began to make new overtures of peace: for seeing strangers already entred into the Kingdom, and the Crown again in danger to be hazarded against desperate Enemies, she thought it necessary to keep the Treaty still on foot, that having many strings ready to her bowe, she might make use of them as occasion should require: wherefore having had a conference at *Chalon* with some that were sent to her from the Prince to treat, returning to *Paris*, she carried with her *Odet* then Cardinal of *Chartillon*, *Teligny*, destined to be the Admirals Son-in-law, and Monsieur *Bouchavanes*, a man of great esteem among the Hugonots; but not being willing they should go into the City for fear of some disorder among the people, who being furiously incensed, abhorred the name of peace, they staid at the *Bois de Vincennes*, and at length came to the Convent of * *Mitmes*, a mile without the Town; where after divers parleys about the business, which at first went slowly on, when *Chartres* was besieged, they were so quickned, that the Hugonots with little difficulty obtained very large conditions.

But the Deputies being returned with the Propositions, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, the Vidame of *Chartres*, and some others, the chief amongst them, who not

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The Hugonots having besieged *Chartres*, the Queen makes new motions for an Accommodation.

* The Order of St. Francis of Pad.

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The Hugonots
accept not the
conditions of
agreement.

believing they could ever be secured by a peace, chusing rather a dangerous War than a reasonable agreement, refused to accept them, alledging, that the larger or more advantageous the conditions were, so much the more they were to be suspected; and that if some strong places were not put into their hands, whereby they might stand upon their defence, they ought not by any means to accept of an agreement, but pursue the War, and leave the hidden event thereof to Gods will and pleasure; which the Queen having notice of, (knowing that the generality of the Hugonots being weary of the expence and danger of the War, so they might enjoy a Liberty of Conscience, and break off with a shew of reputation, desired a peace) she sent *Lewis de Lansac*, *Robert de Combault*, and *Henry de Memmie*, Seigneur de *Malosse*, popular, well-spoken men, to their Camp, who under pretence of treating with the chief of them upon the same Articles, began (as it easily falls out, by chance) to discourse of the matter with some of their kindred, and in the assemblies of the Nobility, and meetings of private persons, to lay open the justness and largeness of the conditions, to which the King, to save the effusion of his Subjects blood willingly consented; promising besides that all severe Edicts should be abolished, and a free exercise of their Religion granted them as before; that every one should be put again in possession of their goods and dignities that they enjoyed before the War, that they should remain secure of their lives, exempt from those charges that had ruined and impoverished their families, be restored to their Country, their honours, to the fruition of their Wives and Children, and from being wanderers and exiles, return to their former felicity and quiet; so that the reasons and jealousies ceasing, for which they had taken Arms, there remained no occasion to continue the War: whence it was manifest how far their intentions were from the publick good and quiet, who were against an Accommodation, and how under pretence of Religion they sought only to usurp an unjust Authority, and pernicious greatness. By these speeches which were related again and infused into the people, covered over with the plausible sweet name of Peace, on a suddain such a tumult was raised in the Army, that the Nobility and private Souldiers (as in popular Insurrections every body will mingle their advice, and pretend to a share in the Government) unanimously cried out, and threatened to forsake the Prince if he did not accept the Conditions that were proposed; and Prince *Casimir* himself, either moved with the evidence of the reasons, or else the rewards and gains not answering his hopes, being besides moved with the certainty of having his pay presently, which the King offered in a great part to disburse for them, favoured and commended those that demanded a Peace.

Nevertheless the chief Leaders persevering in their opinions, the Admiral being most earnest, and speaking in the name of all the rest, laboured to make it appear, that this was a manifest policy of the Enemy, who seeing they could not suppress them whilst they had such a strength, and remained united for their common defence, sought to separate and disarm them, that they might the more easily destroy them one by one, that the business was now brought near an end; and there wanted but some few days patience to see the event of it; for if the Catholicks came to fight with them, they had Gods Providence and the strength of their own hands to rely upon; and if they let them take *Chartres* without offering to succour it, their fear would be seen to all the World, and such a bridle be cast upon *Paris*, being chiefly furnished from thence, that it would starve for want of provisions; that they had many times tried the little assurance and sincerity of promises; for though the King always intended to keep his word, yet such was the power and subtilty of the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of *Lorraine* had so great credit, that they perverted all his deliberations, and turned that into poison which appeared to many in the administration wholesome Physick; wherefore they should expect a few days longer, and not by a precipitate impatience rhyme those counsels which were thought by every body most conducing to their common safety. But the inclinations of the Army so obstinately opposed their reasons, and there appeared such a disposition in the Nobility to abandon the enterprise, and to return in all haste to their houses and families, wherein they suffered much prejudice by their absence, through the horrible outrages that were committed in all parts of the Kingdom, that the chief Heads were constrained by force to accept of a Peace.

The Ministers inveighed bitterly against the Prince of *Conde*, accusing him, That he, through inconstancy desiring to return to the delights and pleasures of the Court, had suffered himself to be too easily overcome by a popular clamour. The *Parisians* with

with no less liberty blamed the Queen; That she not desirous to put an end to these distractions, but that the discords and troubles might be continued, by the same means to continue her own greatness, had forced the King to consent to an Accommodation. And not only the Parisians; but the Pope also, and many other Catholick Princes were astonished and ill satisfied with this agreement; the issue appearing to them very unlike the beginning; and this resolution exceeding contrary to that earnestness wherewith the Queen had solicited them to send her supplies of Men and Money: which coming to her knowledge, who was very inquisitive to learn what was said, she began to make her excuses to their Ministers; but had a long private conference to that purpose with the Venetian Ambassador, who being less interested, and more moderate than the rest, was likeliest to credit her reasons; wherefore beginning with the original of things, she related to him at large every particular circumstance: That King *Francis* the Second her eldest Son being very young when he came to the Crown, and of a disposition rather to be governed, than to exercise the charge of a King, was forced of necessity to confer upon her the Supream Power in managing the affairs, that it might neither fall upon the Princes of *Bourbon*, not only the chief pretenders to the Crown, but infected with Heresie, and inclined to favour it; nor yet upon the *Guises*, men full of ambition and high pretences, who nevertheless were so far Masters of the Kings will, in regard of his Marriage with their Niece, that she was constrained to admit them to a great part in the administration of the Government, and in many things to yield to them, for fear they might to the prejudice of the publick, and her own private disgrace, have cast her out of the Court, and perhaps out of the Kingdom also: That she had nevertheless ever endeavoured so to carry matters, that the Kingdom might remain in quiet, and enjoy the blessing of peace, under a pious religious King; and tender of the preservation of his people, if the violence of the Prince of *Conde*, and the malicious subtilty of the Admiral had not disturbed the course of things, by turning not only against the *Guises*, with whom they professed an open enmity, but even against her self, contriving through hate by wicked practises to deprive her of her life: That the conspiracy of *Amboise* being discovered, when all the Council concurred to proceed with extream severity, she used her uttermost endeavour that a moderate way might be taken to quiet those troubles, forgetting through desire of the common good, her own private injuries and dangers: That the Prince having continued to raise Insurrections in the Cities and Provinces, and to plot even against the King himself, at length fell into her hands; at which times she ever proposed ways very far from cruelty or revenge, saving the King of *Navarre*, and others that were privy to the Princes counsels, which was manifestly to be known when the Kings infirmity began to be mortal; for the Princes of *Guise* pressing very earnestly that the sentence of death might be put in execution against those of *Bourbon*, she resolutely opposed it, approving rather gentle means than violent sharp remedies: That she being afterwards left with the King, a young Child not obeyed, and her other Children yet as it were in the Cradle, and her self a stranger with very few Confidants, but an abundance of persons of interest about her, though she had more need than ever to guard her self from those who plotted some one way, some another, the ruine or division of the Kingdom, and her death and her Childrens; yet overcome by so great and so straight a necessity, to preserve the peace, maintain the Crown and her Childrens Patrimony, and to gain time till the King came of age, she many times suffered the Princes fury, and the insolencies of the Hugonots; but that the impatience of the great ones with their discords and enmities, the ambition of the Princes of *Lorain*, and the contumacy of the Hugonots, had at length raised a War; to avoid which, God was witness with her, how much she had done and suffered; that seeing the Kingdom through the infection of Heresie in a general combustion, and the English and Germans called in to invade it, she resolved to try whether by a resolute War she could extinguish, and eradicate this evil, and not be wanting in any thing that might be justified by Religion, she had resolved to put it to a Battel, which her Letters written to the Constable, that were certainly amongst his Papers (for she knew he kept them) would still testify: That in the Battel the Constable was taken prisoner, and the Marshal of *St. Andre* killed; and though the Victory inclined to the Kings Party, with the taking of the Prince of *Conde*, yet the Admiral remained still with a considerable Force, to which was added the succours sent from *England*, and a fresh powerful supply that came out of *Germany*: That since this, happened that accident to the

1568. the Duke of *Guise*, whereby the Kings Party were deprived of a Head, because for her to command the Army was neither agreeable to her Sex or profession, and there was not any body else fit to be trusted with so great a charge; whence being led by the persuasions of many, and particularly by the advice the Duke of *Guise* gave her just at his death, to which she gave so much the more credit, because at that time men use to forget private interests and speak truth, succeeded a Peace, by granting to the Hugonots a Liberty of Conscience, though for no other end but to stay those enormous outrages, desolations, plundrings, rapines, sacrilegges, violences and tyrannies that destroyed the whole Kingdom, hoping time would spend that humour which she was very well assured proceeded rather from private enmities, and desire of rule, than from love of Religion: That she knew divers Princes very much blamed her for this Treaty, by the same token there wanted not those who raised doubts concerning her belief, but that she being satisfied in her own Conscience, having placed her hopes in God, expected from him her Justification: That it could not be denied but the peace had rid the Kingdom of the Reiters, who cruelly wasted the Country, and driven the English out of *Havre de Grace*, who were nested there; and given the poor people time to breathe from so many troubles and calamities, by which they were ruined and devoured: That the Peace brought one great advantage by taking from the Hugonots all manner of pretence to rebel: That many things were done and suffered for no other purpose but to reduce the great ones to reason, and to mitigate the fury of heresie, trying divers means to arrive at this just holy end, and to maintain the union of the Kingdom so profitable to Christianity, and establish Peace so beloved of mankind, but no remedies or agreement prevailing, the Hugonots at length came to the taking of Arms: That she had used all possible endeavour speedily to assemble the Kings Forces, that the Enemy might not have time to receive supplies from abroad: That she had very much pressed a Battel, as it followed at *St. Denis*, but with so little success, that it was notoriously known things were afterward in a far worse condition than ever: That since she had procured of the King to make the Duke of *Anjou* General of the Army, to be assured no private interests should hinder the publick good: That she hoped on Christmas-Eve last there would have been an absolute decision of the differences and dissensions in the Kingdom: That her Son had not failed in his part, who though he were young, and not accustomed to inconveniences, had marched a whole night, with a resolution to fight, but that which she had formerly feared in the General, was fallen out in the Counsellors, for the Enemy had time given him, she knew not how, to pass the *Meuse*, and join with the Germans: That all things were running on to ruine and destruction, which she had ever so much abhorred, for she saw certainly that this body of *France* losing so much blood on all sides, could not escape a violent death: That the Siege of *Chartres* had produced an unavoidable necessity, either to hazard the whole Kingdom upon the cast of a Die against an Army of desperate Gamblers, or else to endeavour to put an end to these mischiefs by a Peace: That by this Capitulation the Germans were again dismissed, time given to take breath, the Enemy divided, the danger removed for the present, and the care of the future left to Gods Providence, with some lively reasonable hopes at length to attain to the desired end, and that one day the candour of her intentions would appear, and the justness of her designs.

But though the Ambassador communicated these reasons to whom he thought good, and the Senate ever favouring Peace, disliked not this counsel; yet the more turbulent Spirits forbore not to find fault with the Accommodation, and to make sinister constructions of the Queens intentions. Nevertheless, those that governed the affairs agreeing upon it, and the Capitulation being signed, on the 20 of *March* the Peace was published, with these conditions: That those of the pretended Reformed Religion should have free exercise of their Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, according to the former Act of Pacification; and that all Edicts published since to the prejudice thereof, should be held as void: That the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and the rest should not be liable to those sentences which had passed against them, the King declaring he was certified whatsoever had been done was with very good intentions, and for the publick good: That the Hugonot Lords should be restored to their Estates, and that they should send away Prince *Casimir* with his Army, the King contributing a certain sum of money towards their payment; but before they left the Confines of the Kingdom, the King should dismiss all the Swisses, the Italian Forces both Horse and Foot, and

and those the Catholick King sent into *France*: That of the money which was disbursed to *Casimir*, part should be held as a gift from his Majesty, and the rest be repaid within a certain time by the Prince of *Conde* and the Hugonots: Lastly, That all the Commanders and Gentlemen of the Religion might retire whither they pleased, enjoying their offices and goods without any let or contradiction. Which Agreement being published by the Parliaments, the Articles began to be put in execution; but neither the one side nor the other proceeded therein with that readiness and candour, as was necessary for the quiet of the Kingdom; on the contrary, both sides endeavouring what they could to hinder it, interposed difficulties and impediments upon every the least thing whatsoever: for the Hugonot Lords, who consented to the Accommodation against their wills, though they had dismissed Prince *Casimir*, who having received the pay promised by the King was marched towards *Lorain*, and from thence after much spoil done in the Country retired into his Fathers Dominions; yet they came not to an entire restitution of the places, but still held *Santerre*, *Montauban*, *Albi*, *Milland* and *Castres*, and the Cities of *Rochel* denying that they were to submit to a Capitulation made without their consent, not only refused to admit the Governour and Garrison sent them by the King, but prepared with much diligence to defend and fortifie themselves.

1568.

The conditions of the treaty are not performed.

The Prince and the Admiral not daring to go to the Court, and much less to remain disarmed, were retired, the one to *Noires*, and the other to *Chastillon*, and there stood upon their guard to watch for an advantage, or to imbrace any occasion whatsoever; and still maintained a Negotiation with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to enter into a new league, and to make new levies. Many of the common Souldiers who knew they could not be safe at their own houses, and had not wherewithal to live or subsist, assembled upon the Confines of *Picardy*, with a pretence to pass into *Flanders*, to aid those that were up in Arms there, a thing expressly forbidden, and which the King had by divers severe Edicts prohibited: but having put themselves under the command of Monsieur de *Coccaville*, they got possession of the Castle of *St. Veleri* in the County of *Caux*, a place opportunely situated, as well for a passage into the Low-Countries, as to hold a commerce with *England*, which was conceived they durst not have done without the approbation and incitement of the Prince of *Conde* and the other Hugonot Lords. On the other side the King alledging that all the places were not returned to their obedience, neither dismissed the Swisses, nor disbanded the Italians, but with sundry exceptions, and under divers pretences restrained in many things the liberty of Religion granted to the Hugonots, who were many of them ill treated by the people, and many, though in appearance for other reasons, punished by the Magistrates, and driven out of the Cities. At which time the King and the Queen consulted perpetually what course was to be taken to free themselves from these troubles, and then was first established, and not before, that Council which is called the Cabinet Council, which consisted not of those persons which by their birth, or privilege of their places are usually admitted, but of a few choice men that the King liked, to whom he imparted secretly in his own private Chamber his most hidden inward thoughts. The first chosen to this confidence, besides the Queen-Mother, upon whom the deliberations for the most part depended, were the Duke of *Anjou*, the Kings Brother, the High Chancellor de l' *Hospital*, *Lewis de Lansac*, *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* Bishop of *Limoges*, *Henry de Mesmes*, Seigneur de *Malassise*, the President *Renate de Birague*, and *Ville-Roy* Secretary of State. These consulting together of the present affairs, through the diversity of reasons, found it a very hard matter what to resolve; for taking Arms again, the same difficulties would arise which in the greatest fervour of the War made them chuse and conclude a Peace; and on the other side, it was not possible by policy to put the former counsels in execution; for the Heads of the Hugonots were not in any degree disposed to return to their obedience, and to make sure of their persons was not at all easie; for neither the Prince, the Admiral, *Andelot*, nor any of the rest the chief amongst them would be perswaded to come to Court; but being full of jealousies, kept themselves armed in several places at a distance, diligently observing every thing that might be plotted against them; which difficulties having held the Council long in suspence, and in the mean while complaints coming from all parts of new insurrections and tumults, which were raised either through the impatience of the Catholicks, or the too obstinate wilfulness of the Hugonots, but ever with blood, uproars and danger; at last they concluded, that to take

The beginning of the Cabinet Council.

1568.
The King, to
chastise the
Hugonots,
takes occasion
to demand the
money paid to
Prince Casimir
upon their
account.

take away the roots of these continual perverse tumults, it was necessary to proceed with more resolution and less circumspection. Wherefore taking occasion upon the money disbursed to *Casimir*, and that Sum the Hugonot Lords were obliged to pay within a certain time, which was then expired, the King signified to the Prince of *Conde*, that he should provide to make payment thereof; advertising him withal, he understood not the money should be raised by way of contribution upon the Commonalty of the Hugonots: for he would not that any body should have the power or liberty to lay Taxes upon his people; but that he meant the Heads of them, who had been Authors of the late War and Commotion, should, as they had promised, out of their own Estates satisfy this debt which they had contracted without the advice or approbation of particulars, when for their own interest they called *Casimir* with the German Army into the Kingdom.

The Prince of
Conde answer-
eth and incen-
seth the King
with a Letter
of Protestati-
on.

This signification touched the Prince to the quick: for the debt amounting to the Sum of 300000 Crowns, he saw the King was resolved by this means to ruine him and the Admiral, with all the principal persons of the Factions: for not any of them being able to furnish so much ready money as might discharge them of their promise, their goods and estates would be seized upon at a low value; which being resolved not to endure, having sent for the Admiral to come to him, after a long consultation of the business, he answered the King resolutely, That this not being his own private or particular debt, but contracted for the service of those, who to preserve their lives and Religion had put themselves under his protection; and the Articles of Peace containing, that he and all the rest of his party should be engaged for the satisfaction of it, it was not reasonable, that now to ruine him, the payment should be required of him alone, and some few other Lords, who were already too much undone by resisting the persecutions of their enemies; and that if his Majesty were positively resolved to be presently paid, which might well be deferred to a more seasonable quiet time, it was necessary to permit them to raise the money upon the Reformed Churches, who he assured would willingly submit to the burthen; but if he would not permit it, his Majesty might well foresee, that many through despair would be constrained to think of new violent courses, against his will and intentions: That he well knew this proceeded from the malice of his enemies, who not desiring the peace and quiet of the Kingdom, infused such precipitate counsels to renew the War: That this was not their first attempt; for already in many places, cruelly murdering those who with his Majesties permission assembled at their devotions, they had put Arms into the hands of the most seditious people in *France*: That he desired his Majesty to inform himself of that which happened at *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Trois*, *Clairmont* in *Auvergne*, *Angiers*, *Lagni*, and in many other places, to do justice to the oppressed, and cause his own promises to be observed: and at length concluded, That his Majesty considering with himself what was possible and just, without being obscured or palliated by the persuasions of others, would not tie him to do that which he could not by any means perform.

Order given
by the King to
take the
Prince of *Conde*
and the Admi-
ral prisoners.

This Letter absolutely confirmed the King and his Cabinet Council in their resolution to proceed without any regard, because it seemed rather a protestation and threatening, than an excuse; and they knew well, whilst the Prince and the Admiral had any power, the Peace would neither be secure, nor the danger taken away of the Germans coming again into the Kingdom. Wherefore all doubts being removed, they determined to try whether they could on a sudden surprize the Prince and the Admiral, who contrary to their first resolution (to keep in several places, that they might not be both taken in one trap) were now both together at *Noyers*, upon the Confines of *Burgundy*, a Town not very strong, nor so well guarded, that it could make any long resistance. But because it was a business in the managing whereof secrecie was more required than strength, *Jasper Count de Tavannes* Lieutenant to the Duke of *Anmale* in the Government of that Province, where he had fourteen Companies of *Gens d'Arms*, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo*, who with the Italians quartered likewise in those parts, had order to go so on a sudden upon that place and secure the passages, that neither of them might find any way to escape. The King thought he might justly do this; for besides their past actions, and the obstinate perverseness with which they stirred the people to rebellion, the Hugonot Lords had not in many things performed the Articles of the Capitulation; by which, and by nothing else, he was obliged to pardon them: but he had the more hope easily to effect his purpose, because *Noyers* being

being besieged, he might send such a strength into those parts, that it would be necessarily reduced before they could receive any succours; and the Prince and the Admiral being once removed out of the way, he believed neither *Andelot* nor any of the rest had authority enough to renew the War.

1568.

But this design was no sooner resolved upon, than known to those very persons against whom it was intended; wherefore though they saw themselves invironed on all sides by the Kings Forces, for *Martinengo* having put two Companies of Foot into *Orleans*, and advancing still under pretence of changing his Quarters, was not far from them; the Duke of *Montpensier* and Monsieur de *Martignes* kept the passages of the *Loire*; the Duke of *Guise* with seven Companies of Lances was upon the Confines of *Champagne*; and the Marechal de *Cosse* was in Arms in *Picardy*, having (to clear the suspicion the King had conceived of his fidelity) gotten a Commission to suppress those who were in *St. Veleri*; and the Count de *Tavannes* lay nearer than all the rest, and but a little distant from them; so that they were compassed in on every side as with a net: Nevertheless, being forced by necessity (before the Kings Forces, which were still advancing, drew near) to take some speedy resolution, and thinking it a desperate course to stay to be besieged in *Noyers*, they determined to save themselves by flight, and to retire into some place where they might not only be secure, but raise an Army, and gather together their partisans and followers.

According to this resolution, which they kept concealed from their own servants, the first of *September* in the night, getting secretly on horse-back with their Wives and Children, accompanied only with two hundred Horse that they might go the faster, and not be so easily discovered, they marched in great diligence towards *Rochel*, and left Captain *Bois* behind with so many Horse more to hinder, as much as was possible, the advancing of the Enemy, if he offered to follow them, that so they might have time to save themselves; and by good fortune, through the extraordinary drought of the Summer, the waters were so exceeding low, that they might ford the *Loire* (a great rapid River) without any danger at *Rouen*, which otherwise, all the Bridges being possessed by the Kings Forces, they could not possibly have passed. Captain *Bois* had not the like success, who being followed by *Martinengo*, and overtaken near the River, his men were without much dispute absolutely broken and defeated, and he flying to a certain Castle not far off, was constrained to yield himself at discretion to *Martinengo*, who sent him prisoner to the Court. But the Prince and the Admiral, who had forded the River long before without any impediment, marching an incredible pace, arrived without being overtaken in a few days at *Rochel*, a place in all considerations most proper to make the principal seat for their party, their place of Arms, and their Arsenal for the War: for the Princes having lost those great strong Towns *Orleans* and *Rouen*, which lay so convenient to found and maintain the Faction, it was necessary for them to provide some other place, which being situated in a rich fertile Country, had the commodity likewise of a Haven; nor could they chuse any more advantagious for them then *Rochel*; for possessing that Port, and the Neighbouring Islands that were fruitful and populous, they might at pleasure receive succours out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Britany* and *Normandy*, all Countries full of their partisans, and settle themselves in a Town very hardly to be taken from them; so that in the streights they were then in, there was not much doubt to be made of the place whither they should retire. Wherefore being received with great joy by the Bourgers of *Rochel*, and by many of their chief Ministers, who were retired thither before for their safety, they began to dispatch Curriers and Letters into all parts, summoning their Friends and Adherents to come in to them without delay, as well to secure their own persons from the treacheries of their Enemies; as to unite themselves, and form such a body of an Army, that they might be able to resist those Forces which they knew were intended against them.

There was no need of many invitations, for at the report only of the flight and danger of the Prince of *Conde*, all those of the same Faction began to rise; and that they might be ready as soon as they were called upon, presently took Arms, even those very persons which at the conclusion of the Peace were so violent for it, now (as that Nation is of an unconstant voluble disposition) being weary of lying idle a few months, already desired a War, and were more ardent than the rest to imbrace it. So the sign being given, within a few days they assembled all their Forces together at *Rochel*: Those of *Poitou* under the conduct of Messieurs d' *Ivry* and *Blaslet*, those of *Perigord* under

The Prince and the Admiral save themselves by flight at *Rochel*, where all the Hugonots and the Queen of *Nauvrie* come to them with great forces.

1568. under *Soubise* and *de Puviant*, those of *Cabors* under *Piles* and *Clairemont*, those of *Normandy* under the Count of *Montgomery* and *Colombiere*, and those of *Britany* under the Vidame of *Chartres* and *Lavardine*. *Andelot* and *la Noue* having in their passage over the *Loire* had divers skirmishes with the Duke of *Montpensier* and *Montsieur de Martignes*, though in three or four encounters they lost many of their men, yet they arrived safe with a good number of Horse at the same place. At length the Queen of *Navarre*, either doubting no less than the rest her own safety, or desirous to animate and strengthen her party, and to advance the fortune of the Prince her Son, now fifteen years of age, having raised a considerable number of Horse and Foot in *Bearn*, came her self in person to the general rendezvous at *Rochel*. Only *Odetto* late Cardinal of *Chastillon*, who lived at *Beauvais*, and was encompassed with the Kings Forces, not thinking it possible to make such a long journey in safety to join with the rest, went disguised in a Mariners habit to the Sea-side, and from thence passed with much danger into *England*, where being received with great respect by the Queen, he afterwards did very good service to his party, remaining in that Court as Agent for the Hugonots.

Odetto Cardinal of *Chastillon* who called himself Count of *Beauvais*, flies disguised like a Mariner into *England*, and afterwards remaineth with that Queen as Agent for the Hugonots.

A Manifest of the Hugonots, and Letters of the Queen of *Navarre*.

But the Hugonot Lords having in a short time raised a great Army about *Rochel*, according to their old custom, before they would do any thing, to justify their reasons, and give a fair pretence for their proceedings, published a Manifest, in which after a long Narration made of all the injuries done in divers places, and at several times to those of the Reformed Religion, setting forth at large the great danger they were continually in, whilst they continued unarmed to be abused and oppressed, concluded at last, That they had taken Arms only for the defence of their Liberties, Lives and Religion, which under God they professed, without any other end or design; desiring still to live as Subjects in obedience to his Majesty, so they might be secured for their Lives and Consciences. At the same time Queen *Jane* published certain Letters, directed to the most Christian King, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, in which, repeating the same things the Hugonots had set forth in their Manifest, she declared, That she could do no less than join with the Prince of *Conde* and the rest of the same Religion with her self, as well for the maintenance of that Doctrine in which she only believed, as to secure her self from the treacherous designs which the Cardinal of *Lorain* on the one-side, and the Spaniards on the other had continually upon her life and her Sons, and upon the miserable relicks of the Kingdom of *Navarre*: which reasons, though they were set forth with great flourishes of Rhetorick; yet it appeared plainly, the either invented or added to them, and that nothing moved her more than the exceeding desire she had that *Calvin's* Religion flourishing and increasing, her Son should become the Head of that Faction, as the Prince of *Conde* then was, and as her Husband the King of *Navarre* had been formerly.

But the most Christian King, and the Queen his Mother, seeing in a moment all the Hugonot Commanders not only retired into a place of security and advantage; but an Army raised on a sudden, and a War begun, which with so many arts and dissimulations they had sought to avoid, plainly perceived the secrets of the Cabinet Council were revealed, nor could any body be suspected thereof save only the High Chancellor, who besides his not consenting to what was resolved upon concerning the Prince and the Admiral, it was known his Wife, his Son-in-law, and his Daughter, were all three of the Hugonot Religion, and that he himself held a great correspondence with *Teligny*, destined for the Admirals Son-in-law, a young man full of subtilties and dissimulation, and therefore liked of by him to marry his Daughter, as understanding those arts wherewith he ordinarily governed his actions: which jealousy of the High Chancellor, grounded only upon report, and a general consent, prevailed so much with the King, that though there were no material proofs against him whereby he could be deprived of his Office; yet the King not only put him out, but commanded him from the Court, and gave the Seals to *Monsieur Moruilliers*, a man of great experience and no less wit, who being an Ecclesiastical Person, was very averse to the Faction, free from any intelligence with the Hugonots, and a dependant upon the House of *Guise*.

The King enters into a jealousy of the High Chancellor de l'Hospital, and putting him out of his office, confers it upon Monsieur de Moruilliers.

Michael de l'Hospital being removed from the Court and the affairs, the King and the Queen desiring to take away all matter that might administer fuel to the fire that was again ready to break out, caused an Edict to be published, in which they promised to observe the Capitulation, and that accordingly a Liberty of Conscience should be tolerated to all those who remaining peaceably in their Houles, abstained from Arms,

and

and from joining with them who went about under several pretences to stir up the people to Rebellion. But not many days after, either perswaded by the reasons the Catholicks alledged against this Edict, as a means to advance the designs and practices of the Enemy, or else seeing that the Hugonots, neither restrained by fear, nor pacified by the Kings favour, were with a general consent, and with the same intentions as before gone all to *Rochel*, nor could not, with any promises whatsoever be withheld from running furiously to take Arms, being willing to satisfy the requests, and to confirm the fidelity of the Catholick party, which at that time was the main prop of the Royal Authority, and desirous likewise to gain the Amity of the Pope *Pius Quintus*, who both by threatening messages, and particular graces granted to the King, perpetually solicited the prohibition of the Hugonot Religion; and being resolved to declare their affections in this point, till then much doubted of by all Christendom, caused another Edict to be published, in which the King, after a long distinct Narration of the indulgence and benignity he had shewed to reduce the Hugonots to a right understanding, and after a particular mention of the seditions and conspiracies by which contemning his Majesties grace and goodness, they had continually disquieted and molested his Kingdoms, bringing in strangers and mortal Enemies, to the French Nation, to possess and invade the strongest places, and most flourishing parts of the Kingdom; at length, revoking all Edicts published concerning Religion during his minority, and nullifying the last Capitulation made *pro interim*, and by way of provision, ordained and commanded that the exercise of any Religion whatsoever, except the Roman Catholick, ever observed by him and the Kings his Predecessors, should be prohibited and expressly forbidden and interdicted in all places of the Kingdom: banished the Calvinist Ministers and Preachers out of all the Towns and places under his Dominion, commanding them upon pain of death within the term of fifteen days to avoid the Kingdom; pardoned through special grace all things past in matters of Religion, requiring for the future under pain of death a general conformity to the Rites of the Catholick Church; and finally ordained, that no person should be admitted to any Office, Charge, Dignity, or Magistracy whatsoever, if he did not profess and live conformable to the Roman Religion.

This Constitution being published with an incredible concurrence of the Parisians, and received with exceeding joy by all the Parliaments, gave a clear testimony, that the King and Queens intentions had ever been to suppress and destroy the Hugonot party, but desired to do it without the noise of War, and with as little prejudice to the people, or danger of dismembring the Kingdom as was possible: Wherefore their arts and dissimulations, after so long patience proving all vain, at length taking off (as the saying is) their Mask, they declared an implacable War against the followers of the Hugonot Faction.

They were not less diligent to make provisions for the War, than severe and resolute in their decrees: For the Duke of *Anjou* being declared Lieutenant General of all the Provinces, presently got an Army together, with a resolution immediately to advance into *Xaintonge*, to suppress the Hugonot Forces before they received any succours from other parts, or from the Queen of *England*, or the Protestant Princes of *Germany*: On the other side, the Prince and the Admiral, remembering the success of the late Accommodation, had obliged themselves and all the rest by a solemn Oath at *Rochel*, to persevere until death in the defence of their Religion, nor ever to condescend to an agreement without the general consent of all the Commanders, and sufficient security for the preservation of their lives, and to enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. After which Covenant thus sworn and established amongst themselves, they sent forthwith into *England* and *Germany*, to procure Aids from thence. And because the Admiral, a man who by long experience had learned the true discipline, knew that food and other necessary provisions are the only means whereby Armies subsist and prosper, (wherefore he usually said, *An Army is a certain Monster, which begins to be formed by the belly*) seeing they were shut up in a corner, which though fruitful, was yet streightened on the one side by the River *Loire*, and on the other by the Mountains, which from *Languedoc* and *Gascony* extend themselves to the *Pirenees*; perswaded the Prince and the other Chiefs, that all manner of care should be used to get store of Corn, Money and Munition, whereby they might supply their present occasions, and the necessities of the ensuing Winter: to which end they made ready a Fleet of thirty sail of several kinds and burthen, which should scour the Sea, and run up into the Rivers, robbing

1568.

The King setteth forth an Edict against the Hugonots, by which all the former are revoked.

New preparations for War.

The Hugonots set out a Fleet to fetch in provisions.

1568. Merchants ships, and little Towns upon the coasts, not only to bring what Corn they could from other places to *Rochel*, but to take what booty they met with in money to supply their present want. Nor was this counsel without effect; for in the space of a few months, having taken many Vessels, which without any fear of such an encounter, put freely to Sea, they got such a considerable Sum as was sufficient to defray the expences of the Army for some time after: but they had much more help by the industry of the Queen of *Navarre*, who with often Messages and earnest Letters so solicited the Queen of *England*, that she disposed her, notwithstanding the peace newly made with the most Christian King, not only to accommodate the Hugonots with Ships, Corn and Munition, but with 100000 Crowns also for the payment of their Army: in which she pretended not to have broken the conditions of the Peace, for the Forces raised by the Hugonots were for the Kings service, and assistance of the Crown, against the Oppressors of the Royal Liberty, and the Persecutors of the true Worship of God.

In the mean while the Prince and the Admiral marching forth with the Army, possessed themselves without opposition of all the Neighbouring Towns, and had such good success, that in a few weeks they were Masters not only of all the Country of *Xaintonge*, but of the most part of the Cities of *Poitou* and *Touren*, which either by force or agreement joined with the Confederates, and received Hugonot Garisons. These proceedings were not at first hindered by the Duke of *Montpensier*, who being sent to that Province with an inconsiderable number of men, could not make resistance against so strong and powerful an Army: wherefore the Hugonots being Masters (without dispute) of the Field, over-run, burnt and pillaged all the Country, and every moment multiplied in strength and adherents; for those that governed the affairs were not careful enough at the first to send a sufficient force after to suppress them, or at least to hinder their increase, and now they were constrained to spend much time in getting men together from other parts, and making them march so far from their own Country.

But *Henry of Lorain*, Duke of *Guise*, the Count of *Brissac*, and *Messieurs de Biron*, *Martignes* and *la Valette* being at length joined with the Duke of *Montpensier*, they unanimously agreed that they would lie abroad in the field, to curb the insolencies and incursions of the Enemy, and to defend those Towns that were not yet in the power of the Hugonots; and so it happened, that at the same time that the Duke of *Montpensier* leaving *Angiers* went to lie with his Army upon the Banks of *Vienne*, *Messieurs de Montvans* and *Acier* who had raised all the Hugonot Forces of *Daulphine*, *Provence*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, going to join with the Army, arrived at the same place. They were about 18000 Horse and Foot, but for the most part tumultuary people, and not accustomed to the War; who partly to secure themselves from the severity of the Magistrates, partly in hope of the booty that was proposed to them, had voluntarily joined with certain of the Nobility. Nevertheless they were very strictly obedient to their Officers, and marched in exceeding good order, divided into two Battels, the first led by *Messieurs de Montvans* and *Pierregourde*, the other by *Monseigneur de Acier* himself, and for the most part lodged so near, that in a little time they might easily succour one another, with which kind of discipline having overcome all difficulties, they were arrived, laden with booty, from the farthest parts of *Lionnoise* and *Daulphine*, upon the borders of *Xaintonge*.

The Duke of *Montpensier* being advertised of their coming, resolved to fight with them; and so much the rather, because the Van, through their long march, or whatever else were the reason, forsaking their wonted order, was advanced a good way before the Battel. Wherefore departing from *Vesunne* two hours before day, on the 30 of *October*, he disposed the order of the assault in this manner: That whilst he with frequent skirmishes kept the main body in play, which was with *Acier* in the second Squadron, the Count of *Brissac* and the Duke of *Guise*, with all the Cavalry should charge *Montvans* and *Pierregourde*, who with the lesser number went before, and inviting them with their Troops, fight with them as they marched into the *Champagne*, where the Foot, of which they had good store, but no Pikes, had so much disadvantage, that he thought it easie without much contention to defeat them. But the Duke of *Guise* and the Count of *Brissac* mounting 1200 Foot in *Croape*, made such haste, that contrary to the order given, they came upon the Enemy whilst he was yet lodged in the Village of *Messignac* before he began to march, insomuch that they lost that

that advantage by which they hoped with a lesser number to overcome a greater. Notwithstanding seeing the Hugonots, fearing the Horse, kept in, and stood upon their defence, not to seem to come in vain; they assaulted the Village with great force; and the fight was so hot there, that for the space of two hours they stood to it obstinately on both sides, till the Catholick Commanders, finding they laboured to no purpose, and through the strong situation of the place, exposed their men to an evident danger, resolved to sound a retreat; and returning the same way they came, placed themselves in ambush in a Wood, a little distant from *Messignac*, which extended it self largely behind a hill, expecting there to see what the Enemy would do. *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde* believing the Kings Forces were gone to meet with their Foot, with an intent to come again to assault them in the same place, hoping before their return they might gain *Riberac*, a strong place held by the Hugonots; and but five leagues off, without taking any care to discover the Country, began to march with great diligence, to prevent the return of the Catholicks, who they thought were by that time a good way from them. But they were scarce advanced into the midst of the field without *Messignac*, hastning to recover a Wood which reacheth from thence to *Riberac*, when the Catholicks coming upon them with their Horse divided into divers Troops, charged them furiously on all sides; and though they were not very well able to defend themselves, all their Foot being Musketiers, without any Pikes, in a plain open place, yet fighting with exceeding constancy, made the Victory bloody to the Enemy. *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde* were killed, and together with them remained dead upon the place about two thousand Foot, and more then four thousand Horse: the Catholick Souldiers having by command from their Officers not endeavoured to take prisoners, which, redeeming themselves for a small ransom, would perversly return to the service of the Hugonots.

The Duke of *Montpensier* having in the mean while overtaken the Enemies Battalia at *S. Chatier*, which was in a great body flanked with good Horse of *Provence* and *Dauphins*, purposed not to charge them with all his force, but thinking it sufficient to keep them at a bay, so that they might not succour their Van, entertained them with frequent hot skirmishes till the evening, when night coming on, he being retreated towards *Vesunne*, they taking the advantage of the dark, marched all night without intermission, so that about break of day they arrived at *Riberac*; and the day following, which was the first of *November*, joined with the Prince and the Admiral at *Aubeterre*.

But the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army marching in great diligence, was now come to *Amboise*; wherefore the Duke of *Montpensier* and the other Commanders after the Victory at *Messignac*, leaving to molest the Enemy, went away with all their forces to join with him; and the tenth day of *November* both the Armies met at *Chastel-rault*, a Town in the Confines of *Poitou* upon the River *Vienne*.

Great was the expectation every body had of the valour and generosity of this Prince, who in the first flour of his age, being adorned with most noble Endowments, seemed as it were born on purpose to sustain the weight of the greatest Empires in *Europe*; for to his excellent form of body, was added such a perfect constitution, that the delicateness of his complexion hindred him not from supporting all the inconveniences that belong to a Souldier; and in his mind appeared such signs of courage, magnanimity, prudence, and a generous Spirit, that his Vertue was thought much beyond his years; which ornaments being accompanied with a natural eloquence, and the knowledge of such Letters as belong to a Prince, gained him not only wonderful love, but a singular reverence likewise, both from the Army, the Nobility, and from the whole Nation. And though his actions indeed gave some testimonies of a humane condition, which is never altogether free from the marks of moral frailty; yet his inclinations to pleasures were imputed to the tenderness of his youth, and his profuse liberality to his domesticks and servants, thought rather a magnanimity of mind not yet fully settled, than any weakness or want of judgment. In this great esteem was the Duke of *Anjou* with all men, to which that his actions might correspond, he desired without further delay to meet the Enemy in the Field, and being streightned by the season of the year already inclining to Winter, forthwith making a general Muster of his Army, in which were 7000 Horse, 6000 Swisses, 2000 Italians, and 12000 French Foot, moved with all his Forces marching through the same fruitful Country of *Poitou*, towards the place where the Hugonots were.

At

1568.

At the same time the Prince of *Conde* being Master of all the Country about, seeing such a powerful Enemy come against him, was with twenty four thousand Foot, and little less than four thousand Horse, upon his march, with a resolution to approach as near as he could to the Kings Army, without abandoning the Towns belonging to his party, and opportunely to imbrace the advantage of any occasion that the propitiouness of his fortune should present. Both the Generals had the same design, a thing rarely falling out, that two Enemies should concur in the same opinion for the managing of the War; for the Duke of *Anjou* who thought himself superiour, not only in number, but also in the courage of his Souldiers, and discipline of War, desired to come to a Battel, hoping to suppress the Hugonots before their succours came out of *Germany*; and the Prince of *Conde* likewise, who commanding Voluntiers, which for the most part served without pay, knew the ardour and union of his Souldiers would not long continue, thought it better to make use of them whilst their fervour lasted, than by prolonging the War run into those inconveniences, of which he had formerly had too much experience.

But the desire and determinations of the Generals was crossed by the contrariety of the season, for it being then about the end of *November*, the extraordinary cold, great ice, and snows, hindered the progress both of the one and the other; for the days being short, and the nights exceeding cold, they could not (the ways being broken, and covered with snow) either easily fetch in provisions, or march with their Army, or advance with their Cannon, wherefore they were forced by making short journies, and lodging in convenient quarters, to ease the grievous labour of the Souldiers: for neither the men nor the Horses could by any means lie in Tents, by reason of which incommodities, both Armies advanced very slowly. But at length all difficulties being overcome, with a wonderful constancy on both sides, they came so near together between *Poitiers*, *Chastel-rault*, and *Lusignan*, that they were not above four French leagues a sunder, which, as is said before, answer to eight English miles.

The Duke of *Anjou* with the gross of the Army quartered at *Jaseneuil*, a Town upon the great Road, which from *Poitiers* lead directly to the Enemy, and part of the Cavalry with some few Foot for the more convenience lodged at *Sanse*, a Village but a league distant from *Jaseneuil*. The Prince of *Conde* on the other side marching with all his Forces towards the Catholicks, was come to lodge at *Colombiere*, two leagues out of *Lusignan*, at which Town all his Army quartered very commodiously. In the mid-way equally distant from both Camps was a Village called *Pampron*, upon which each General had a design with an intent to lodge his Van there, that he might be the nearer to vex and trouble the Enemy. It so happened that *Martignes* on the Catholick side, and *Andelot* on the Hugonots, advanced both at the same time, with the first Troops of their Armies to possess it. At their meeting there was a fierce bloody skirmish between them, which was gallantly maintained many hours, though with various success to both parties: but whatsoever were the occasion, the Catholicks began to yield, and the Village at last remained in the power of the Hugonots, who pursuing their Victory, advanced to follow the light Horse which were upon their retreat.

In the mean while arrived the Duke of *Montpensier* on the Catholick side, who bringing with him above six hundred Lances, *Andelot* being much inferiour in strength retired to the descent of a Hill, which was between him and the Village, where extending the Front of his Horse, and placing in Foot in each wing, the Enemy could neither take a view of his Flanks nor his Rear, but seeing such a large body towards him, thought their whole Army had been brought thither, and so lost the opportunity to rout and defeat *Andelot*. But the condition of things was soon changed, for within a little while the Prince and the Admiral appeared with all their Forces, in-somuch that they were exceedingly too strong for the Catholicks, who had nothing with them but their Van, all the rest of the Army being left behind in their Quarters in *Jaseneuil*. *Montpensier* and *Martignes* knowing the insufficiency of their strength, and doubting if the Enemy perceived it, they should be charged with disadvantage, by little and little left off skirmishing, and retreated to a great thick Wood which was behind them, and there put their men in order, drawing into as large a Front as they could, and placing the Muskiteers among the trees to make the greater shew: but the Hugonot Commanders seeing it grow late, and believing through the same mistake, that all the Catholick Army was drawn out as well as theirs, thinking they had done enough

enough to draw them from *Pampron*, staid there to lodge under covert, and had not any thought to assail the Enemy that night; wherefore *Montpensier* and *Martignies* having caused the Swisses to beat their Drums till midnight, to make the Hugonots believe all the Kings forces were there, and particularly the Swisses of whom they had a great esteem, and causing lighted matches to be hanged upon the hedges, and up and down in the woods to confirm the mistake of the Enemy, in the dead of the night retired with exceeding silence to *Jaseneuil*; avoiding, by the benefit of the dark, so evident a danger of being utterly defeated.

The Prince and the Admiral finding in the morning the error by which they had lost so great an opportunity, not to lose their time likewise in vain, resolved to set upon that part of the Army which was quartered at *Sanse*, with an intention, the Duke of *Anjou* not moving, to break and scatter it, and afterwards advancing to try the fortune of a day in the open fields. But the Duke of *Anjou* had the same morning upon the Enemies approach, sent for all his Forces to the head Quarter, and quitting the Village, brought the whole Camp to *Jaseneuil*, which being unknown to the Hugonots, they by the favour of a thick mist, setting forth early in the morning, marched with the whole Army, in great silence toward *Sanse*. But coming to a place where two ways part, the one whereof goes to *Sanse*, and the other to *Jaseneuil*, the Admiral taking the left hand, went on as he intended towards the Village, and the Prince through mistake turning on the right hand, took that way which led directly to the Catholick Camp at *Jaseneuil*, neither did he perceive by reason of the mist, that he was out of the way, till he was so near the Kings quarter, that he came afront the Enemy in a plain open place, and was so far engaged that he could not make a secure retreat. The Duke of *Anjou* seeing the Enemies approach, not knowing their mistake, thought they came with a resolution to assault him; wherefore he drew up his men into a place of advantage, though somewhat too streight for his Horse, and expected with a daring courage to join Battel. But the Prince of *Conde* at length finding his error, and not knowing where the Admiral was with the Van, going himself to view the ground, presently resolved what to do, and with all the haste he could made himself master of two little hills on each side the way, where he placed his Foot being drawn into two divisions, among the stakes of the Vines, making himself a defence of the ditches and banks, which are usual in that Country to inclose their grounds. The Foot being lodged in such a place of advantage, and in a manner out of danger, the next care was to secure the Horse, which being ranged upon the high-way, could not refuse to fight whensoever the Catholicks would charge them; wherefore that they might not discover a fear, still moving softly on, the Prince made shew as if he would join Battel in the plain, which lay between the two hills and the Kings Camp.

The Duke of *Anjou* believing the Prince meant to fight, when he saw the Enemies Horse in the plain, commanded fire to be given to all the Cannon, of which he had a great number placed in each Flank, hoping thereby to terrifie them, and withal to scatter two great wings of light Horse, which being in the Front of the Army, before the rest, marched towards him. But the Prince taking his time whilst the smoak of the Cannon covered the plain, retired dextrously with his Horse behind the hills, and presently began to draw a Ditch cross the high-way, so that being covered on both sides with the hills, and having cut off the Enemies passage, he placed there four Field-pieces, and 600 *Gascon* Musketers to defend that Post. The smoak being vanished, the Duke of *Guise* and the Count *de Lude* with two Squadrons of Horse advanced to charge, but found the field void and abandoned by the Hugonots; wherefore having marched up as far as the hills without meeting any encounter, they returned to their Body with news that the Prince began to intrench in the plain. The Duke of *Anjou* almost confounded with this uncertain proceeding of the Hugonots, presently sent the Count of *Brissac* with the French Musketers, and Monsieur *de la Valenne* with four Troops of Horse to second him, towards the hills, to try whether by skirmishing they could engage them to fight; but the Enemy not stirring from their place, and scouring the plain under them with their Musquet-shot, the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes; for neither the Prince moved from the hills, but on the contrary went on with his trenches, nor would the Duke of *Anjou* set upon the Hugonots in their works with so great disadvantage.

In this interim the Admiral understanding by the noise of the Cannon what had happened, without attempting any thing at *Sanse*, was returned in great haste to join with the

1568. the Prince: complaining that fortune heaping error upon error, should with such frowardness delude the prudence and wariness of his counsels. The Armies stood to their Arms, with great diligence guarding their posts all that night, but the next morning both sides being vanquished by the violence of the cold, and the exceeding sufferance of two nights watching continually in Arms, the Generals resolved to retreat, and so as it were by mutual consent, the Duke of *Anjou* marched away to *Poitiers*, and the Hugonots to *Mirebeau*.

The Duke thought by retiring into an open plain Country, either to invite the Enemy to fight upon equal terms, or else by often moving and changing Quarter, to approach so near to them, that he might gain some seasonable advantage. But the Hugonot Commanders, not to give the Enemy such an opportunity as he sought after, thought of another way, and resolved marching from the Catholics to fall on a sudden upon *Saumur*, a City upon the *Loire*, where there is a very fair Bridge, which is one of the principal passes over that River, to enter into the other Provinces of *France*, or to receive supplies from them, and particularly to enable them to join with those forces that come to their aid out of *Germany*: for the *Loire* dividing in a manner the whole Kingdom into two parts, separates the Country anciently called *Aquitania* from the two *Gallias*, *Celtica* and *Belgica*; a great part whereof are yet subject to that Crown. They hoped likewise by besieging and streightning a place of so much consequence, that the Duke of *Anjou* rather than suffer it to be taken before his eyes, would be brought to fight with some disadvantage; for though the one side and the other very much desired battel, yet they both studied to contrive it so, that they might be in a manner assured of the Victory. But this stratagem proved fruitless; for the Duke knowing that *Saumur* being a strong place, and reasonably well guarded, might easily hold out against the Hugonots, resolved to raise them by a diversion, without bringing himself into a necessity to fight at their pleasure: wherefore letting the Prince march towards *Saumur*, he departed two days after with good store of victuals for his men from *Poitiers*, and went directly to assail *Mirebeau*, which was forced and taken with great loss to the Hugonots, (for the remainder of the Army with a great part of their carriages were left there) and without losing any time, advanced farther into the Enemies Country to besiege *Loudun*.

Monsieur d' *Acier* commanded in the Town with twelve Companies of Foot, who though he shewed a great readiness to defend it, principally through the confidence he had of the badness of the season, which was such, that by reason of the Ice, the Catholics could neither raise any batteries, nor advance their trenches; yet seeing such a powerful Army late down before it, he perpetually solicited the chief Commanders of the Army, that considering his danger, they would come to succour him; who being moved with his earnestness, but much more to see the Duke already so far advanced into that Country from whence they had all their provisions and support, presently left *Saumur*, without having been able to attempt any thing, and marched toward the Catholic Army, being reduced to that necessity to fight at a disadvantage, to which they thought to have forced the Enemy. But advancing with great circumspection, and in such order as was behooveful for experienced Commanders, the twentieth of *December* they came to lodge in the Suburbs of *Loudun*, and with exceeding diligence encamped on the other side of the Town, opposite to that which was battered and assaulted by the Catholics.

Whilst the Duke of *Anjou* batters *Loudun* on the one side, the Prince of *Conde* coming to relieve it, lodgeth in the suburbs on the other, and being both resolved to fight, they are hindered by the coldness of the season.

Between the two Armies stood the Town, and on each side a large spacious champagne, without banks and ditches, or any other impediments, which was wonderful commodious for the Armies to skirmish, or to fight upon equal terms with Ensigns displayed; but the natural commodity that the place afforded was hindered and interrupted by the quality of the season; for the cold was so extream, that the Souldiers limbs were in a manner stupified and dead, and through the abundance of Ice and frozen snow, the ground was so slippery and hard, that every hour an infinite company of Souldiers were brought out of the skirmishes into the tents, who falling down were maimed, and unable to do service. The Cavalry was more inconvenienced; for the ground being low and full of water, was covered all over with such hard Ice, that the Horses finding no foot for their feet, fell one upon another, and the men being armed, if they offered to move or turn, could not advance a step without disordering their Squadrons, and confounding the Files, through which difficulties it being impossible for the Armies to fight, (for that party which stirred first, would rout and disorder it self)

self) after they had stayed four days, and both sides beginning already to suffer want, (for the season hindred the Suttlers to bring in provisions) the Duke of *Anjou*, who lying in the open field suffered most, not to consume his Army to no purpose, resolved to retire back four leagues from the Enemy, and getting a little River before him, quartered his men in the neighbouring Villages and Towns; which when it was known to the Hugonots, believing that the Army for this commodity of lodging being divided in divers places, could not easily be brought together, they resolved to fall into the Duke of *Anjou's* own quarter, hoping to gain a Victory before the rest of the Army could come to assist them. But being come in the morning, which was the twenty seventh of *December*, to the banks of River, thinking to pass without any resistance, they found it so resolutely defended by the guards that were placed upon the foords, that after having tryed twice or thrice in vain to force their passage, they were constrained to retire; which they did so much the rather, because two pieces being shot off, they conceived rightly that they were a signal for the Catholicks to come to the several passes of the River, which they were before appointed, if occasion were, to defend; so that they concluded it was impossible to pass over without too evident a danger.

1569.

After this retreat, a grievous sickness, through their past sufferance, beginning to grow in the Army, and the Souldiers continually murmuring that they were led to fight not against men, but against the perverseness of the weather, and the very force of Nature, the chief Commanders resolved to retire to some place at a good distance, where they might lie secure until such time that the sharpriefts of the winter being in some measure past, the season would again permit them to go on with the War: for these reasons the Prince and the Admiral being retreated into the lower *Poitou*, towards the confines of *Xaintongue*, the Duke of *Anjou* following the like counsel, went with all his forces to *Chinon*, where they began to feel the effects of their former sufferings; for such a cruel infection entred into both Armies, that in the space of a few days above four thousand men died on each side; as if Fortune seeing the intentions of the Generals, and the strength of the Armies equal, would likewise distribute amongst them equal sufferings and losses.

Through their
past sufferings
a great morta-
lity seisteth
upon the Ar-
mies.

The year 1568. being spent in these actions, began the year 1569. which was full of great accidents and infinite blood: in the beginning whereof the Prince of *Conde* having left the care of the Army to the Admiral, went himself in person to *Rochel*, to sollicite for money, and other provisions to maintain the War, which coming slower than they imagined, had brought them into extream want of every thing; for being driven into a corner, though one of the most fertile in all *France*, and lying in a Country that held with their party, though they lived for the most part upon free-quarter, and at the charge of the peasants, yet they had no occasion to plunder, with which they used in other places to maintain and satisfy the Souldiers. The 100000 Ducats sent by the Queen of *England* were already spent, besides the money brought in by their Fleet, which they sent out to rob the Merchants ships; and the Citizens of *Rochel*, though they were ready to part with all their substance towards the maintenance of the War, yet traffick failing, and the contributions falling so heavy upon them, they were so exhausted, that they were not able to furnish much more; wherefore the Prince of *Conde* being forced by necessity, took a resolution to sell the Treasure of the Church which was in *Xaintonge*, and the other Provinces under his command; and the more to encourage men to buy, the Queen of *Navarre* engaged her own Estate for their security.

1569.

The Hugonots
being in a
strait, the
Prince of *Con-
de* sells the
goods of the
Church.

With this sale, for which (to the incredible scandal of the Parliaments, and contempt of the Royal Authority) they gave publick Commissions to particular persons, and with certain Contributions gathered in *Rochel* and the adjacent Islands, they got together such a sum of money as was sufficient to supply the Army for some months, hoping in the mean while the season would grow more favourable to advance into a larger Country, where they might with their wonted plundering satisfy the clamour and evident want of the souldiers.

The rest of the Provinces were not at quiet; on the contrary, all parts of the Kingdom suffered divers changes and miseries; for Monsieur *de la Chastre* Governour of *Berry*, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo* having besieged *Sancerre* upon the *Loire* sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, but ever with great slaughter on both sides, continued to batter and assault it: and the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral ha-

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ving

1569.
The Monastery of St. Michael in crems destroyed by the Rochellers Anno 1569.

ving left *Noirs*, the Count *de Barbesieux* with the Forces of *Champagne* assaulted and took it; the *Rochellers* likewise made themselves Masters of the Isles near *Xaintonge*; and with great desolation had ruined that most noble ancient Monastery of *St. Michael de desert*, destroying with fire and sword those most venerable relicks of the devotion and piety of their Ancestors.

Whilst these things were done, the violence of the Winter was past; wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* having received fresh supplies, (for the Marquis of *Baden* had brought 1500 German Horse, and the Count *de Tande* the Gentry of *Provence*) about the beginning of *March* leaving *Chinon*, and keeping along the *Charente*, marched towards the Hugonots. On the other side, the Prince and the Admiral having received advertisement that the Viscount *de Montcler* and *Bourniquet*, and the other Gentlemen of *Languedoc* and *Gascony*, with a great number of Horse and Foot were coming to their aid, and doubting the Catholick Army might hinder their passage, leaving the Territory of *Rochel*, where they stayed to refresh themselves, and passing the *Charente*, advanced to meet them. But having notice afterwards of the Duke of *Anjou's* moving, they stopt their journey, and breaking all the bridges, and placing sufficient guards where the water was foordable, staid at *Jarnac*, a Town two leagues from the River, with an intent either to hinder the passage of the Kings Forces, or to starve them; for all the Country held for that party; or else, if they attempted to force their way, to set upon the Troops that first got over, not doubting, they being disordered in their passage, to gain an assured Victory.

Nevertheless, the Duke of *Anjou* having taken by the way the Castle of *Mele*, and *Ruffec*, came to *Chasteau-neuf*, a frequent ordinary pass over the *Charente*, there he found that the Hugonots had already broken the bridge beyond *Chasteau-neuf*, and left a Garison of 1000 Foot in the Town, which the Prince thought a sufficient strength to defend that place. But experience shewed he was mistaken, for the Count of *Brissac* having drawn the French Infantry thither, and with his Cannon beaten down some of their works, those within being terrified, without expecting any succours, abandoned the Town, and passing the River in certain boats that they found ready, retired to the Army which lay two leagues off. The taking of *Chasteau-neuf* nothing advantaged the Duke of *Anjou*; for the bridge being broken, and the Enemies standing prepared on the other side to hinder his passage, it was a very difficult matter to repair the old bridge, or to make a new one, and much more dangerous to force a passage against so powerful an opposition: wherefore the Catholicks shewing their skill, to surmount those difficulties by policy which they could not overcome by force, having left *Monsieur de Byron* Master, or as they say, Marshal of the Field, with such orders as were necessary at *Chasteau-neuf*, the Duke with all the Army moved towards *Cognac*, marching along the river, and making shew to seek some more easie expedite conveniency to pass over.

At the same time the Admiral moved with the Hugonots Van on the other side of the river, and advanced the same way, so that there being nothing between the two Armies but a narrow stream, they continually played upon one another with their shot. In this manner they marched all day, though very slowly; but night drawing on, the Admiral having given order that the light Horse, and certain chosen companies of Foot should stay to guard the passes, he not to incommode his men, who being Volunteers could not, or would not longer endure to lie in the open Field, removed about a league from the River, and lodged with the Van at *Bassac*, a reasonable great Village which was sufficient to receive them all, and the Prince with the Battel not being yet moved from his quarters, staid still at *Jarnac*, in a manner right against *Chasteau-neuf*.

The next day the Duke of *Anjou* having observed how the Enemy quartered that night, desired to confirm them in the opinion that he went seeking an opportunity to pass over; and having put some small Barks upon the River, with a good number of Musketers, made shew of forcing the Hugonots guards; but finding a strong resistance in every place, continued his march in the same manner as before until towards night, when through the frequency of the skirmishes having advanced little more than a league, and the Admiral being already retired to lodge in covert at *Bassac* where he quartered the evening before, the Duke having in the beginning of the night caused the Reer under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, to wheel about, and so one Body after another, the whole Army, marching with great expedition, returned in a few hours to *Chasteau-neuf*: where he found that *Monsieur de Byron* had with exceeding diligence

diligent mended the broken bridge, and made another very commodious one of boats, so that though it were late in the night, yet being very clear, and fit for his design, he presently caused the Duke of Guise and Monsieur de Martigues to pass over with two Squadrons of Horse, after whom followed the whole Army in very good order, and in it the Duke himself without meeting any opposition whatsoever; for the Count of Montgomery and Sieurs de Soubise and de la Loue, who with the light Horse had the charge to guard the banks of the River, watching at those passes towards which the Catholicks marched the day before, did not believe they could turn back so quickly, or pass over just in that place where the main of the Army lay ready to defend the passage of the River: but such was the negligence both of the Souldiers and Commanders, partly through the security they thought themselves in, partly through the usual disobedience of Souldiers in civil Wars, partly likewise because the Country being ruined, the Commissaries and Suters not keeping any order, were forced to seek and fetch in victuals afar off, that it was already day, and the greatest part of the Catholick Army was drawn up upon the banks on the other side, before the Scouts had any notice of what was done. The first that gave advertisement of it was Captain Montant, who riding the Round with fifty Horse, to see if the guards did their duty, as soon as he perceived the Enemy was gotten over, spurred as fast as he could to advertise the Admiral, who being not only confounded with so important and unexpected an accident, but in a manner desperate that his wisdom should be deluded by the industry of a young man, whom he ever held and esteemed as a Child, resolved to retire to Jarnac, to joyn with the Battel, and there to consult with the Prince what course, as things went, was best to be taken.

But it was first necessary, not to leave them a prey to the Enemy, to send for the Foot that were appointed to guard the passes of the River, and to get together the light Horse, which for want of victuals and commodity of quarter, were dispersed into several places; in which, though all possible diligence were used, yet so much time was spent, that he found himself contrary to his purpose in a necessity to fight: for the Duke of Anjou having imbattelled his Army, and resolved whatever happened, to make a day of it, sent all the light Horse before, and in the head of them Monsieur de Martigues, called generally, The Souldier without fear, to fall in upon the Enemies Reer, that so he might hinder their march, and gain time for the rest of the Army to come up.

Martigues coming upon the Hugonots just as they left Brissac, began to skirmish so hotly, that the Admiral being forced to stay, gave order to make an halt, and facing resolutely about, perceived it was impossible any longer to avoid the encounter of Battel; wherefore having sent the Prince of Conde word of the danger he was in, he placed the Sieurs de la Noue and Loue in the Reer, commanding them to maintain their ground against the light Horse, and to hinder their advancing, whilst he passed into a certain place full of ditches, and encompassed with water, beyond which he meant to draw up his men in order, that the strength of the situation might in some measure supply the defect of his forces, or at least defend them in the Flank from the multitude and fury of the Enemy. These Commanders sometimes skirmishing, and sometimes courageously mingling amongst them, sustained a good while the charge of the Catholicks; but Monsieur de la Valette, the Count de Lude, Monsieur de Monsaleze and Malicorne coming up with four Squadrons of Lances, they set upon them with such violence, that the Captains being taken prisoners, all the rest of the men plainly ran away: Whereupon the Admiral finding he could not long make resistance, and desiring as far as he was able to avoid the necessity of fighting piecemeal, left Andelot with 120 Horse to make good that place of advantage, that he might hinder the Enemies passage; and himself with all the rest of the Van retired a good trot to meet the other part of the Army, which was already marching towards them with great diligence.

The Prince of Conde understanding the Admirals danger, came with all the Horse to succour him, and left order that the Foot should follow softly after, conceiving he should have time enough to join with the Van, and bring all the Army together to fight. But when he saw part of the Admirals men routed, and so hotly pursued by the Enemy, who every moment increased in number and strength, he made a stand upon the high-way, having on one Flank a pool, which defended him on the right

1569. hand, and a little hill which covered him on the left, and with exceeding wariness ranged those forces he had with him; taking all the advantage that was possible of the situation of the place. In ordering of his men he left a free void place for the Admiral, who though he arrived a full gallop with the Horse, took his post without making any disorder, and facing about to the Enemy, put himself in a readiness to fight, keeping the left Flank at the foot of the hill. In the mean while the first Squadrons of the Catholicks Horse had set upon *Andelots* post, who finding himself seconded by *Puivants* Musketeers; which being placed behind the hedges, and the banks, filled every thing with smoak, cries and blood, bravely opposed the Enemy; and it was a spectacle worthy the remembrance, that in the charge he encountered the Duke *de Monsalez*, (who behaved himself no less courageously) and came up so close to him, that with his bridle-hand he lift up the Beaver of his Helmet, and discharged a Pistol in his face, of which shot he fell down dead upon the ground; nevertheless the Hugonots yielding to the superiour number of the Catholicks, could not maintain that post above half an hour, but setting spurs to their Horses, galloped away to the main Body of the Van, and ranged themselves on the place that was appointed for them.

Andelot mingles with the Enemy in such manner, that lifting up the Duke of *Monsalez* Beaver, he discharges a Pistol in his face.

Whilst these things were doing, the Duke of *Anjou* having without tumult or confusion disposed his Army in very good order, advanced readily to begin the Battel, the beginning of the day giving great hopes of an assured Victory. Without any detraction both sides shewed an equal resolution, and boldness of courage; but the other circumstances were not equal, and especially their Forces: for part of the Hugonots Foot, which were distributed upon the banks of the River, hearing of the Enemies passage, and believing they could not possibly joyn with the rest of their Army, were passed over the River, and retired to a place of security; and the rest that were with Monsieur *d'Acier*, according to their orders, following the Prince of *Conde*, could not come soon enough to the fight, but dispersed themselves in several places without making trial that day of their fortune. Notwithstanding the Hugonots being defended on one side by the Lake, and on the other by the Hill, and therefore sure they could not be hurt in the middle, bravely sustained the fierceness of the encounter; the Commanders no less than the common Soldiers fighting boldly on both sides, and with great courage disputing the success of the day.

The Duke of *Guise* charged the left wing, where were the Admiral and *Andelot*, with a great number of the Nobility of *Provence*, *Britany* and *Normandy*, and there the fight was very hot, the event of the Battel remaining very doubtful for many hours: but the Catholicks being continually furnished with fresh supplies, the Hugonots being no longer able to resist so much a greater number, all the Van was at length utterly routed; and the Commanders seeing the Admirals own Cornet upon the ground, by reason of the imprisonment of Monsieur *de Guerchy* that carried it, the Baron *de la Tour* General of the *Roche* Fleet killed, and *Saubise*, *Languiers* and *Monteran* the principal Barons of their party taken prisoners, they resolved before they were too much pressed by the Enemy, to provide for their own safety by flight. The same did the Count *de la Rochefoucault*, and the Count *de Montgomeri*, who were in the right wing of the Battel by the Lake; for they being furiously charged by the Duke *de Montpensier* who led the Catholick Van, after a long obstinate defence, leaving *Chandenier*, *Rieux*, and *Corbouson* dead upon the place, with a great number of the Nobility of *Provence*, *Languedoc* and *Gascony*, despairing of the Victory, sought to save themselves. Only the Prince of *Conde*, who in the beginning of the fight encountered the Duke of *Anjou*'s own Squadron, though he were broken and often charged through, still rallied his men, and with a wonderful courage maintained the force of the Battel, but after the flight of the Van, and afterward of the Rear, being charged on all sides by the Conquerors, and an innumerable company of the Enemy, yet he fought desperately with those that stood to him till the last: for as he was rallying his men, being hurt with a blow on the leg by a Courser of the Count of *Roche-foucault*, having afterwards his own Horse killed under him in the fight, and being grievously wounded in divers places, he still with one knee upon the ground courageously defended himself, till Monsieur *de Montsqueon* the Dukes Captain of his Guard shooting a Pistol in his head, laid him dead upon the place.

In the Battel of *Brissac* the Prince of *Conde* is shot in the head, of which he dies the 16 of March 1569

There

There was slain by his side *Robert Stuart*, he who in the Battel of *St. Denis* killed the Constable; *Tabaret*, *Melare*, and in a manner all the Nobility of *Poillon*, and *Xaintonge*, who being invironed by the Catholicks Squadrons, could not find any way to save themselves; in the heat of which Battel the Duke of *Anjou* fighting valiantly beyond the force of his age, in the head of his Squadrons, and having his Horse killed under him, was in exceeding danger of his life, if he had not been succoured by the courage and address of his Souldiers, and of his own valour, and those that were near about his person had not defended him from the fury of the Enemy, who fighting desperately, compassed him on all sides. But after the death of the Prince, and the defeating of his Squadron, in which were the most valiant Souldiers in the Army, there was no body made any resistance, but every one thinking how to save himself, fled a several way, and the night that was drawing on advantaged them not a little in their escape. The Admiral and *Andelot* went to *St. Jean d'Angely*, *Acier* to *Cognac*, *Montgomery* to *Angoulesme*; all the rest, and particularly the Foot, which had not fought, dispersed themselves into several places, not any one Regiment save only *Pluvians* and *Corbousons* being present at the business.

1569.

This was the Battel of *Brissac* that happened the sixteenth of *March*, in which the quality of the slain was much more considerable than the number: for the Hugonots lost not in all above seven hundred men, but they were most of them Gentlemen and Cavaliers of note; for their chief strength consisted in their Cavalry: and on the Catholick side very few were killed, but amongst those *Monsieur de Monsalez*, *Hypolite Pic*, Count *de la Mirandole*, *Prunay*, and *Ingrande*; for *Monsieur de Lignieres* whom some have named amongst the dead, died many days after at *Poitiers* of a natural death.

The Duke of *Anjou* pursuing the Enemy, entred the same night of the Battel victorious into *Jarnac*, whither the body of the Prince of *Conde* was carried as in triumph upon a poor Pack-horse, all the Army making sport at such a spectacle, which whilst he lived were terrified with the name of so great a Person. The Duke permitted not any contempt or violence to be used to the body; being satisfied that what could not be done by Policy or Justice, was effected by the War: wherefore a few days after, to shew that respect to the dead which he thought due to the Royal Blood, he restored it to *Henry* Prince of *Navarre* his Nephew, who without any other pomp, save only the abundant tears of all the Faction, caused him to be buried at *Vendosme*, in a Tomb belonging to his Ancestors.

The body of the Prince of *Conde* was carried in triumph upon a Pack-horse by the Catholicks, and afterwards restored to his Nephew the Prince of *Navarre*.

Thus lived and thus died *Lewis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*; who by having so many times stirred up Civil Wars in his own Country, and with the brand of having been the chief Disturber of the Catholick Religion in the most Christian Kingdom, obscured those excellent endowments of the mind, which for boldness, constancy and generosity, would otherwise have rendred him most considerable amongst the first Princes and Captains of that age.

The day after the battel those who in the terrout of the flight were scattered in divers places, understanding that the most part of the Foot, being untouched, was retired to *Cognac*, endeavoured by several ways to get all to the same place; so that before many days were past, besides *Monsieur de Aciere* who saved himself there at the first, there met there the Counts *de la Roch-foucault*, and *Montgomery*, *Monsieur d'Ivoy*, who, with his Brother being killed, called himself *Jenlis*; *Jaques Bouchard*, *Teligni*, *Bouchavanes*; and at length the Admiral himself and *Andelot* came thither from *St. Jean d'Angely*.

After this defeat the affairs of the Hugonots were in a very uncertain tottering condition; for there was no doubt, the Prince of *Conde* being dead, but that the first place either for dignity or reputation of wisdom was due to the Admiral: and it was not forgotten, that after the Battel of *Dreux* in which the Prince remained Prisoner, the charge of the Army was by a general consent conferred upon him; but there were many who for birth, riches, and other advantages did not willingly yield to him: on the contrary, at this very time there was a common slander laid upon his reputation. That through his sloth and negligence, the Catholicks got an opportunity to pass the River, whilst he suffered himself to be deluded by the stratagems of a youth, who then only entered upon the rudiments of War; and that after the passage of the Army he had basely yielded in all places; giving a beginning, by his flight,

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flight, to the success and victory of the Enemy; which imputations, though he fully answered, shewing that the passage of the Catholicks happened only because his Orders were not obeyed, and because those who were appointed to guard the passes, for conveniency of quarter, left their posts without leave; so that he, who could not be every where, was not advertised soon enough to remedy it; yet that his flight ought indeed to be attributed to greatness of courage; for the Army being routed, and the Victory desperate, he chose rather to save himself, than he might rise again as a new *Antony* to the ruine and perdition of his Enemies, than by despairing of the future, through dejectedness of mind to die unprofitably out of season, and without having effected any thing: nevertheless partly through envy, partly through ambition, partly through grief of the late loss, and the death of the Prince, he was spoken against and hated by many.

Andelot after the loss of the Battle dieth of grief.

Besides this, it was thought that wanting the Authority and Name of a Prince of the Blood, the foundation and credit of the Faction would fail; for neither the people would so readily believe and follow a man of private condition, nor stranger Princes much trust to his fidelity; nor would the reasons of their cause have that wonted pretence to make War for the publick good, and service of the State: the nature of this charge being such, that whosoever undertook it, ought to be the nearest allied Princes of the Blood Royal. To this was added, that many accustomed to the liberality, candour and integrity of the Prince of *Condé*, abhorred and feared the disposition and carriage of the Admiral, who was thought a man exceeding covetous, of deep thoughts, of a treacherous subtil nature, and in all things inclined wholly to attend and procure by any means his own ends. And it happened at the same time, that *Andelot* and *Jaques Bouchard*, the one Brother, and the other straightly united by interests with the Admiral, either spent with labour, or overcome with grief and trouble of mind, fell both into a grievous sickness, of which they died not many months after, whereby that party which desired the greatness and advancement of the Admiral, not knowing how to manage their business, remained extremely weakened. But he with his subtilty overcoming all these impediments, resolved by despising ambition, and speciousness of titles, still to retain in himself the chief Power and Authority: for transferring the name of Heads of the Faction, and the titles of Generals of the Army to *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry* Son to the deceased Prince of *Condé*, he saw the common cause would not only keep the same authority and the same reputation of being upheld by the Blood Royal; but they being both in a manner children, the sole administration of the whole business should still remain in him; so to quiet the ambitions and pretences of the great ones; so to satisfy the expectation of the people, and by this means to renew again that league amongst the Faction which through diversity of opinions seemed now in a manner broken.

The Prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry* Son to the Prince of *Condé*, are approved of and received for Heads of the Hugonot Faction.

With this resolution, not attempting that which could not be obtained, he presently sent to Queen *Jane* to come to the Army, shewing her the time was now come to advance her Son to that greatness which properly belonged to him, and to which she had so long aspired. Queen *Jane* wanted neither willingness nor courage, being before fully resolved, despising all danger, to make her Son Head of that Faction; wherefore with a readiness and quickness answerable to the occasion, she went instantly with both the Princes to the Camp, which was then at *Cognac*, full of discords within it self, and in a condition rather to dissolve, than to keep together, to remedy the disorders and losses already hapned. There the Queen of *Navarre* after she had approved the Admirals counsels, the Army being drawn together, with wonderful courage and manly speeches, exhorting the Souldiers to remain united and constant in the defence of their Liberties and Religion, proposed to them the two young Princes, whose presence and aspect moved the affections of them all, to be their Generals; encouraging them under the auspicious conduct of those two branches of the Royal Blood, to hope for a most happy success to their just pretensions and the common cause: at which words the Army, which through the past adversities, and present discords, was in a manner assailed and confounded, taking new vigour, the Admiral and the Count de *la Rochefoucault* first submitted and swore fidelity to the Princes of *Navarre*; by whose example the Gentlemen and Commanders doing the same, the common Souldiers likewise with loud applause approved the Election of the Princes for Protectors and Heads of the Reformed Religion. *Henry* of *Navarre* Prince

Prince of *Navarre* was then fifteen years of age, of a lively spirit and generous courage, altogether addicted and intent to the profession of Arms; wherefore through the inclination of his Fate, or the persuasions of his Mother readily without any demur attempting the invitation of the Army, in a short Souldier-like speech he promised them, *To protect the true Religion, and to persevere constantly in the defence of the common Cause, till either death or victory brought that liberty they all desired and aimed at.* The Prince of *Conde* rather by his actions than words consented to what was done, for he was so young that he could not express himself otherwise; so that in all other things likewise yielding to the maturer age, and pre-eminence of the first Prince of the Blood, the chief Authority of the Faction was established in the Prince of *Navarre*: wherefore Queen *Jane*, in remembrance of this Act, caused afterwards certain pieces of Gold to be coined, which on the one side bore her own Effigies, and on the other her Sons, with this word, *PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRÆ, MORIS HONESTA.*

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The Prince of *Navarre* was fifteen years of age, and the Prince of *Conde* a child.

Money coined by the Queen of *Navarre* with her own figure on the one side, and her Sons on the other.

The Princes then being chosen Heads of the Faction, they presently called a Council of the chief Commanders to deliberate in the presence of Queen *Jane* how to manage their business, what remedies were expedient to repair their past losses, and how to divert the extream danger that threatned them. There before any thing else, it was determined, That the Admiral, by reason of the minority and little experience of the Princes, should govern the Army and all things else belonging to the War; but Monsieur *de Aciere* should be General of the Foot: which charge first by the infirmity, and afterwards by the death of *Andelot*, was vacant, and Monsieur *de Genlis* General of the Artillery which was formerly supplied by *Bouchard*. After which Elections, discoursing how to proceed with the War, many not yet assured from their fears, would that the Army should be drawn into the Cities and strong holds about *Rochel*, shewing it would be impossible for the Duke of *Anjou* to make any attempt upon those places which were so invironed with waters, and marsh grounds, whilst there was any reasonable strength to defend them: but this appeared to the Admiral (the other Commanders of best esteem being of the same opinion) a too cowardly resolution, and therefore it was determined, That all the Army should be divided into the several Towns upon the Rivers, to keep them, and to hinder the progress of the Conqueror, till they had certain news of the forces the Duke of *Deux-ponts* was bringing to their aid out of *Germany*, who when he came near the Army should draw together again to meet him wheresoever he was, and use their utmost endeavours to join with him: for by obtaining that end, they should remain at least equal, if not superiour in strength to the Kings Army; and if they could not effect it, they should be separated and carry the War into divers places, and the King likewise being constrained to divide his Forces, they might make War upon even terms; which things being resolved on, Queen *Jane* went to *Rochel* to sollicite for new aids and provisions, the Admiral with the Princes retired to *S. Jean d'Angeli*, Monsieur *de Piles* took upon him the Defence of *Xaintes*, *Montgomery* and *Paviant* turned about to *Angoulême*, Monsieur *d'Aciere* with the greatest part of the Foot remained at *Cognac*, and *Genlis* with a strong Garison shut himself up in *Loudun*, all places either for strength of their situation, by help of art, or in regard of the Rivers, (which in that Country are many and very deep) likely to hold out a long time.

The care of the Army committed to the Admiral.

In the mean while the Duke of *Anjou*, having given three days to refresh his men, who were wearied out with continual labour, and busied in dividing their booty, by the advice of his Captains, resolved to set upon those very Cities the Hugonots meant to possess, as the most ready way to manage the War; to which purpose he sent for the great pieces of Battery from *Poitiers*, having for the more expedition marched only with field-pieces. This time of respite retarded for some days the course of their Victory, and gave the Hugonots leisure to put their before-mentioned designs in execution; besides the expecting Orders from the Court which was far off, and where the resolutions are not always easie and positive, produced at least delays and loss of time. The first place they moved against was *Cognac*; but it soon appeared they had undertaken a long and difficult enterprize; for the late Victory was gained rather by industry in passing the river, and the death of the Prince of *Conde*, than any great loss or slaughter among the Hugonots; and their running away, which proceeded only from a sudden terrour as it was a cause of losing their General; so it preserved the Army, which being now divided, with abundant provisions to defend the strong places,

1569. places, burnt with a desire by some remarkable valiant actions to cancel the infamy of their late flight; whereby the taking of the principal Cities became exceeding difficult. There were in *Cognac* seven thousand Foot, and more than six hundred Horse with Monsieur d'Acierre, and divers of the Nobility and chief Commanders, who as the Army approached, and several days after sallied out in such numbers, that their encounters seemed rather little Battels than great skirmishes; and besides the fierceness and courage the Hugonots shewed, they did likewise great damage to the assailants, so that they had no leisure by reason of the continual sallies, to think either of making their approaches, or raising batteries, but were forced for their own securities, and to avoid the fury of the Enemy, to keep the Army in perpetual duty, and in arms; by which difficulties the Duke of *Anjou* concluding it was in a manner impossible, in the state the Town then was, to take it; not to spend his time in vain, or to consume the Army to no purpose, resolved to advance farther, to assemble and clear those places more in the heart of the Enemies Country, which were neither so strong, nor so well provided, so that they being taken, *Cognac* would remain like an Island cut off from all commerce, and fall of it self; which in time he hoped undoubtedly to effect: for experience had in all occasions manifestly shewn, that there was no poison so deadly to the Hugonots as delays.

Wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* at the end of four days leaving *Cognac*, and marching toward *St. Jean d'Angeli*, he, or some of his Commanders, by the way took *Tifange*, *Montaut*, *Forest*, and *Aubeterre*, and at length came to besiege *Mucidan*. There the Count of *Brissac* with his wonted courage tending his batteries, whilst he resolutely advanced to view the breach, was shot in the right thigh, of which wound he died, generally lamented by all men. His misfortune slackned not, but on the contrary added to the fierceness of the Catholics, in so much, that having made a furious assault and taken the Town, in revenge of his death, not only all the Souldiers, but the Inhabitants likewise were put to the Sword.

Wolfgangus of *Bavaria* with an Army of 14000 men comes to the aid of the Hugonots.

In this interim *Wolfgangus* of *Bavaria* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, moved by the money and promises of the Hugonots, had by the aid of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and by the persuasions and assistance of the Queen of *England*, gotten together an Army of 6000 Foot and 800 Horse, Monsieur de *Muy* and Monsieur de *Morvilliers* with 800 Horse, and Monsieur de *Briguenant* with 1200 French Musketeers being sent into *Germany* to join with them. In this Army were *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, with *Lewis* and *Henry* his Brothers; who being driven out of *Flanders*, to avoid the severity of the Duke of *Alva*, followed the same Religion, and the same fortune with the Hugonots.

The King of *France* and the Queen his Mother had endeavoured, first by Embassies to the Protestant Princes, and afterwards by the authority of the Emperour *Maximilian* the Second, with whom they entertained a streight league, to hinder the raising of this Army; but the Protestants being much more zealous to advance their own Religion, and the hope of gain and booty more prevalent than either the Kings promises, or the Emperours threats, they brought their Forces together with a firm resolution, despising all dangers, to pass without delay to the aid of the Hugonots. But the King and the Queen-Mother, who to shelter themselves from this tempest, were gone to *Metz* upon the borders of *Lorain*, when they saw this Army raised, to hinder which they had used all manner of arts, gave commission to the Duke of *Aumale*, with the Cavalry of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, and 6000 Swisses newly received into pay, to enter the Confines of the Protestant Princes, wasting their territories and spoiling their people, to force them to keep the Army at home for their own defence, so that they might not pass that year into *France*; believing the Emperour, in consideration of the justice of their cause, and the league they had with him, would not oppose this resolution. But the Duke of *Aumale* having in the territories of *Strasbourg*, one of the free Towns of the Empire, met with, and made a great slaughter among a certain number of French that were going from *Geneva* and the Country about, to join with the Duke of *Deux-ponts* his Army, not only the other Towns, and all the Princes of the Empire, but even the Emperour himself was so offended thereat, that the King and the Queen, not to exasperate them further, or raise new Enemies, sent directions to the Duke of *Aumale*, that he should presently withdraw his forces into *Burgundy*, to keep things in order at home, being already assured through the perverseness of stranger Princes, that they should have work enough in their own Kingdom.

The

The Duke of *Deux-ponts* with his Army presently followed the Duke of *Aumale* into *Burgundy*, with exceeding cruelty waſting and ſpoiling all the Country through which he paſſed; nor could the Duke of *Aumale*, being ſo much inferiour in ſtrength, either hinder his march, or fight with him in the field; wherefore retiring into the Towns, he only kept him from entering into the ſtrong places, or making that ſpoil and thoſe incurſions which he would have done, if finding no reſiſtance, he had made himſelf Maſter of the Country. In this manner the Armies ſkirmiſhing almoſt every day, though ſometimes with loſs, they marched all over *Burgundy*, till the Duke of *Aumale*, ſeeing the Enemy for want of pieces of battery could not force the ſtrong Towns, and knowing to follow them at a diſtance would be to no purpoſe, went directly through the Country of *Auxerre* with that ſtrength he had, to the Duke of *Anjou*, that being ſo joined, they might be the better able to reſiſt the Enemy.

1569.
The Duke of
Deux-ponts
enters into
France, waſt-
ing and ſpoil-
ing the Coun-
try.

But the German Army being advanced to the *Loire*, was in exceeding pain how to paſs over; for all the bridges upon that River are either within the Towns, or elſe cloſe under the walls, and were then held by the Kings forces; for the Duke of *Anjou* being certainly advertiſed of the Germans coming, leaving the Enemies Country, had drawn all his Army to the River, and having placed ſtrong guards upon the paſſes, expected what reſolution they would take; by reaſon whereof the Germans were in great ſtreight, there being no means to paſs the River, but by making their way through the Towns; and they had neither pieces of Battery, nor other provisions fit for ſuch a purpoſe: inſomuch, that they began to fear this great Army, which was raiſed with ſuch a noiſe, would at length be deſtroyed without effecting any thing.

Nevertheless, the baſeneſs or treachery of men rendred that very eaſie, which was of it ſelf exceeding difficult: for the Commanders of the German Army reſolving to fall upon *la Charite*, a Town upon the River, rather with an intent not to ſpend their time idly, than with any reaſonable hope of taking it; and meaning to batter the Walls, which were of the old faſhion, with thoſe few ſmall pieces that marched with the Army, he was ſcarce encamped before it, when the Governour (without any apparent cauſe) (for at that time) as it is uſual in Civil Wars, men were led by divers unknown intereſts and inclinations) fled ſecretly out of the Town; whereupon, the Souldiers running away in diſorder, the Townſmen were ſo terrified, that they began to enter into a Treaty of yielding themſelves; during the which, being negligent of their guards, they without on a ſudden ſaſtned their Ladders to the Walls, and finding no oppoſition, *Briquemaſ* men firſt, and after them the whole Army entering, miſerably ſacked that Town, whiſt the Duke of *Anjou* being certainly advertiſed of the Germans attempt, ſent a conſiderable force to relieve it. So the German Army having at the ſame time gained a convenient paſs and retreat, on the twentieth of *May* paſſed over the River.

In the mean while the Admiral with the Princes, under whoſe names all things were governed, made ready to march towards the Germans, with this conſideration, That if they could join their forces, the Army would be by that means much the ſtronger; and if they could not, the Duke of *Anjou* lying between the two Armies would be compaſſed in, and exceedingly ſtreightened on all ſides: Wherefore *Monſieur de la Nove* being left Governour of the Militia at *Rochel*, for all things elſe were directed by the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Count of *Montgomery* ſent to the aid of *Bearne*, (of which Province *Meſſieurs de Montluc* and *Terride* the Kings Lieutenants in *Gaſcony*, and *Guyenne* were abſolute Maſters;) they marched with 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe towards the *Loire*, daily increaſing in ſtrength through the continual concurrence of the Nobility, that came in to them from the adjacent Provinces; but being not yet certainly advertiſed of the Duke of *Deux-ponts* paſſage, they were not fully reſolved which way to take, but advanced very ſlowly, reaſonably enough doubting that they might be affailed by the Catholicks before they could join with the Duke of *Anjou*, after the German Camp had paſſed the *Loire*, fearing to be engaged between the two Armies, withdrew his Forces from the River and retired into *Limofin*, conceiving the Woods and Mountains in that Country would ſtill ſecure his Quarters, and that the Germans who were accuſtomed to lie covered and live in plenty, through the barrenneſs of the ſoil could not long ſubſiſt there.

On the other ſide the Duke of *Deux-ponts* when he had paſſed the *Loire*, being deſirous to join with the Princes, haſtened his march all that he could; but death croſs'd his deſign, for either through the incommodities of ſo long a journey, or as ſome ſaid through

The Duke of
Deux-ponts
dies of exceſs
of drinking
before he joins
with the
Princes.

1589.

Count Mansfield succeeds him in the charge of the Army.

The Pope, the great Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Alva send supplies to the King.

The Armies front each other, and the Admiral sets upon Strozzi's quarter, who through his too much forwardness is taken prisoner

through the excess of drinking, he fell into a continual Fever, which soon becoming malignant killed him in a few days after, leaving it doubtful (having marched so far through the Enemies Country without any loss, and passed so many great deep Rivers) whether it were to be attributed to fortune or his own conduct that he had so happily advanced to join with his Confederates into the furthest parts of all *Aquitaine*.

The Duke being dead, the charge of the Army fell upon Count *Volrade of Mansfield*, who was his Lieutenant-General, without any opposition either of the Princes or other great Commanders in the Army, who avoided it more through the apprehension of many imminent dangers, than either through modesty or want of pretences. The third day after the death of the General, the German Army joined with the Admiral and the Princes upon the banks of the *Vienne*, where having made a muster, and given them a months pay out of the moneys which the Queen of *Navarre* had with great pains raised upon the *Rochellers*, and out of the contributions of the neighbouring Towns, they marched together towards the Duke of *Anjou*, being desirous to fight before any new accident happened to diminish their forces.

The Duke of *Anjou* had recruited his Army with the succours that came out of *Italy* and *Flanders*: for the Pope desirous to have the War continued against the Hugonots, and for the reputation of the Apostolick See, had sent to his Majesties aid 4000 Foot and 800 Horse under the command of *Sforza Count di Santa Fiore* a Person of Quality; and an experienced Souldier: and the great Duke of *Tuscany* had added 200 Horse and 1000 Foot under *Fabiano del Monte*. The Duke of *Alva* likewise sent Count *Peter Ernest de Mansfield* out of *Flanders* with a Regiment of 3000 Walloons and 300 Flemish Lances, being desirous to destroy the German Army in which were the Prince of *Orange* and his Brothers, who though exiles, retained so great a power and credit in all parts of the Low-Countries.

But notwithstanding these supplies, their miseries, sickness, and want of pay had so diminished the Army, that it was rather inferiour than superiour in number to the Hugonots: wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* being unwilling to fight, having retired into the Country of *Limosin*, staid at *Rochebeille* in a secure quarter; for the main body of the Army lying upon the top of a steep rocky hill, of difficult ascent towards the plain Country, a little on each hand were two other craggy hills full of steems, and trees, in either of which stood a Village. In that on the right hand was *Philippo Strozzi*, whom the King had declared Colonel General of the Infantry, with two French Regiments, and in the other on the left the Count *di Santa Fiore*, *Fabiano del Monte*, and *Pietro Paolo Tosinghi*, with the Popes and the Tuscan Foot. On the top of the hill the Cannon was planted, which commanded all the places about, and between the Head-quarter and the Villages where the Foot was intrenched in the plain, but with a running stream in their Front, lay the light Horse with the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Italian Commanders. Being thus disposed in their several Quarters, having the City of *Limoges* a little behind them, the Camp abounded with victuals, of which by reason of its barrenness there was great scarcity in the Country about.

The Admiral, who with the Princes and the Army was advanced within half a league of the Catholick Camp, considering the advantage of the place where they lay, and the difficulty to nourish his men amongst barren Woods and stony Mountains, resolved at the same time to set upon *Strozzi's* quarter and the Italians, knowing if he could beat them from thence and get possession of the Villages, he should so streighten the Enemies Camp, that losing the use of the plain, and not having wherewithal to feed such a number of Horse, they would be constrained to retreat with evident danger of being routed. Upon which grounds the twenty third of *June* he with his Van (the Foot under *Piles*, *Briquemaunt*, and *Rouvray*) going first; then Count *Lewis of Nassau* with a Regiment of Germans; and lastly, *de Mny*, *Teligny*, and *Saubise* with their Horse, marched directly towards *Strozzi's* Quarter; and the Princes with the Battel commanded by the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* and the Prince of *Orange*, in which were *Beaudine's*, *Blacon's* and *Ponillier's* Foot, another Regiment of Germans, and the Marquess of *Renel*, *Mombman*, *Acicere*, and *Ambros* with their Horse, advanced to the Italians Quarter; the most part of the Germans and two Regiments of Musketers under the command of the Count *de Mansfield* and *Genlis* staying with the Cannon in the champaigne.

But the assault which was appointed to be given two hours before day, by reason of the shortness of the night, began just as the light appeared, when the Admiral falling upon

upon *Strozzi's* Quarter, called *Piles* his Muskietiers to go on first, after whom the rest following, which were about 4000. there began a most fierce and bloody fight, the Hugonots relying upon their number; and the Catholicks upon the strength of the situation; for being covered with trees and hedges, and having the advantage of an higher ground, with their small shot they exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, who on the other side being so much superiour in number, that they fought four to one with continual supplies of fresh men, made a fair attempt to overcome the inequality of the place, and to beat the Catholicks from their post, which would have been impossible, if too much ardour (considering how they disposed themselves) had not rendered their resolution vain: for *Philippo Strozzi* being incensed beyond his usual temper by the cries of the French, (who having the Count of *Brissac* fresh in their memories, reproached him with his name, and shewed a kind of disdain to be commanded by an Italian) advanced to the head of his men, and earnestly encouraging every one with fair words and his own example to follow him, leaving the advantage of the place, fell in with such fury upon *Briquemaunts* and *Piles* his Muskietiers, that he forced them to retire in great disorder: But the Admiral seeing him through the heat of the fight, and eagerness to pursue those that ran away, advance inconsiderately into an equal place, and come into the plain champagne where the Horse might be useful, advanced likewise with all the Van, hemming him in on every side; and though with the help of his Souldiers he courageously defended himself, yet being overborn by the Horse, and full of wounds and blood, he was at length taken prisoner, which occasioned many to pass this censure upon him, That his courage was more commendable than his wisdom: but it was almost impossible, that a man who hath in him the thoughts of honour, when he finds himself provoked, though by them that are ignorant, should keep within those limits which he himself knoweth are prescribed and dictated by reason.

There remained dead upon the place *St. Loup* and *Roqueleaur*, both Lieutenants to *Strozzi*; 22 Captains, some that were reformed, some that had Companies; and 350 of the best Souldiers; and on the Hugonots side 150 Horse and Foot, amongst which *Trimemont* and *la Fontaine*, both Commanders of great power and esteem.

The Admiral bravely pursued the remainder of *Strozzi's* men, who retreated fighting to their Post; but the place was of such a nature, that the Horse could do no good, and the Foot being weary and disordered, could not so briskly renew the assault; wherefore the Catholicks, who were still a considerable number upon the hill, easily sustained the charge, till the light Horse which were near, seeing the danger their friends were in, came to succour them, and being joined, beat back the Hugonots, to the great honour of *Francisco Somma* of *Crémone*, a Captain of the Italian light Horse, who with the greatest part of his men, lighting from their Horses, fought amongst the Hedges and the Chesnut-trees in the first ranks with wonderful courage, and exceeding detriment to the Enemy. On the other side, whither the Prince of *Navarre* and *Conde* led the Battalia to assail the Italians, there happened less execution on either side; for the Count *de S. Flour* not being so precipitately rash as *Strozzi* was, nor moved by the unexperienced forwardness of his Souldiers; maintaining his ground, defended himself without any ill success, resolutely sustaining the assault of *Baudine* and *Pouilliers*, who with a great number of Foot endeavoured to beat him from it; and though the fight endured with great ardour on both sides an hour longer than at the other quarter which the Admiral attempted, yet it ended with little blood, for there were not killed in all above 120 men.

This was the first day in which *Henry* Prince of *Navarre* hazarded himself in the War; for though he was carefully brought up by his Mother in all Warlike Exercises that were used amongst us, as Riding and Handling his Arms, yet till that day he never was present in any real occasion; but then charging in the Front of his men, he shewed such a noble courage and boldness, which was so much the more remarkable, because danger at first seems most terrible, that he gave sufficient testimony of such a Vertue as was likely to fill the World with the renown of his Actions.

The business being thus ended, the Princes and the Admiral, that they might the more streighten the Catholicks, resolving to encamp in the same place where they had fought, judging that by reason of the narrowness of the quarters the Kings Horse must necessarily be reduced to great extremity: but within a few days they found how prejudicial that resolution proved; for by the means of *Limoges* which lay behind him,

1562.

The Hugonots
for want of
provision are
forced to rise
from before
the Catholicks

the Duke of *Anjou* was abundantly furnished with victuals; which they could no way prevent; but in their Camp the barrenness of the Country, and the power of the Catholicks over the adjacent Towns, caused such a dearth of all provisions, that they were forced to rise, and marching towards *Perigord* to seek a more fertile Soil, whereby to satisfy the greedy appetites of so many Germans, who being led on by the hopes of plenty and rich booty, found want of food and lying in the field so much the more insupportable.

About this time the Queen-Mother came to the Duke of *Anjou's* Camp, accompanied by the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Lorain*, to consult and resolve how to manage the War: for not only in the Kings Council, but much more in the Army the Commanders were of divers opinions; some paralleling the Kings Forces with the Hugonots, thought it most expedient presently to come to a Battel, believing that the old bands (so they call the Kings standing Regiments) and the firm Battalion of the Swisses, by so many actions already become terrible to the Enemy, could not receive the least opposition by the Hugonots new-raised men, and that the Catholick Horse consisting of the Flour of all the Nobility in the Kingdom, would easily master the Squadrons of the Reiters, (so they call the German Horse) which besides the Officers and some few Gentlemen, are made up of people taken out of Stables, and such like mean drudges, very improper to bear Arms: Wherefore they concluded, That in a few hours they might deliver *France* from the infinite distractions and calamities of War, and with one blow suppress the obstinate perverseness of the Hugonots; whereas keeping things with wary counsels and slow resolutions from coming to an issue, the People were consumed, the Nobility destroyed, the Kings Revenues brought to nothing, and the Country ruined, with a general desolation over the whole Kingdom; still giving time and opportunity to the Enemy by his industry to gain advantages, besides the evident danger, if a new supply came out of *Germany*, as it was already reported, That the Kings Army being weary and decayed with a continual War, would at length remain a prey to the force of the Enemy.

Others thought it a rash precipitate counsel, to hazard a Kingdom upon the uncertain event of a Battel, against an Enemy that had not any thing to venture; for all the Germans fortune consisted in their Arms and that little Baggage they carried with them; and the Hugonots could lose nothing, but what they had taken and usurped from the Crown: wherefore it was too visible a danger to fight without any hope of gain against a desperate multitude; that more solid secure resolutions ought to be taken, and by prolonging the War suffer the German Forces to consume away of themselves, as they always use to do; for being brought into a climate so contrary to that where they were born, when the heats of Summer came, and Grapes were ripe, of which they are exceeding greedy, sickness would without doubt enter amongst them, by which their Army would remain, if not absolutely defeated, at least notably diminished and weakened; that if the Heads of the Hugonots determined, as it was likely they would, to attempt the principal Towns held by the Catholicks, they would be sure in assaults and skirmishes to lose their best men, which was a certain way to ruine them; that though time, want of money, scarcity of victuals, and the unhealthfulness of the season did not utterly destroy the Hugonots, yet it was a much safer counsel, when the Kings Army had rested, to return again with fresh men and a greater strength to the trial of a Battel against a body languishing and decayed with long continual labour; which now on the contrary, by reason of the fresh supplies, was very powerful and vigorous: that for the present year they needed not apprehend the coming of more Germans, who it was known had not yet made any Levies; and therefore they ought not through a vain fear to precipitate those resolutions, which being managed with prudence and moderation, might bring the business to a certain issue, and a happy end.

This opinion, as most secure, at length prevailed, especially with the Queen, who in her nature and judgment was disposed to follow these counsels which were furthest out of the power of fortune, and which might be effected with least danger or blood, being wont to say, That members, though never so putrified, use not to be cut off without extream necessity; and whensoever they are cut off, the body not only suffereth sharp pains, but a dangerous debilitation, and too great a defect: Wherefore in her heart she was always inclined to favour those resolutions, which suppressing the Heads of the Hugonots, might cure the madness of the people,
and

and preserve the welfare of the Crown; for which reasons she abhorred the trial of a Battel, by which (besides the uncertainty of the event) the body and strength of the Kingdom would remain exceedingly weakened. 1569.

This determination being approved and concluded of by the King, the Duke of Anjou (after he had placed sufficient Garisons in the Towns that lay next to the Hugonots) dismissed the Nobility, and divided the rest of the Army into a fruitful convenient Country, with a command, That by the first of October next they should all return to their Colours, purposing then to re-unite his forces, and to proceed according as the occasions should require; and he himself with a small train of Lords and Officers, (that he might be near, if any accident should happen) went to Loches, a strong place upon the Confines of *Touraine*.

The Duke dismissed the Nobility of his Army, sends the rest into Garison, and goeth himself to Loches.

The End of the Fourth BOOK.

THE

1569.

of Cavalry in a Village called *Marne*, and finding them in disorder and unprepared, as they were about to take up their lodging, with small trouble killed a great number, and dispersed the rest; and afterwards in his return meeting *Briquemant* with 200 Reiters, and divers French Horse, he charged them so boldly, that at the first encounter, they all ran away, leaving above forty of their men dead upon the place; wherefore the Admiral necessitated to hinder such unwelcome sallies, caused Colonel *Blacon* with 2000 Foot, to lie in the ruins of the Suburb, and with Fortifications and Trenches to make his approaches so near to the gate, that they played upon one another continually with Musket-shot; but nevertheless Colonel *Onanc* who had left *St. Maixent* as a place too weak to be held, with only 600 Foot but chosen men, marched nine leagues in six hours, and arriving at the beat of the *Reveille*, passed happily through all the works they had made, and in spite of the opposition of *Blacon* and all his men, entered through the same gate of the Trench, to strengthen the Garrison of *Poitiers*.

But the siege being laid and settled, the first days were spent in sharp skirmishes, of which though the event were divers, according to the variety of fortune, yet the Hugonot Army was exceedingly endamaged by them: for besides the loss of their stoutest Souldiers, whereof very many were killed, they were likewise hindered in their works, which nevertheless by the diligence of Monsieur *de Genlis* General of the Artillery, still went on, who making his approaches in divers places, raised a battery, where he planted fourteen Cannon besides divers small pieces, which being at last brought to perfection, though with much difficulty, because the whole Camp was perpetually molested with shot from the City; upon the first of *August* they began to batter, and in three days made a breach in the Ravelin, and brake down the Tower, which joining to the port of *St. Cyprian*, guarded and flanked the entrance on that side; but the bottom of the Tower being filled with earth, so that notwithstanding the upper parts of it were fallen, it still defended it self: the fourth day it was assaulted in vain, being resolutely maintained by Colonel *de l'Isle* with his French Foot, which the Admiral perceiving, and that the attempt of that gate proved more difficult than was expected, he turned his Cannon on the other side, and the fifth day began to batter the Curtine, which lying along the River, reacheth to a place commonly called the *Abbeſſes meadow*: for though the water which ran between his Trenches and the Town-walls were some hinderance to him; yet he knew the works were much weaker there than in other places, because the Engineers thinking it was enough secured by the River, had been more careless in fortifying thereabouts: by the tenth of *August*, (which was the Feast of *St. Lawrence*) the Artillery had made so large a breach as might very commodiously be assaulted, and the bridge by which one might easily pass the River, was already cast over; when the Admiral causing the breach to be viewed, and being informed that there were Casemats, and works very well contrived, to make it good on the inside, besides that by the advice of the Count *de Lude*, four Troops of Lancers were sallied out of the gates to fall upon the assailants at the same instant, when they had passed the bridge, and were in that open plain space between the Wall and the River, not willing to send his men into so manifest danger without hope of success, gave out that by reason of the weakness of the bridge, which perchance might break, he would not run so evident an hazard of drowning his Souldiers; whereupon they retreating to their Quarters, who all were ready for the assault, he gave command for the making of another bridge, which might not only serve to pass over the assailants in better order and more security, but also some number of Horse, to make Head against the Cavalry of the City. But the night following *Biagio Capizuchi*, a Roman Gentleman under *Paulo Sforza*, with two companions, all excellent Swimmers and good Divers, (whilst the Enemy was amused by frequent alarms, and the Cannon, besides a party sent out with Monsieur *de Fervaques*) swam under the bridge, and cut the ropes that held it together, so that on a suddain, before the Hugonots were aware, it was utterly loosed, and carried away with the stream; and whilst it was repairing, the Defendants had leisure to fortify themselves within the breach; in which business the Duke of *Guise* himself took great pains, carrying the earth upon his own shoulders, whose example generally moved no less the women than the men to further the work, by which means in a very short space they raised a breast-work stronger and thicker than the first.

But

under the command of the Marechal de Cossé, a slow man, and not desirous to ruine the Hugonots: They meet in Burgogne, but the Princes shun the Battel; a Treaty of agreement is begun, and in the end concluded at the Court. The Princes and the Admiral retire to Rochel; the King endeavours to beget an assurance in them, and for that cause offers to give his Sister the Lady Margaret in Marriage to the Prince of Navarre, and to make War with the Spaniard in Flanders; the Match is concluded, and they come all to Court: The Queen of Navarre is poisoned, after her death the Marriage is celebrated, amidst the triumphs whereof the Admiral is shot in the Arm: The King resolves to prosecute and free himself of the Hugonots; upon St. Bartholomews-Eve at night the Admiral and all the rest of them are Massacred in Paris, and many other Cities of the Kingdom: The King attempts to surprize Rochel, and Montauban, but neither design takes effect; many Treaties pass to bring the Rochellers to subjection, but they resolving to defend themselves, the Duke of Anjou draws his Army together, and besiegeth them with all his Forces: They hold out many months, till the Duke of Anjou being Elected King of Poland, condescends to grant them very good conditions, with which they in appearance return unto the Kings Obedience. The King of Poland departs: The Duke of Alencon his next Brother pretends to succeed him in all his Dignities; is repulsed, whereat being discontented, he applies his mind to new designs. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, the House of Momorancy, and the Hugonots unite themselves with him, and plot a Conspiracy; which being discovered, the Duke de Alencon, the King of Navarre, and many others are imprisoned; the Prince of Conde escapes into Germany: The King falling into a dangerous sickness, commits the troubles of the Kingdom unto his Mothers care: Armies are raised in Poitou, Languedoc and Normandy, where the Count de Montgomery coming out of England, lands, and takes many places: Monsieur de Matignon goes against, defeats, besieges, and takes him; he is brought to Paris, condemned and executed. King Charles having declared his Mother Regent, yields under the burthen of his disease, and departs this Life in the flower of his Age.

1569.



H E Duke of Anjou's resolution to dissolve his Army for a time, and draw into Garisons, put the Hugonots affairs into a very hard condition; for having such a multitude of men, and so little means to nourish and maintain them, which way soever they turned their thoughts, they met with exceeding great difficulties. To pass the River of Loire, as many advised, and to endeavour the subduing of the largest and most spacious Provinces of the Kingdom, and even Paris it self, the Seat and Basis of the Catholick party; though it represented hopes, by cutting the sinews of the contrary Faction, to end the War victoriously; and though visibly it administred occasion to rob and plunder, (the only end of the Germans, and the only way to keep them together;) yet in effect it appeared a design full of danger, and uncertainty, for putting themselves (without money, ammunition, good store of Cannon, order for Victuals, and which imported most without any Town, or strong place whither they might upon any occasion retreat, and defend themselves) into the middle of an Enemies Country; they saw plainly, that any the least sinister incounter, or light impediment that crossed their attempts, was enough absolutely to ruine and destroy them; nor were the hopes of gain or success such as could counterpoize this danger; for the principal Towns were strongly guarded, and the Kings Army being rather divided, than dissolved, was easily to be re-united upon any occasion, and capable to drive them into great streights, if rashly they engaged themselves amongst the Enemies Forces; without conveniency to retire, or provide against necessities, which would be likely daily to grow upon them.

On

1569. of Cavalry in a Village called *Marne*, and finding them in disorder and unprepared, as they were about to take up their lodging, with small trouble killed a great number, and dispersed the rest; and afterwards in his return meeting *Briquemaux* with 200 Reiters, and divers French Horse, he charged them so boldly, that at the first encounter, they all ran away, leaving above forty of their men dead upon the place; wherefore the Admiral necessitated to hinder such unwelcome sallies, caused Colonel *Blacon* with 2000 Foot, to lie in the ruins of the Suburb, and with Fortifications and Trenches to make his approaches so near to the gate, that they played upon one another continually with Musket-shot; but nevertheless Colonel *Onoux* who had left *St. Maixent* as a place too weak to be held, with only 600 Foot but chosen men, marched nine leagues in six hours, and arriving at the beat of the *Reveille*, passed happily through all the works they had made, and in spite of the opposition of *Blacon* and all his men, entred through the same gate of the Trench, to strengthen the Garrison of *Poitiers*.

But the siege being laid and settled, the first days were spent in sharp skirmishes, of which though the event were divers, according to the variety of fortune, yet the Hugonot Army was exceedingly endamaged by them: for besides the loss of their stoutest Souldiers, whereof very many were killed, they were likewise hindered in their works, which nevertheless by the diligence of Monsieur *de Genlis* General of the Artillery, still went on; who making his approaches in divers places, raised a battery, where he planted fourteen Cannon besides divers small pieces, which being at last brought to perfection, though with much difficulty, because the whole Camp was perpetually molested with shot from the City; upon the first of *August* they began to batter, and in three days made a breach in the Ravelin, and brake down the Tower, which joining to the port of *St. Cyprian*, guarded and flanked the enterance on that side; but the bottom of the Tower being filled with earth, so that notwithstanding the upper parts of it were fallen, it still defended it self: the fourth day it was assaulted in vain, being resolutely maintained by Colonel *de l'Isle* with his French Foot, which the Admiral perceiving, and that the attempt of that gate proved more difficult than was expected, he turned his Cannon on the other side, and the fifth day began to batter the Curtine, which lying along the River, reacheth to a place commonly called the Abbesses meadow: for though the water which ran between his Trenches and the Town-walls were some hinderance to him; yet he knew the works were much weaker there than in other places, because the Engineers thinking it was enough secured by the River, had been more careless in fortifying thereabouts: by the tenth of *August*, (which was the Feast of *St. Lawrence*) the Artillery had made so large a breach as might very commodiously be assaulted, and the bridge by which one might easily pass the River, was already cast over; when the Admiral causing the breach to be viewed, and being informed that there were Casemats, and works very well contrived, to make it good on the inside, besides that by the advice of the Count *de Lude*, four Troops of Lancers were sallied out of the gates to fall upon the assailants at the same instant, when they had passed the bridge, and were in that open plain space between the Wall and the River, not willing to send his men into so manifest danger without hope of success, gave out that by reason of the weakness of the bridge, which perchance might break, he would not run so evident an hazard of drowning his Souldiers; whereupon they retreating to their Quarters, who all were ready for the assault, he gave command for the making of another bridge, which might not only serve to pass over the assailants in better order and more security, but also some number of Horse, to make Head against the Cavalry of the City. But the night following *Biagio Capizucchi*, a Roman Gentleman under *Paula Sforza*, with two companions, all excellent Swimmers and good Divers, (whilst the Enemy was amused by frequent alarms, and the Cannon, besides a party sent out with Monsieur *de Fervaques*) swam under the bridge, and cut the ropes that held it together, so that on a suddain, before the Hugonots were aware, it was utterly loosed, and carried away with the stream; and whilst it was repairing, the Defendants had leisure to fortifie themselves within the breach; in which business the Duke of *Guise* himself took great pains, carrying the earth upon his own shoulders, whose example generally moved no less the women than the men to further the work, by which means in a very short space they raised a breast-work stronger and thicker than the first.

But

But the Admiral re-inforcing his battery with great violence, and causing three bridges to be made, all stronger than the first, upon the eighteenth day gave a terrible assault to the Wall, and they were already, though with much blood, masters of the breach, when they discovered a Cavalier raised within the Covent of the Carmelites, from whence many small pieces of Artillery plaid, which lighting upon the place, that was possessed by the Hugonots, before they could sufficiently shelter themselves, they were forced within a little while to forsake it, leaving dead upon the place Monsieur de Mondaulph, a man of great account amongst them, with seven Captains and many Foot-Souldiers; besides an infinite number that were wounded, amongst which Monsieur de la Nove received a Musket-shot in his left arm; and the Baron de Conforaine another in the right thigh, of which hurts it was very long before they could be cured: nor did the Defendants scape without loss, there being killed that day Monsieur Biglie of a very noble Family, and Antonio Serafone a Roman, who with great praises of valour and industry, was imployed in the Office of an Engineer.

They continued shooting all the next day, and the sooner to make an end of the business, brought eight Culverins more to the battery, by which means the Ramparts of the City were in a few days made wholly indefensible: but the industry of the besieged found a remedy against so imminent a danger; for having stopped the course of the River on the lower side, near the Tower of Rocherenil with banks and piles of wood, they made the waters swell to such a height, that the under part being left almost dry, they drowned all the Abasses meadow, and overflowed the very breach in the Wall, so that the Hugonots could not possibly come to assault it; upon which occasion the Admiral being forced to take a new resolution, commanded the battery to be removed lower; to play upon, and take the Tower of Rocherenil, below which the Catholicks had made their dam, that so being masters of that place, they might free the course of the River, and take away from them the so useful defence of the water. To this purpose the Cannon having beaten down above sixty yards of the Wall, upon the 24 day they gave a general onset at the Tower of Rocherenil, and the Curtine joining to it; Piles fell on first, seconded by Briquemant, and at last by the German Infantry, where no less the Commanders and Voluntiers, than the common Souldiers, fought on all sides with singular valour and constant resolution; the gallantry of the Duke of Guise appearing most clearly in this action, by whose Squadron the Enemy was in the end beaten off, and driven back with great loss, they having with no small difficulty brought off Piles, who was extreemly wounded, and almost half dead; though afterwards being cured, he recovered his former health and vigour: yet all this ill success abated not the courage of the Hugonots; but continuing with great obstinacy to batter the work which the Defendants had cast up behind the breach, they resolved to give it an unexpected assault about midnight, thinking to surprize the Catholicks either asleep, or at least in confusion, and unprovided; but being come to the place, they found (contrary to their expectation) the Defendants in so good order, and so ready to receive them, that without any more ado they gave over the attempt, being bravely followed by the Italian Foot, who sallying through the same breach, pursued them into their very Trenches, doing great execution upon them, by reason of the difficulty and narrowness of their retreat.

But in the midst of so many sufferings, the excessive heats of Summer began to cause the usual sickness of that season; of which there died not only many of their common Souldiers, and particularly of the Germans, but the principal Officers of the Army were likewise grievously infected with it, amongst which the Count de la Roch-foucault had left the Camp to be cured, and Messieurs de Briquemant and de la Noelle were retired to Niort with small hope of life, for which cause the Princes with no other train but their own families, resolved to go to St. Maixent, and by change of air to avoid the malignant Fever that was so mortal in the Camp, leaving the Admiral almost alone to command the Army, who worn out with continual toil and watching, fell sick at last of the Flux; yet though he was exceedingly spent and weakened with the Disease, the vigour of his mind was not at all diminished, but he persisted with the same ardour to prosecute the end of his design; for conclusion whereof he commanded the assault to be given in many places upon the second day of September, causing the French and German Infantry to fall on severally, that the emulation of one another might animate them to fight with a greater courage and resolution: the assault lasted most part of the day, the violence of the Enemies being resisted by the Duke of Guise

1569.

A great mortality in the Hugonot Army. The Admiral sick-neth, yet desisteth not from the siege of Poitiers.

1569. on one side, and on the other by the Count *de Lude*, with so much valour and gallantry, that the Hugonots being beaten, not only by the Cannon and small shot, but with stones, pikes and fireworks in great abundance, they were in the end forced precipitately to quit the wall, leaving dead and wounded above seven hundred upon the place; amongst which Monsieur *de S. Vane* Brother to *Briquemaux*, and who commanded his men, was killed with a granado.

But this Victory gave little comfort to the besieged; for being by the death of Monsieur *d' Onoux*, Colonel *Passac*, and many other valiant men reduced to a small number in respect of the greatness of the place, and their horses for want of meat being brought to extream weakness, they could not find the ardour and perseverance of the Hugonots at all abated; wherefore with frequent letters and many messages they solicited for the relief which the Duke of *Anjou* had promised them within a few days.

The Duke re-uniting the Army sooner than was intended at the dividing of it, had drawn his forces together at the beginning of *September*, resolving rather to try the fortune of a day, than to suffer *Poitiers* to be taken, with so many of the Nobility, and the Duke of *Guise* himself, who was at that time very much beloved by him: wherefore he marched away from *Loches*, and sat down before *Chastel-rault*, assuring himself, that the Hugonots to succour that place, where a great number of their sick men lay, would leave the siege of *Poitiers*, about which they might easily perceive, they should but tire themselves in vain, it being favoured by so great, and so near a power. Nor was the event different from the Dukes design; for the Admiral having by the failing of his last enterprise lost all hopes of taking the Town, and seeking some plausible occasion to leave it, as soon as he had intelligence that the Army moved, he resolved to raise the siege; and drawing off his Artillery, upon the 15 of *September* marched with all his forces towards *Chastel-rault*: and on the same day the Count *de Sanze*, and *Pietro Paulo Tofinghi* entered *Poitiers* with 300 French Horse, and 800 Italian Foot, and supplies of money and victuals, whereby the City was at once freed from the siege, and opportunely furnished with necessary provisions. Thus ended the siege of *Poitiers*; in which, as the Princes Army diminished both in strength and hopes, by the loss of 3000 men, and two months of the Summer; so the Duke of *Guise* came out of it with so great applause and reputation, that all the Catholick party began to turn their eyes upon him as a Pillar of the Roman Religion, and a Worthy Successor to his Fathers Power.

After many assaults bravely sustained, the Admiral quits the siege, and goes to relieve *Chastel-rault*.

The Duke of *Guise*, who had sustained the siege, gets great reputation.

The success of the Kings forces at the siege of *la Charite* was not unlike to that of the Hugonots at *Poitiers* at the same time; for the Duke of *Anjou* purposing utterly to cut off the passage of the *Loire* from the Army of the Princes, and to take away all hopes from them of oppressing those Provinces which are on this side the River, had given commission to Monsieur *de Sansac* to gather the forces of *Beauvais*, *Nivernois*, *Bourbonois*, and part of *Burgundy*, and to besiege *la Charite*, which had before been taken by the Germans in their passage, and was the only place upon the River in possession of the Hugonots: but so firm was the resolution of the Souldiers, and so constant the courage of the Towns-men, commanded by Monsieur *de Guerchy*, Cornet of the Admirals own company of *Gens d' Arms*, that sustaining all the assaults and attempts of the Catholicks, they finally constrained Monsieur *de Sansac* to give it over, having in the siege lost many Gentlemen, and no inconsiderable number of Souldiers.

The Catholicks besiege *la Charite*, which being stoutly defended, they give it over.

In the mean time the affairs of both Factions were prosecuted in *Bearn*, whither the Prince of *Navarre*, solicitous to preserve his own patrimony, had sent the Count of *Montgomery* to oppose Messieurs *de Montluc* and *de Terride*, the first of which possessed the Confines of the Province, and the other with a great power battered *Navarines*, the only place that after many losses and troubles of the Country remained in the power of the Hugonots: but in conclusion, whatsoever the fault was, (for the Commanders laid it upon one another) the business went very prosperously for the Prince of *Navarre*; for Monsieur *de Terride* being risen from before *Navarines*, was in his retreat fought withal, surrounded, and taken prisoner; and Monsieur *de Montluc* not being able, or not coming time enough to help him, was fain to retire into *Gascony*; so that all the Country began to submit to the devotion of *Montgomery*, who using strange unaccustomed cruelties, had with terrour constrained even those places that were best manned, and most strongly fortified to yield themselves up into his hands.

In the interim, the Duke of *Anjou*, who because he was not yet strong enough to raise the siege of *Poitiers*, had encamped before *Chastel-rault*, to obtain the same effect by

by that diversion, conceived some hopes of taking the place, and persisted in battering it with much violence; but the issue proved very contrary; for when there was a sufficient breach in the wall, he made the Italian Infantry to fall on, who putting themselves forward by reason of their emulation with the French, possessed themselves at first very prosperously of the breach, but with more rashness and fury than discretion; for being plaid upon with great execution both in the front and flank by the Artillery planted opportunely upon the ramparts that were cast up within, which they had not (as according to the Rules of War they ought) been careful to discover; after they had fought in vain above three hours, they retired to their trenches with the loss of above 250 men, amongst whom were *Fabiano del Monte*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers.

1569.

Fab. del Monte
Head of the
Tuscan forces
killed before
Chastel-rault.

The next day their thoughts of assaulting the Town were changed into those of marching away: for the Admiral, with all his Army, desirous to recover the time, and recompence the losses he had received at *Poitiers*, had in three several quarters possessed himself of the Suburbs on the other side *Chastel-rault*, opposite to the place where the Catholick Army lay, and resolved by any means to try his fortune, if he could do it without disadvantage; for which cause the Duke of *Anjou* knowing himself much inferiour in strength, the Nobility not being yet joined with him, nor many Companies of Foot which were too far from the Army, thought it best to retire; and therefore took the opportunity to do it at the same time that the Admirals Souldiers (being quartered to refresh themselves after their march, in one of the Suburbs of the Town, that lay beyond the River *Vienna*) were either securely sleeping, or making provision of victuals and lodging; it not being probable, the day being so far spent, that either side would change their quarter that night. So taking the opportunity of the time, the Duke caused his Artillery to be drawn off with good order, but incredible expedition; and having sent them before with all his baggage, some two hours after, it being about Sun-set, he marched without noise away, neither the Admiral, nor any of his party at all perceiving it, till the last Squadrons were moving, who made good the retreat, being led by *Monsieur de Chavigny*, *Monsieur de la Varette*, and the Count *di Santa Fiore*. At that time it being far in the night, the Hugonot Army was at rest in their quarters, or else scattered up and down; therefore the Admiral seeing his men weary, dispersed, and unfit for the pursuit, thought it not best rashly to follow the Catholick Army, which being many hours before him, retired quietly without any disorder or confusion. Thus the Duke of *Anjou* not being followed nor molested by the Enemies, the same night passed the River *Creuse* at *Porte de Piles*, four leagues from *Chastel-rault*, and the next morning having left the bridge sufficiently guarded on both sides of the River, he drew his Army to *Selle*, a very strong and well-fortified quarter.

The Catho-
licks raise the
siege from be-
fore *Chastel-
rault*.

At break of day the Admiral marched after the Catholicks; and being come to *Porte de Piles*, he sent forth *Monsieur de Soubise*, with a party well-horsed, to discover the state of the Enemy; who having routed and put to flight many scattered Souldiers that were cast behind the Army, fell on, hotly skirmishing even to the very Turn-pike of the Bridge; the Infantry seconding him resolutely, assaulted the barricadoes of the Catholicks, using their uttermost endeavour to drive away the guard, and to gain that pass; but notwithstanding the redoubled onsets, made with exceeding courage by the most valiant Commanders of the Hugonots, *la Valet*, and *Paulo Sforza* with the French light Horse, and the Italian Foot defended the Bridge, and being helped by the strong situation of it, beat off the Enemy with much loss, and frustrated all their attempts: whereupon the Admiral giving over that design, made a soord to be sought for in some other place, which being easily found by reason of the shallowness of the water, he passed over the next day four leagues below *Piles*, and came so near to the quarter of the Duke of *Anjou*, that he hoped to force him to give battle: but seeing that the Duke, containing himself within his trenches, was very well stored with victual, because all the Country behind him were his friends; and that on the other side his Army suffered great scarcity, being forced to make his provisions afar off, because two Rivers were between him and the Country that was well-affected to him; he despairing to force the Catholicks to fight against their will, resolved the third day to retire; and having passed the two Rivers of *Creuse* and *Vienna*, marched to *Faye la Vineuse*, and lodged his Army in the neighbouring Villages to refresh his men after so much toil and sufferance; who being all (especially the Germans) im-
patient,

1569. they were in so great disorder : for which purpose he commanded *Muy* to sustain the shock of the Catholick Van-guard , and in the mean time he with all the rest of the Army passed the Moor, though with no small difficulty and confusion.

In this interim , the Duke of *Montpensier* marching in very good order , to try all ways possible to provoke them to fight , commanded his light Horse boldly to begin the skirmish, which at first was stoutly received, and courageously opposed by *Monsieur de Muy*, one of the most valiant Souldiers in all *France* : but *Martiques* coming up, whose valour was always wont to lead the way in the most desperate occasions, the Hugonots were charged with such fury, that not being able to resist so much a greater number, *Muy* having lost fifty Horse, and above two hundred Foot, took flight as fast as he could, and passing hastily over the water, joined himself orderly with the rest of their Forces. But the Duke of *Montpensier* who had pursued him even to the water, when he saw all their Army drawn into Battalia on the other side, made a stop, and considering that he could not pass his men over in a full body, but only twenty in Front, which would have caused a great disorder amongst them, he took time (coldly skirmishing) to send word to the Duke of *Anjou*, and to expect his Orders for what he should do in that occasion.

The Admiral seeing the coolness of the Catholicks, and how they delayed to pass the water, believed for certain that the body of the Army was still a great way behind; and that *Montpensier* with only that small party, had advanced unadvisedly further than he should have done: whereupon not to lose that opportunity, taking courage, and bravely animating his Souldiers, he repassed the water, with two gallant Squadrons of *Gens d'Arms*, and charged the Cavalry of *Martiques* so resolutely, that they retreated above two hundred paces, but the body of the Army coming up on every side, he was forced to return in disorder, and to recover the shelter of two strong Squadrons of Infantry that were upon the bank; in which place the valour of *Monsieur de Clairmont* of *Ambois* was very remarkable, who sick, and unarmed with only twenty Horse, opposed the fury of the Catholicks, till the Admiral was gotten under the protection of his Squadrons.

But the Duke of *Anjou* knowing it was too difficult and dangerous to pass over in the face of the Enemy, resolved, (the ground favouring his purpose) to try if he could drive them away with his Cannon, and make them quit the other side of the water, and that place of so much advantage whereof they were possessed. Wherefore *Monsieur de Byron* Field-Marshal, having caused the Artillery to be drawn thither, with great expedition and much judgment planted all the Cannon and Culverins, which were 22 in number, partly on the right hand, partly on the left of the bottoms of those hills that were within shot of the Hugonot Army; and began to let flie very terribly at their flank, doing infinite execution upon those Squadrons which stood in Battalia at the entry of the Moor, that was on the other side the water. Yet the French and German Infantry being in a low place, and commanded by their Officers to lie flat on the ground, could not so easily be annoyed: but the Cavalry lying open to the shot, could hardly be kept in order, sending many Messengers to desire they might be drawn from thence, where they perished miserably without being able to give any testimony of their courage and valour. But the Admiral would not consent that they should remove, for fear of leaving the passage free to the Catholicks, which would after force them, their Army being weary and half disheartened, to fight in the plain champagne; therefore, whilst the service continued thus hot at the pass, the Catholicks Artillery still playing without intermission, the German Horse, who stood more open to the shot than any of the rest, (*Charles* Count of *Mansfield*, Brother to the General, being killed there, with many others) were about to retire, and quitting the post they held upon the right hand, began to leave the passage open to the Enemies: but the Prince of *Navarre* spurring his horse up to them, and putting himself in the same danger of the Cannon, prevailed so far by his presence and persuasions, that he made them stay for a while, and constantly to expect the beginning of the Battel; wherein appeared the powerful Genius of this young Prince, the respect of whom was able to bridle fear, which hath no Law, and to stop the flight of the precipitate Germans, that are so obstinate in their resolutions. But no remedy in the world could have done much good, for the Enemies Cannon would at last have routed and broken all their Army, if the coming of the night had not opportunely relieved the Hugonots in so great an extremity.

The

1569.

The darkness ended the skirmish that had been in the plain, and the Catholicks not being able to level their Artillery aright, plaid not so fast, finding they shot but in vain, and wounded the Air to no purpose; which the Admiral wisely making use of, began about nine of the Clock at night to retire without Drum or Trumpet; and before it was day had passed the River with his whole Army, and drawn it up in the plain of *Moncontour*; his purpose was, continuing in the same determination, to retreat with all speed, and marching on to get as far as possibly he could from the Catholick Camp, and from the danger of the day. But this resolution was not only opposed by the Commanders and Gentlemen of his own Nation, but far more mutinuously by Count *Volrade* with his Germans, who breaking forth into seditious speeches threatned, That if there were not an end made of so many miseries, they would leave the Princes and go over to the Kings party, being sure to be received with very good conditions: by which mutiny, the French Infantry being also stirred up, (as men are more ready to follow ill examples, than to be kept within the limits of reason) exclaiming and threatning cried out to give Battel: nor did many of the Officers dissent from the general desire of the Army, thinking it impossible to go forward, and not be cut off; the Enemy at their backs following with all speed, resolved to fall upon them; and their own Souldiers tired, wearied out, and frighted with the terrour of a retreat, which resembleth a flight useth to dishearten an Army, and to abate the courage and boldness of raw men, believed it was much better to make use of the readiness of their Souldiers, and give Battel in the field with hope of Victory, than fighting disorderly in their retreat, expect to be miserably defeated and scattered. Wherefore the Admiral, and the Princes, not being able to withstand the general opinion, resolved to stay for the Catholick Camp on the bank of the River, and there with the best advantage they could to remit the success to fortune.

The Admiral divided his Army into three Battalions, and he (according to his custom) commanded the Van-guard; the Princes with Count *Lodowick of Nassau* the Battel, Count *Volrade* and *May* the Rear; the Cannon were planted in the Front of the Army, and before all was the Forelorn-hope, which when the Enemies drew near, were to begin the Battel.

In the mean while the Duke of *Anjou* having passed the water which the Hugonots had left, on the first day of *October* in the morning, advanced with a greater desire than ever to fight with them; but finding the hinderance of the River, (on the further side whereof the Enemy stood in Battalia) he was fain to make a halt, because the night was drawing on, and quartered that night in the same place where the Hugonots were encamped the day before. The next day desirous to free himself from the danger of passing the River (though but a little one) in the face of the Enemy, having made very diligent discovery of all the Country, he took a large compass upon the right hand, and passed the night before the third of *October* at a place called *la Grimaudiere*, where the River not being yet joined with another Brook that fell into it, was not at all troublesome either to Horse or Foot, there being neither water enough to wet one to the mid-leg, nor banks that could hinder the marching, nor order of his divisions. As soon as they were passed over without any let or impediment, Monsieur *de Byron*, and the Count *de Tavannes*, Marshalls of the Field, divided the whole Army into two Battalions, whereof one was led by the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Count *de Sunkin Fiore*; the other by the Duke of *Anjou* himself, with whom were the Dukes of *Angoulême* and *Longueville*, the Marshal *de Cossé*, the Marquis *de Villars*, (by the King made Admiral in the place of *Coligny*) *Peter Ernest of Mansfield* sent with the supplies by King *Philip*, the Marquis of *Budek*, Monsieur *de Carnavalet*, *Guillidame de Moinrancy* Lord of *Tore*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen. In each Battalion were Squadrons of Swisses, flanked with the French and Italian Infantry, and in the front of each wing was placed the Artillery. In this order having before them a large spacious champagne, without trees, banks or ditches to hinder them, the Catholick Army marched toward the Hugonots with a great noise of Drums and Trumpets.

But the Admiral, who in vain had tried again if he could persuade his Souldiers to retreat to *Hernant*, a place hard by, and proper to receive them; and seeing himself necessitated to fight, to confirm the courage of his men, moved softly toward the Enemy, and put himself in order to encounter them, without advantage of ground in the midst of the open field.

The Marquis de Villars made Admiral in the place of Coligny.

1569.

The Armies
join Battel.

The Princes having seen their Army drawn up by the Field-Marefshals, and with fitting speeches recommended the Religion and Liberty of them all to both Nations; when they saw every one ready to do his part, retired with their guard to a place something more remote behind the Camp, not to expose themselves in so tender an age, to the hazardous perils of War, leaving the weight of the Battel unto the wisdom and valour of their Commanders. The Sun was already two hours high when the two Armies facing one another, the Admirals Artillery began to play; which being presently answered from the Catholick Camp, they filled the whole field with terrour and slaughter: after which impetuous fury of so many Cannon; the men fell on with so much courage on both sides, that it was many hours uncertain which would remain victorious: for after the volleys of Muskets, and the shocks of their Lances, not only the Horse and Foot were mingled pell-mell in the heat of the Battel, but even the very Boys, Suttlers and Pioneers, and the rabble of other such like people that use to follow the Camp, fought stoutly and desperately each for their party; and in this universal fury, the number was so equal, that almost every one had a particular Enemy to deal withal. Nor were the Commanders in less danger than common Troopers and Souldiers; for the Duke of *Anjou* himself rushing into the thickest Squadron of the Enemy, (where the Marquess of *Baden* was killed by his side, and many other of those Gentlemen that fought under the Royal Standard) he was many times in danger to lose his life, the safety whereof he ought no less to attribute to his own valour, than to the courage and fidelity of his Souldiers; and on the other side, the Admiral (not sparing himself, but acting the part of a Souldier, as well as of a General) furiously encountered the *Rhinegrave*, (who in the Head of his Cavalry came up to charge him) and having from him received a Pistol-shot in the cheek which broke four of his teeth; he discharged his own in the very face of the *Rhinegrave*, and laid him dead upon the ground, nor ceased after to fight most gallantly, though the blood ran so fast from his wound, that it filled his Helmet and Gorget of Mail. But though the number, boldness and constancy of both parties were almost equal, yet their strength and valour were not; for the Squadrons of the Kings Swisses, famous by many and almost numberless proofs, and tried in so many other Battels; fighting with Enemies of less experience, that were wasted and tired out with their past wants and sufferings, did at last break into the Battalion of the Germans, whom they charged in the beginning of the day; and having routed and disordered their Ranks, made so great a slaughter of them, that of four thousand not above two hundred escaped alive; and the Kings Cavalry entire in strength, and full of courage, did in the end overthrow and scatter the Cavalry of the Hugonots, no less conquered by the weariness and weakness of their Horses, harraffed with long toil and duty, than by the force and valour of their Enemies.

The Admiral
wounded, flees
with the
Princes.

The Admiral seeing his Army defeated, his voice quite spent, his jaw wounded, and all imbrued in blood; took with him the Princes, (who had withdrawn themselves with the *Sieurs de May, Taligny* and *Lous*) and with three hundred Horse retired to *Partenay*, after whom many other stragglers followed in disorder. Count *Ladewick* of *Nassau*, and Count *Volrado* rallied about 2000 of their Reiters; and though they were pursued by the Duke of *Annaule* and Monsieur de *Byron*, they made their retreat without any disorder, and defending themselves bravely at every Pass of advantage, got that night to the same place. All the rest that fled from the fury of the Conquerours, dispersed several ways as their fortune guided them: some got to *Angoulême*, some to *Rochele*, and some followed the track of the Commanders. The Duke of *Anjou* after he had routed and put to flight the Enemies Cavalry, being come to the place where the Swisses had obtained so bloody a Victory of the Germans, commanded quarter to be given to three thousand of the French Infantry, who being encompassed on every side, had thrown down their Arms, and begged their lives of the Conquerours: then finding no more resistance any where, he took the Colours, Baggage and Cannon of the Enemy; and drawing his Army together, marched victoriously to Saint *Genex*.

The number of the slain on the Princes side, reckoning also the Boys and Suttlers, and such like hangers on, who all died fighting, were computed by the Catholicks to 17000: but those that more moderately counted only the Souldiers, guessed them to be about 10000, whereof few were persons of quality, especially of the French, because the chief Heads fled betimes for their own safety: the greatest slaughter falling upon

upon the Gascogne Foot and the Germans. Yet there were killed *Puygrefrier*, *Antricourt*, *Tannaquille*, *Byron* the Brother of *Armand* who was in the Catholick Army; *St. Bonnet* and *St. Cyre*, who in the eightieth year of his age fighting valiantly till the very last, had given wonderful proofs of his courage in the retreat. There was slain also 27 German Captains of Foot, of but 28 that were in the whole Army, besides two Colonels of the same Nation, above 70 French Captains of Foot, and two Colonels of Reiters, the other two saving themselves with the Count of *Nassau* in the Body that made the retreat. Monsieur *de la Noue* one of the Heads of the Faction, (whose ill fortune almost always left him in the Enemies hands) was there taken prisoner, besides Monsieur *d'Acier* General of the French Infantry, and Monsieur *de Blacon* Colonel of Fire-locks.

On the Kings side were killed few above four hundred; but among those, many principal Officers of the Army, especially strangers; *Philibert* Marquess of *Baden*, the Elder *Rhinegrave*, Monsieur *de Clairmont* one of the chief Gentlemen in *Daulphine*, Count *Francisco de Saffatello*, *Scipio Piccolomini* Lieutenant to *Otti de Montalto*, and many Foot-Captains. The Duke of *Guise*, *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfield*, the other *Rhinegrave*, and the Lords of *Schomberg* and *Bassompier* Germans, were wounded, but all cured in a short time after. They took about nine hundred load of victual, all the baggage of the Germans, eleven pieces of Cannon, and above two hundred Colours, whereof twenty six (taken by the Italians) were sent to *Rome* by the Count *di Sancta Fiore*, and in manner of a Trophy dedicated to the Church of *St. John de Lateran*. The News of this Victory was carried to the King and Queen-Mother by *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz* a Florentine, much favoured by them; whereat there was very great rejoycing: and the fame thereof spreading into the Neighbour Countries, particularly into *Italy*, filled the Duke of *Anjou's* Name with Glory and Renown; to whose Valour and Conduct, the chief honour of the day was attributed, having over-reached the so cried-up wisdom, and so feared policy of the Admiral.

The greatest part of the Commanders that escaped the defeat, got the same night to *Partenay*, whither the Princes and the Admiral were come before, who presently began to advise what was best to be done, in the difficulty and misfortune of their present affairs. The most part of them were quite disheartened by so many unhappy successes, and the terrour of this last overthrow, seeing their Army cut off, themselves shut up in a corner of the Kingdom, without money, forsaken by their friends, with very little hopes, and less reputation, and among their publick consultations, calling to mind their private interests, the distance of their own houses, the vast expences, dangers and disquiets wherein they were perpetually involved; many of them seemed to sink under the misery of their present condition, and were inclined to yield themselves to the Kings mercy, and by the best means they could procure pardon for what was past, which by the mild and gentle nature of the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, whose advice bore the chief sway in the Government, and by the desire of peace, they thought might easily be obtained, if with humble submission they should cast themselves altogether upon his Royal Clemency. But the Admiral not at all losing courage, though so wounded in the mouth that he could hardly speak, but rather exasperated by the severe sentence pronounced against him in Parliament, and hardened by the adversity of his present fortune, began to shew that things were not yet brought to so great extremity, that they should let fear transport them to so much despair; that they had lost other Battels before this, and always rose again to be more powerful, and more terrible to their Enemies; that he had learned by experience, that a War is not utterly lost for the miscarriage of a Battel, so that the courage fail not, in the constancy and vigour whereof consisteth the happy issue of all enterprizes; that though they had lost many of their men, yet the basis and foundation whereupon they built all the hopes of their party, was still firm and unshaken; that *Germany*, the unexhausted mine of men and arms, still persevered in unity and friendship with them; that *England* continued in the same confederacy, which would increase their supplies in measure as their need now required; that he held intelligence for the revolt and surprisal of many Cities in divers parts of the Kingdom, the loss of which would divide the forces, and much distract the designs of the Conquerors; that the Count of *Montgomery* in *Bearn* was grown great both in number and courage, with whom they might join in a few days; and that with his forces fresh and intire, it was easie to begin the foundation of a gallant and powerful Army: That therefore they should revive the undaunted courage

1569.

In the Battel of *Montmorancy*, the Catholicks took all the Baggage, Cannon and Ammunition of the Hugonots, and 200 colours.

The Count *St. Fiore* sends to *Rome* 26 Ensigns taken by his Soldiers.

1569. which they had shown in so many other occasions, and that they should believe his counsels; for in a few days he would re-establish their affairs in their former condition; that he promised no such new things, as for their strange improbability should hardly gain credit among them; but that he had an inward assurance he should be able to do the same for the present, which every one of them might remember they had so often seen him do in times past; and though they should gain nothing else by perseverance, and setting an Army again on foot, at least they might by that means facilitate the way to an agreement, and obtain the better conditions; which if they should rashly demand during the heat of this Victory, they would of necessity be forced to submit themselves to the insolent will of the Conquerours; whereas by deferring it, and bringing it opportunely to pass, they might (having a little patience) treat and conclude with advantage.

These words were hearkned to with great attention by the Prince of *Navarre*, who being already accustomed to command, could hardly bend his mind to stoop to the obedience of others. Nor did the Prince of *Conde* hear them with a less inclination, though of more tender years, yet no way inferior in either vigour or courage: Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, and *Votrade* of *Mansfield*, concurred with the Admiral; for they being strangers, had nothing there to lose, and therefore desired that the War should continue: These reasons so well fitted, agreed with the humour of many, who could not yet willingly quit their former hopes, nor did they displease the rest that wished for peace, hoping by standing out, to procure more reasonable conditions, and upon better terms to submit themselves to the Kings obedience: wherefore their drooping spirits being revived, and their first determination changed, all the Heads of the Faction with one accord resolved to follow the Princes with an unshaken constancy, and to let themselves be governed by the prudence of the Admiral: After which agreement they dispatched messengers the same night into *England* and *Germany*, to give an account of the Battel unto those Princes, and to demand new supplies of them; they gave notice to their Confederates in the several Provinces of all that had happened in the Battel; but at the same time comforted them with the like reasons, that they might not be disheartened; promising, that within three months they should have a greater and more powerful Army than the first: and then the Princes and the Admiral being withdrawn together, they determined to leave *Poitou*, (not having force enough to defend it against a victorious Enemy there present) and to hold themselves to the defence of a few places, keeping *Roche*, *St. Jean d'Angely*, and *Angouleme*, Towns which by reason of their strength they thought might easily be maintained, and they with the remainder of their Souldiers, resolved to quit the plains of those Provinces, and leaving their baggage behind them, retire into the Mountains of *Gascony*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, thereby to hinder the Conquerour from following them so easily. Their design was to unite themselves with the Count of *Montgomery*, whom fortune seemed to have purposely made ready to piece up and recruit their broken forces; and being once joined with him, they hoped to shelter themselves in those Mountainous Countries, till the Queen of *England* and the Germans had time to send them assistance, wherewith being re-inforced; they were confident they should be able to regain in a few days all that the Catholicks could take in many months in the depth of Winter, which makes the assaulting of Towns so much more difficult.

They had moreover some concealed hopes in the Marechal d'Anville, Governour of *Languedoc*, with whom they held secret intelligence, and found him very much inclined to their affairs: *Henry de Momerancy* Marechal d'Anville, whilst the Constable his Father lived, was always one of the chief of the Catholick Party, and an open Enemy to the Hugonot Faction, which was occasioned by his emulation of *Francis* Marechal of *Montmorancy* his Brother, who was an intimate friend to the Prince of *Conde* and Monsieur de *Coligny* his Kinsmen; and that which confirmed him in it, was the favour and esteem which he received from the *Guises*, who skilful in deep dissimulation, according as opportunity required, were diligent in trying all possible arts to hold him fast to their party, that by his means, as with the strictest bonds they might keep the Constable united to them, by whom, for his valour and greatness of mind, he was most tenderly beloved above his other children. The Queen-Mother feigned the same; for by the minority of her Son, finding her self necessitated to make the great ones her friends, she made use of the Marechal d'Anville to keep her in good correspondence with the Constable; after whose death those reasons being taken away,

away, neither did the Queen care to imploy *d'Anville*, nor did the *Guises* make such account of him; as they had done formerly; but rather as a branch of that Family, with which they had so long a continued enmity and emulation, they endeavoured to pull down and abase him; the arts and persuasions of the Cardinal of *Lorain* being sufficiently powerful with the King to that effect. For which cause *d'Anville* having observed in what manner they dealt with him, and likewise the emulation between him and his Brother *Momorancy* ceasing after his Fathers death, angry that the dignity of Constable so long enjoyed by his Father was not conferred upon one of them, they having sued and made means divers times to procure it; he began in heart to draw near to the friends and kindred of his own Family, and privately by secret, but doubtful hopes, to keep the Admiral in a good opinion of him. This was the reason that he relieved not Monsieur *de Terride* in *Bearn*, when he might have done it, and the same motive induced him to slacken his proceedings against those places of the Hugonots in *Gascony* and *Languedoc*; and this inclination was greatly increased in him by seeing that the Admiral was old, and continually exposed to manifest dangers; wherefore if he should chance to die before the Princes were out of their minority, he hoped to succeed him in the Government, finding in himself neither want of judgment nor courage to undergo the weight of that Employment. To all these considerations were added the jealousies which not without reason he had conceived long before, lest if the King and the *Guises* should come to extinguish the Princes, the Admiral, and all the Hugonot party, he should in the end turn to suppress the House of *Momorancy*, which would only be remaining of all the ancient emulous and suspected Families. All these things were well known to the wisdom of the Admiral, who moved by this hope and the other reasons formerly alledged, perswaded the Princes to follow his advice; so the resolution was settled to leave the plain, and retire among the Mountains bordering upon *Languedoc*, till such time as the supplies of their Confederates might give them a capacity of rising to a more prosperous condition.

But lest the Conquerours meeting with no opposition, should have opportunity to follow and overtake them in the march they were to make, with tired horses, and men wearied and discouraged, they agreed to leave Monsieur *de Muy* at *Niort*, who by delaying the fury of the Conquerours for a day or two, might give them leisure without any impediment to arrive at the places they had appointed; with this resolution, not trusting themselves to stay any longer at *Partenay*, they marched the same night very silently towards *Niort*, where leaving *Muy* with the small remainder of the Foot that had escaped the slaughter, and only an hundred Horse, they continued with the same speed their intended Voyage. But the constancy of the Princes and their Commanders, was greater than the patience of the Souldiers and French Gentlemen; who being got to such a distance from the Catholick Camp, that they were freed from fear of being overtaken, began secretly to disband; part, because pillage and plunder ceasing, they had no longer wherewithal to maintain themselves; part, because their horses were so tired and spoiled with a whole years tedious service, that they were not able to march so fast as the Princes; and part, because much dejected by their many losses and mishaps, they were utterly out of hope ever to buoy up their shipwrecked fortunes, or to restore the oppressed power of their party; and therefore to escape future dangers, some hid themselves in the Cities of *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, others avoiding the great high-ways, in disguised habits, and under many pretences, endeavoured to return to their own homes; so that before the Princes were come to *Rocheb*, they were reduced to few more than nine hundred French Horse, besides two thousand Reiters, who wanting opportunity to return unto their own Country, followed them then, rather out of constraint, than affection. This disbanding of the French doubled their necessity of retiring to the Mountains, as well to shun the fury of the Conquerours, as to gain more time to recruit their broken Army: for which end leaving at *Rocheb* the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and Monsieur *de la Noue*, who through the carelessness of those that kept him prisoner, had escaped the next day after the Battle; Monsieur *de Piles* at *St. Jean d'Angely*, with all the Foot that could be drawn from their several Garisons; and at *Angoulesme* Monsieur *de Pontivy*, a Kinsman of the Queen of *Nuvarre's*, and bred up by her, they made long marches towards *Montauban*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Anjou* (to whom since the Victory, *Portenay*, *Lusignan*, *Fontenay*, *Chastel-rault*, and *St. Maiment*, had yielded themselves, besides all the other

1569.

The Duke of Anjou recovers many places from the Hugonots.

1569. other Towns and Castles in those parts) was drawn with his Army to *Niort*, which made shew of some resistance, and encamping there, began to plant his Artillery. Monsieur de *Muy* knowing that in his present condition it was more requisite to shew valour than strength, to amuse and delay the proceedings of the Enemy, with his Horse (though but a few) and a certain number of Foot sallied out boldly, and fell upon the Army as they were about to make their Quarters; which skirmish having lasted very hot and bloody till the evening, whilst he full of courage and good hopes was making his retreat into the Town, he was shot in the back by one of his own Souldiers, whereof he died a few days after, and *Niort*, whose defence consisted chiefly in his valour and experience, without further delay was yielded up; which example was followed by *Xaintes*, *Cognac*, *Lusson*, and all the other Cities, except only those three into which the Princes had put their Garisons.

The King and the Queen-Mother came about that time to the Army, and entering victorious into *Niort*, held a Council of War there concerning the prosecution of their good success: many pressed earnestly that the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army, or at least the greatest part of it, not losing the fruits of their Victory by delays, might follow the Princes and the Admiral, and pursue them without intermission, till he had either utterly suppressed them, or driven them quite out of the Kingdom; being certain that the Root once cut up, the Branches would wither; and the Faction of the Hugonots, which so often had been pulled down, and built up again, the foundation being once destroyed, would suffer a total and final ruine. But many considerations opposed this advice; the season of the year, drawing towards the end of *October*, began to bring such Snow and Frosts, as were hardly to be endured in the plains, much less in the sharpness of the Mountains; the barrenness of the Country where the Princes were retired, not yielding provisions for so great an Army; the narrowness of many passages where a few men might make head against any how great a number soever; the diseases which grew very frequent and mortal in the Camp; but above all, the want of Money necessary to maintain so great and so continued an expence; for, the Provinces every where being very much troubled and disquieted, the people up in Arms, the Cities sackt, the fields laid waste and desolate, the Kings Revenue in many places was shrunk almost to nothing; and the War being in so many several parts of the Kingdom, consumed that in a few days, which with much pains was gathered together in many months. For all these reasons (fomented perhaps by some particular interests) it was concluded that the care of prosecuting the Princes and the Admiral, should be committed to the Marshal d' *Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, whose designs were yet undiscovered, and to Monsieur de *Montluc* Lieutenant General in *Gascogne*, who with the Forces of those Provinces were to endeavour their final ruine and destruction; judging that in those barren, narrow, and mountainous places, what could not be done by the Forces of the Country, which were many, could neither be effected by a greater number, which being an hinderance to themselves, in the straightness and scarcity of those parts, would rather be troublesome than advantageous. And at the same time they resolved, that the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army, should be employed about the recovery of those places which were held by the Hugonots in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, to deprive them utterly of that nest, wherein they had settled the hopes and laid the foundation of their Faction, which being destroyed, they would have neither place remaining which were proper to assemble themselves, nor means or power to gather Forces that could be considerable to renew the War.

Monsieur de
Piles defends
St. Jean d'Angely 46 days,
and after
yields it upon
honourable
conditions.

According to this resolution, the King in person, with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Anjou*, laid siege to *St. Jean d'Angely*, a place of small circuit, but excellently fortified, and furnished with all necessary provisions; wherein was *Armand Sieur de Piles*, with all the remainder of the Hugonot Infantry: and though the Duke of *Anjou* (who governed the Army, albeit the King was present) spared neither pains nor danger, making terrible Batteries, and frequent, though bloody, Assaults, *Piles* made good the Town for the space of six and forty days; after which, not having the least hopes of relief, he gave it up with honourable conditions, and had a safe conduct for himself and his men to *Angouleme*, having given his word not to serve the Princes in that War, during the time of four months; which promise, under many pretences, was not so really observed by him.

After the taking of *St. Jean d'Angely*, according to the first resolution, the Army should have proceeded to the siege of *Rochele*, which besides being in a manner blocked up

up by Land, by the loss of all the places about it, was also besieged by Sea, by the Kings Navy, which under the command of the Baron *de la Garde* Vice-Admiral, was come from *Provence* into the Ocean Sea. But the end of *December* drew near; the Army in the siege of *St. Jean* was very much decreased both in strength and number, there having been killed above four thousand Souldiers, besides Monsieur *de Martigues* a Commander of great valour and reputation: The Pope and the King of *Spain* had recalled their supplies, as if the business had been perfectly finished, and the War absolutely ended by the Victory at *Moncontour*; and, which imported most of all, the Duke of *Anjou* by continual pains and watchings, which were far above the endurance of either his age or constitution, being fallen into an indisposition of stomach which threatened worse, sought rather for cure and rest, than any new important occasion that required toil and sufferance; for which reasons the Council being of opinion, that *Robelle*, so streightned almost on all sides, and deprived of all hope of relief, would in the end render it self; Francis of *Bourbon* Prince of *Daulphine*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, was left to command the Army, which was exceedingly diminished, in *Xaintonge*, and the King with the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, at the very beginning of the year 1570. retired to *Angiers*, disbanding a great part of their Army, which for the want of money, and in the depth of Winter, could not have been maintained without much difficulty. Some have been of opinion, that this resolution, which by the event appeared to have been most pernicious, was propounded and determined by the Duke of *Anjou*, partly through a desire of rest, and a mind to enjoy the pleasures of the Court, to which he was above measure inclined; and partly because he thought it not advantageous to his affairs, that by the total ruine of the Princes, the War should be put to a final end; during which, all the Kings forces, and the principal Command over them, were in his power; which there would no longer be occasion for him to exercise, when by the extirpation of the Hugonots the Kingdom was once reduced to a firm and settled peace; which if it were true, it concerned him more nearly than any body else, in the process of time to repent so great an error.

In the mean time the Princes and the Admiral, (who if they had been close followed from the first, would very probably have been destroyed) after that according to their first wish, they saw the Army busied before *St. Jean d'Angely*, went into the confines of *Montauban*, where the Prince of *Navarre* at the age of sixteen years, surpassing himself and the expectation that was conceived of him, with his Authority, Industry and Intreaties, solicited and armed the Nobility and people of those parts, among whom the Kings of *Navarre* his Ancestors had very great dependencies, by the neighbourhood and near alliances which in some years past they had contracted in those Provinces; to which authority and diligence of the Prince, the Admiral joining his wisdom and experience, they had got within a few weeks above three thousand Foot to follow their colours, with which, plundering all the Country, and giving up all things both sacred and profane to the free pillage of the Souldiers, they continued daily increasing and recruiting their Forces: There business being in this condition, the Count of *Montgomery* came with two thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, all brave and valiant Souldiers, and quartered at *Condom*, whilst the Princes and the Admiral having passed the *Dordogne* at *St. Marie*, went to try *Agen*, and the other Cities of *Gascony*; and though Monsieur *de Montac*, by breaking a Mill on the upper part of the River, and letting it drive down the stream, had beaten to pieces the Bridge which they had made, and divided the Armies from one another; yet not having strength to fight with either, the Count *Montgomery* his Forces passed over nevertheless in Boats, and joined with the Princes, whereby their Army grown powerful and considerable, they were absolute Masters of the Field, and over-ran all those Countries without opposition. At the same time they had by the means of their adherents (besides many other places) surprised *Nismes*, a principal City of *Languedoc*, which afforded them an exceeding great conveniency of refreshing themselves; for though the King had given strict Commissions, and had also sent thither Monsieur *de la Vaulse*, a man of eminent valour and fidelity, with a good strength of Horse; yet did not his Officers oppose their progress and incursions, because the Marshal *d'Anville*, though he thought it not wisdom to lay open his intentions unseasonably, the Hugonots being in such an ebb of fortune, yet he desired they should rise again and recover new Forces, for which cause he cunningly gave them many opportunities to arm and strengthen them-

1569.

1570.

In the beginning of the year, the King disbands part of his Army; which advice in the end proves very hurtful.

The Hugonots not being opposed, do great outrages and rise with considerable forces.

1570.

By reason of
a conspiracy
discovered
against the
Queen of Eng-
land; the Hu-
gonots despair
of help from
thence; and
whereupon a
Treaty is be-
gun, but not
concluded.

themselves, and keeping close in the City of *Tbolouse* upon pretended doubts of the Citizens fidelity, he permitted them to make Insurrections, and to pillage all the Country round about; and Monsieur *de Montuc*, and Monsieur *de la Valette*, bitter Enemies of the Princes Faction, who for their own honours desired to suppress those reliques of the Hugonots, without the help of *d' Andille*, were too weak to execute their designs. But for all these advantages, the Princes and the Admiral were in very great perplexity of mind, because they had received news from *England*, That by reason of the discovery of some intended conspiracy against the Queens Person, that Kingdom was in such distraction, that they could not expect much help from thence; besides, they found not that readiness which they had imagined in the Princes of *Germany*, and they knew that Nation could not move, to come into the Kingdom without a good sum of money, to raise and furnish their Army: They saw likewise that the Prince of *Orange*, who was sent to sollicite the Protestants, was a great deal more careful of the Low-Country affairs (wherein he had a very great interest) than of the business of *France*, wherein he was not so much concerned: whereby finding themselves destitute of moneys, and unprovided of all other things, without other means of living than what they got by rapine, which already was grown very scarce, every one having conveyed their goods into the strong Cities; their horses tired and lamed, not having so much as means to shooe them; for which cause they had lost above four hundred of them by the way: they foresaw that at last they must necessarily be ruined and destroyed by the Kings Forces, against whom in the end they could not possibly make resistance, though for a few months they might be able to defend themselves. For these reasons the Princes with a desire to conclude, but the Admiral only to gain time, by the means of the Queen of *Navarre*, began to introduce a Treaty of Peace, and to that end with great humility and submission, sent Monsieur *de Beauvais*, and Monsieur *de Taligny* to Court, with a safe conduct, who nevertheless propounded conditions very far different from what the King intended to grant; (who holding himself as Conquerour, pretended they should submit themselves wholly to his mercy) so they were sent away without any hope of agreement; but they obtained, That Monsieur *de Byron* should go back with them to the Princes Army, to know their final determination; who returned to the Court, with nothing but general terms; matters not being yet ripe, nor the Princes resolution settled for any conclusion.

The Admiral
being sick, is
carried along
with the Army
in a Litter.

But in the beginning of Spring-time, Fortune varying (as the chance of War useth to be uncertain) the state of affairs varied also: for the Princes having past the sharpness of the Winter in *Langnedoc* with five or six thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, (for toil and hard duty had brought the Reiters to the number of but one thousand two hundred) were come down from the Mountains to the banks of the *Rhose*, to enlarge themselves in a more fertile the Country: the greatest difficulty they had there, was to pass the River; for Monsieur *des Gordes* the Kings Lieutenant in *Daulphine*, had placed himself there with a considerable strength, to hinder them; yet Monsieur *de Mombrun* knowing the Country very well, found means to pass over his Regiment in boats, unknown to the Catholicks, and defeated them who advanced in disorder to fight with him; in the heat of which Victory having made a Sconce close by the River, Count *Lodowick* under favour of it, passed over first, and at last the Princes with all the Army; and the Admiral, who sick of a malignant Feaver, made himself be carried, almost half dead, in an open Litter. Being past the *Rhose*, and come into the Country of *Forests*, thence into *Beaumont* and the Dutchy of *Neyers*, sacking and spoiling all they could, they endeavoured to draw near to *la Charite*, and the places adjoining, which yet held of their party, not only to re-inforce themselves by the addition of those Germans, but also to supply their want of Powder, and other Ammunition, whereof their store was totally exhausted, and without which their Arms seemed to no purpose. Their design was, when they were recruited, and provided with those necessaries which they wanted, to over-run and pillage the Countries about *Paris*, to open to themselves, by that last attempt, some way to a better and more tolerable state of fortune, remembering that the Hugonots had never obtained advantageous conditions of agreement, but when they had made the seat of the War in the heart of the Catholick party, and brought both fear and damage unto the City of *Paris* it self, whose danger and jealousy had always extorted an assent to peace from those that bore the sway in the Government. But they could not grow

to

to a strength sufficient for the execution of that design, they resolved to repass the *Loire*, and return into their old nest *Xaintonge*; where since the departure of the Duke of *Anjou*, they heard the state of their affairs was not a little amended; for Monsieur de la *Noüe* with admirable conduct, and no less valour, sallying out of *Rochele*, had recovered many places near unto it, given a great defeat to *Pugalliard* one of the Kings Commanders, taken one of the Gallies of the Fleet, and over-running all the Country, ceased not sometimes by cunning surprizes, sometimes by open force to improve the condition of his party; and though (giving a sudden assault to *Foumenay*) he had received a shot in the arm, for which it was necessarily to be cut off, yet being cured, and returned to the exercise of Arms fiercer than before, he kept the whole Country in fear and trouble.

The King by this means seeing the War renewed contrary to his expectation, and and the Duke of *Anjou*'s sickness still continuing, (for which cause he was gone to *St. Germain* a place of pleasure few miles distant from *Paris*) was constrained to put his Army again in posture to oppose the Princes, and as soon as it was in order, he unadvisedly resolved to give the Command thereof to the Marshal de *Coffe*; for (not daring to put it in the hands those Subjects, who for greatness, power, adherents, or animosity, were very much suspected by him) he trusted it to a person, who not at all digressing from his wonted inclinations, gave greater opportunities to the Enemy; for inclining to *Calvin's* Doctrine in his heart, he was nothing forward in prosecuting the Princes of the Blood; and being a man of a slow heavy nature, his intention was only to hinder the Hugonots from getting foot in those Provinces which they aimed at, but not at all to venture the hazard of a Battel, and much less totally to suppress that party, as he easily might have done, finding the Princes far inferior to him in strength, without Cannon, without Victual, without Money, and their Souldiers with long marches quite wearied and disheartned, having gone above three hundred leagues in the space of a few months. This counsel was attributed by many to the Duke of *Anjou*, who by reason of his indisposition not being able, or for some private ends not willing to make a perfect end of the War, would have been displeased that another should enjoy the glory, and reap the fruits of his labours; wherefore rendring all the other Princes and Souldiers suspected to the King, he caused the enterprize to be committed to one, who he was confident would make no great progress in it.

The Princes were come to *Reue-le-Duc* a weak Town in *Burgundy*, with a purpose to take and sack it, as they were necessitated to do, to relieve and feed their Souldiers, when the Marshal de *Coffe* arrived with his Army, wherein were six thousand Swisses, and as many French Foot, twelve pieces of Cannon, and little less than four thousand Horse; there was no doubt to men of understanding, but that fighting upon equal terms, the Princes would have the worst, so great was the difference both in the number and vigour of their Forces; but the Marshal proceeding slowly according to his resolution, carried himself with so much caution in the business, as gave them time and opportunity to possess themselves of a place, strong and advantageous enough to supply the defect of their weakness; for putting themselves in order, they fronted towards a small River, having a great Wood behind them, and lining the Hedges and Vineyards with their Foot, their Horses were divided into many Squadrons, and set in the fittest places to defend themselves, and receive their Enemies; where they sustained the skirmish (though hot and furious) all the day without much loss, after which trial of the Hugonots valour and constancy, the Kings Army proceeding so much the more warily, the Marshal either through the slowness of his own nature, or through his secret determination letting the Enemy still gain the advantage of ground, went prolonging the event of things, perchance out of a belief, that the benefit of time would without danger force the Enemy to take some new deliberation; or else out of desire that necessity should force the King to hearken and consent unto a peace. Now were the Princes slack in making use of these advantages, which his connivence offered them; for the Prince of *Navarre* commanding the Army in stead of the Admiral, (who being recovered of his dangerous sickness, was now gathering strength) laid hold of these opportunities with so much quickness and circumspection, that fighting and skirmishing often, he still retired into places of advantage, and maintaing his reputation with exceeding art, he made as if he would give their whole Army Battel, but yet avoided the Encounter, supplying his want of force by wary cunning resolutions. But as soon as the Queen-Mother by many probable conjectures, found that

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The Duke of *Anjou* being sick, the Army is commanded by the Marshal de *Coffe*, who inclining to *Calvin's* Doctrine, makes no progress against the Hugonots.

1570.
Through sus-
pition of the
Mareschal de
Casse and d'
Anville, the
Treaty is re-
newed.

the Mareschal de Casse of the one side, and the Mareschal d' Anville on the other, concealed some secret purpose in their minds, which was not hard for a Woman of so great wisdom to discover, having made her Sons acquainted with it, she began to perswade them to lend their Ear to an Accommodation; knowing, that through the perfidiousness of Men, and through the interessed dependencies of great Ones, the War was managed with great danger. This advice was much forwarded by the news out of Germany, where they began already to raise Forces under Prince Casimir in favour of the Hugonots; besides the scarcity, or rather necessity of money, whereof there was so great want, that they knew not how to find any means to clear the arrears of the Swisses and Italians, who were many pays behind; the ruines of the Countries and people, the smallness of the Kings Revenue wasted almost to nothing, the perpetual and general disquietness of mind, the abundance of blood which was shed daily, were all no small inducements to the same, having made the War so odious to every one, and the name of Peace so lovely and desirable. Wherefore the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Lorraine being privately met together, resolved to follow the old and so often interrupted counsels, and grant a Peace unto the Hugonots, to free the Kingdom of strangers, and then by opportunity and artifices, to suppress the Heads of the Faction, who once removed out of the way, there was no doubt but the common people, who were only moved by their instigation, would yield of themselves, and be reduced to perfect obedience. By these proceedings, they hoped to attain those ends, which the falleness of the great Ones would not suffer to be accomplished by force: a counsel often propounded, often received, but which (through the difficulty of execution, or infidelity of those employed) had always failed of the happy desired success.

Nor were the minds of the Princes averse from Peace, provided it were joined with their liberty and security; for they saw themselves in all things reduced to extremity: Count Volrade with his Reiters, who while they were in those remoter Provinces had been quiet and obedient, now that they were upon the confines of Germany, began to talk of leaving them: only the Admiral, constant to his own intentions, dissuaded and avoided Peace as much as possibly he could; but now being brought to necessity, he was fain to yield perforce to those counsels, which were most opposite to his nature and resolution. Both parties therefore consenting to embrace an Agreement, and the same Beauvais, and Taligny being sent again to Court, and with them Monsieur de la Chassetiere the Prince of Navarre's Secretary, upon the eleventh day of August the Peace was concluded, wherein besides Liberty of Conscience, the publick profession of the Reformed Religion, and pardon of all things past, with the accustomed clauses inserted in the former Treaties with the Hugonots, the King gave leave to the Princes and the Admiral to stay, for their security, either at Rochelle, Cognac, la Charite, or Montauban, which places they promised within the space of two years to give up to his Majesties Obedience, provided the Articles of Peace were observed, which were after published, and registred in the Parliaments. The Princes and the Admiral, when at the confines of Burgundy they had dismissed Count Volrade of Mansfield and the Reiters (whereof few remained of so great a number) without ever going to the Court, or so much as appearing in the Kings presence, went streight to Rochelle, not only to consult with the Queen of Navarre, concerning matters that appertained to their common interests, but also for their better security to dwell there, and fortifie themselves.

But the Peace being concluded and established, (though full of fears and jealousies from the very first, as appeared plainly by the determination of the Princes and the Admiral not to go to the Court) the engines framed in the mind of the King and Queen, to bring the principal Hugonots into the net, began to move, and to work that by policy, which so often attempted by the means of War, had always proved fruitless and dangerous. And though these very stratagems had been formerly put in practice, and still produced very little or no benefit, either because treacherous Ministers had revealed them, or because the Queen had carried her self with too much caution and respect, or because the Hugonot Princes had always mistrusted her nature and designs; yet now they hoped a more full and prosperous issue, because these secret practices were not managed by any but such as were deeply engaged, and the King himself also lent a hand to the work, who being now come to the age of two and twenty, of a resolute nature, a spirit full of resentment, and above all, an absolute dissembler,

The Peace is
concluded and
published, but
full of jealous-
ies.

dissembler, did of himself, though by the advice of his Mother, manage the business of the Government; whereby matters proceeded not only with more efficacy and security, but also with more wary and powerful counsels. The principal difficulty was, to beget a confidence in the Hugonot Lords, and from those jealousies which possessed them, to bring them to such an assurance as might make them venture to come unarmed to the Court; for which cause (it being necessary to begin at the end) the King and Queen-Mother imparting their private thoughts only to the Duke of *Anjou*, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Duke of *Guise*, and *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, (who because greatly favoured, and from a small fortune exalted to a considerable estate, was very much trusted, and very faithful to them) they dispatched strict Commissions to all Magistrates and Governors of Provinces, for the executing and observing the Articles of Peace, in favour of the Hugonots, to whom they sent as far as *Rochelle*, the Marshal de *Coffe*, who was now discovered to incline to their party, giving him not only authority to interpret, and to make the Edict to be fulfilled, in those places where it was doubtful and obscure, but also most ample command to assure the Princes and the Admiral of the Kings favour, and sincere intentions to observe his promises totally and inviolably: Nor were his actions different from his words; for the King being minded to grant the Hugonots all possible satisfaction, with severe Orders punished the Insurrections of the Catholics, (which in *Provence*, *Dauphine* and *Normandy*, were many against the Hugonot Ministers) and in things doubtful, inclined always to interpret the Edict graciously to their advantage: on the other side, shewing himself toward the Catholick party, either too sharply severe, or of a disposition very little favourable. By which demonstrations he not only settled the minds of the common people, but even the Admiral himself, who was most obstinate in not believing, and firmly resolved not to trust them, began to conceive some hope, that the King, weary of the distractions and dangers of a Civil War, beginning now to govern of himself, and not by the counsels of his Mother, might at last desire sincerely to preserve and establish the Accommodation.

But to make the greater proof, and penetrate more deeply into the Kings intentions, the Princes and the Admiral having conferred of many things with the Marshal de *Coffe*, dispatched to Court *Teligny*, *Brignemaut*, and *Arnould Cavagnes* a Senator of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, and a principal Counsellor of the Admirals, to represent their many grievances to the King, and chiefly to insist, That the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the *Guises* might be put from the management of affairs of State; shewing, that while matters of the Government were swayed and administered by them, they could not believe the agreement of peace would long continue; nor did right require, that coming to the Court, where those Lords remained with so great authority, they should put their safety into the hands of their bitter enemies. With these they joined many other demands: That the High Chancellor de *P Hospital* should be recalled to the execution of his place: That the Marquess de *Villars* (whose election to be Admiral was void by virtue of the Agreement) might not be Lieutenant to the Prince of *Navarre* in the Government of *Guienne*; but that the Prince might have leave to chuse such a one as he liked, *Villars* being no way acceptable to him, and most to be suspected by the Admiral of *Chaillon*: That the Prince of *Conde* might have the Castle of *Vallery* restored to him, then in possession of the Lords of *Achon*, who pretended a right unto it: That the Bastard of *Navarre* might have the Bishoprick of *Cominges*, already destined to one of the sons of Monsieur de *Lansac*: That the Queen of *Navarre* might have free dominion in her Country of *Armagnac*, where she might exercise her Jurisdiction without controul: Which things (especially the abasement of the House of *Lorain*) were propounded not so much for any hope they had to obtain them, (being neither included nor named in the Accommodation) as out of a desire, by the effects thereof, to find out more clearly the intentions of the King, and the designs of the Queen-Mother.

These Lords arrived in a time when the Court was wholly taken up with the Celebration of the Kings Nuptials; who desirous of issue, had taken to Wife the Lady *Isabella*, second daughter of the Emperour *Maximilian* of *Austria*: and amongst those Feasts and Triumphs, these complaints, rather than pretensions of the Hugonot Lords, were treated of; which were favoured with much efficacy by the Ambassadors of the German Princes, who being come to congratulate the Kings Marriage, exhorted him earnestly to observe and maintain peace, which their Princes had learned by experience could not be kept, but by full Liberty of Conscience, and by a sincere and confident

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Charles the IX.
married *Isabella*
the
daughter of
Maximilian
the Emperour,
Anno 1570.

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dent Union between the Prince and all his Subjects. The King and Queen-Mother knew very well that these complaints and Propositions had no other ground nor end, than to discover their intentions, and to search into the bottom of their designs; and therefore purposing to amuse the Hugonots by the same arts wherewith they themselves were founded, after some weak denial, not to give them greater suspicion by a too easie willingness, they consented to many of the demands, and artificially gave probable hopes of yielding to the rest. To the Queen of Navarre they granted liberty of disposing all things in the County of *Armagnac*, by Laws and Ordinances after her own mind! They for a while suspended the Commission, and delayed the sending of the Marquess *de Villars* into *Guienna*, reserving themselves to treat thereof more particularly with the Prince of Navarre. They granted many profits and Ecclesiastical revenues unto the Bastard; promised the restitution of *Valery* to the Prince of Condé; but excused themselves by the age of the Chancelour *de l'Hospital*, not thinking his many years, and weak constitution, able to undergo such a weight and multiplicity of business; and as concerning the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, which was the highest and most difficult proposition, they shewed a seeming desire of consenting to the Hugonots, but with the opportunity of occasions which time should offer, it not being just or reasonable, nor peradventure safe, to deprive them all at once (without any cause) of those Honours and Offices which they so long had possessed and executed. Notwithstanding the King with effectual discourses, addressed to the Commissioners, that the Government now consisted chiefly in himself: and though the Lords of the House of *Lorain* enjoyed some Offices in the Court, yet he would order them according to his own mind, nor did he suffer himself to be guided by any other person whatsoever; wherefore the Princes of *Bourbon*, the Admiral, and the rest of their party, needed not fear to suffer any prejudice by the authority of their Adversaries, who though they continued at Court, did now live there as Subjects, not as Masters, having no power to do any thing more than duty and reason permitted, not daring to meddle with those matters to which they were not called.

1571.

With these Treaties on every side full of deep dissimulation, began the year 1571 in the beginning whereof the Commissioners returning to *Rochelle*, carried back the Conditions they had obtained; and many interpretations of the Edict touching the exercise of Religion, all favourable to their party; wherewith the Princes being satisfied, and in part also the Queen of Navarre, only the Admiral remained doubtful and incredulous till he saw more real demonstrations. But the King and the Queen desirous once to accomplish their determinations, resolved to make use of more powerful Engines; and to try more secure efficacious means to induce the Hugonot Lords to come to Court: wherefore having sent to *Rochelle* Monsieur *de Byron*, (who from Field-Marshal, was for his great valour made General of the Artillery) they propounded to the Queen of Navarre (for the better establishment and confirmation of the ancient Consanguinity and present Peace concluded with her) that the Lady *Marguerite* the Kings Sister, should be given in Marriage to her Son the Prince of Navarre, after which conjunction, there would be no more cause to doubt of the love and concord between them, nor of those prerogatives and honours which as first Prince of the Blood did justly belong unto him, nor would any body be so bold as dare to interpose, or sowe dissention between two so near Allies: They propounded to the Admiral and the Count of *Nassau*, (who for his security remained with the rest at *Rochelle*) that the King, desirous at last to make an end of Civil Brolls; seeing that by reason of the warlike nature of his people, he could not so easily do it, without beginning at foreign War, to buse the minds and employ the forces of his Souldiers, had resolved in revenge of those many injuries received, to make War with the King of *Spain* against the Low-Countries, which were full of Commotions, and ready to receive the Government of any other Prince, and therefore not knowing any more faithful Counsellors, or more proper instruments for that business, than the Admiral and the Count of *Nassau*, (so principal a man banished out of those Countries) he desired both of them to come to Court, that he might communicate his designs with them, and take that resolution which by common consent should appear best grounded and most profitable. The King and the Queen believed (as it was true) that the hope of this War would work sensibly upon the Admiral, and therefore gave order to treat more effectually upon that than any other particular. These things were propounded very discreetly by Monsieur *de Byron*, who though in the War by his great valour and industry, he

he had done much harm to the Hugonot Faction: yet by his counsels in the Treaties of Peace, he had shewed himself very favourable to their interests, perhaps through a secret envy which many at that time bore to the greatness of the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who in that very conjuncture of time, having agreed secretly with the King, seemed to be very ill satisfied with the conclusion of the Peace, and the favours done to the Hugonots: but much more because the Duke of *Guise*, having from his childhood conceived hopes to obtain in marriage the Lady *Marguerite* the Kings Sister, and to that end had long courted and served her, now saw her destined to the Prince of *Navarre* his Enemy: and it was true, that the Duke of *Guise* had been many years very much in love with the Lady *Marguerite*, and no less beloved by her again; whereupon it was commonly believed, that there was not only a particular friendship between them, but that already they had with reciprocal promises contracted themselves together secretly: but whether the ardour of the Duke of *Guise's* affection were in part abated, (as it often happens that men who are easily enamoured, as easily forget their passion, and prove unconstant) or that governed by the counsel of his Uncle, he preferred his own greatness, and the Admirals ruine, before all other considerations; yielding at that time to the Kings desires, he consented privately that the Lady *Marguerite* should marry the Prince of *Navarre*, but in outward appearance shewing himself infinitely offended and troubled at it, he increased the satisfaction and confidence of the Hugonot Lords: and the King with the like dissimulation (a quality wherein he much excelled) seemed many times unsatisfied even with the Government of the Queen his Mother, of whom he knew the Hugonots were not a little mistrustful, and much more did he seem displeased with the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother: and to shew an open desire by some occasion to get him from the Court, he had moved the Admiral that by the means of Monsieur de *Beaumont* his Brother (who had been Cardinal, and lived then in *England*) there might be a treaty of marriage begun, between the Duke of *Anjou* and Queen *Elizabeth*, with certain Conditions belonging to the matter, and exercise of Religion; which they did not so much wish to conclude it, (for the Queens disposition was sufficiently known to incline but little to the yoke of Matrimony, and to the Government of a stranger Husband) as partly to beget more assurance in the minds of the Hugonots; partly to shew a desire of putting the Duke of *Anjou* as far as possibly could be from the Government of the Kingdom; partly also out of a suspicion that the Queen of *England* (the minds of women being variable) might perchance agree to marry with the Prince of *Navarre*, who was of her own Religion, and upon whom she might impose such Laws and Conditions as she pleased, which would strengthen the Hugonot party with new interests, and more powerful assistance: for which cause the Duke of *Anjou* was propounded; that in case she resolved to marry, she might have occasion to make choice of him, not only because he was a greater Prince, but also of greater reputation, and riper years, and which best might suit with the Queens inclinations of a person most exactly handsome. And because the Lady *Marguerite* not considering the interests of State, but led wholly by her own affection, refused any other Husband but the Duke of *Guise*, it happened that one night when there was a Ball, he coming into the great Hall gallantly attired, and adorned with exceeding rich Jewels, (the grace of all which received an addition from his affable behaviour and noble carriage) the King, who stood at the door, (without shewing any of his accustomed favours) asked him, Whither he went? to which he answering, That he came to serve his Majesty; the King replied, That he had no need of his service: which, whether it was spoken in jest or earnest, touched him so to the quick, that the next day he resolved to take to Wife *Katherine de Cleves*, Sister to the Dutchess of *Nevers*, and Widow to the Prince of *Porcien*, who, though of very noble Blood, and enriched with a plentiful Dowry, was in every respect, but especially in beauty, much inferior to the Kings Sister: but his ambition of governing, and desire to revenge his Fathers death, the persuasions of his Uncle, and chiefly fear to offend the King, were more powerful with him than any other considerations whatsoever.

These practices were carried with so much efficacy and dissimulation, that not only most part of the Hugonot Lords were persuaded of their reality, but the Pope himself began to grow jealous of them; for the King and the Queen his Mother, for fear they should be discovered, had not imparted to any body those their so secret counsels: whereupon the Pope, doubtful of their proceedings, did not only deny to give a Dispensation for the Marriage between the Prince of *Navarre* and the Kings Sister, but also

The Kings answer to the Duke of *Guise*. The Duke of *Guise* resolves to marry *Katherine de Cleves*.

1571. also sent Commission to his Nephew Cardinal *Alessandrino*, then his Legat in *Spain*, to go with all possible speed to the Court of *France*, to break the Treaty of that Match, and to perswade the King to renew the War with the Hugonots. Nor was King *Philip* without suspicion of the French designs; for he saw that many ships rigg'd and mann'd in the port of *Rochel*, the King allowing, or not opposing it, made incursions into the *Indies*, and the coasts of *Spain*; he perceived also a gathering together of Souldiers about the confines of *Picardy*; who under Hugonot Captains, gave out that they were to go into the Low-Countries to assist the Prince of *Orange*, with the other Lords and people there up in Arms; for which causes, besides having made complaint at the Court of *France*, whereto he only got ambiguous general answers; he exhorted the Legat *Alessandrino* to be exceeding careful to sound and discover the intentions of the King of *France*. But the Duke of *Savoy* was in greater trouble: for besides the same jealousies which gave suspicion to the others, it fell out about that time, that the Admiral being left a Widower by the death of *Charloite de la Val* his first Wife, married *Madam d'Antramont*, a very rich Lady of his Country, who contrary to the Dukes will and command, was gone to *Rochel* to consummate the Marriage, desirous (as she said) to be second *Martia* of that second *Cato*: for which reason the Duke greatly feared, lest the Admiral, so great and politick a Contriver, should by help of the nearness of *Geneva*, kindle the same fire in *Savoy* that he had done in the Kingdom of *France*.

The Duke of Savoy grows suspicious of the Admiral for having against his will married *Madam d'Antramont*, a Savoyard.

But these respects slackened not the proceedings, nor interrupted the counsels of the King and Queen-Mother, being assured that the conclusion would at last satisfy all the world of their intentions: Wherefore, persevering in their resolution they had taken, they purposed to go to *Blois*, that being in a place so much nearer, they might more conveniently treat with the Princes that were at *Rochel*, amongst whom were various opinions; for Count *Lodowick* (as banished men are commonly inclined to hope, and as one who had less offended, and was less engaged to the King than any of the rest) was willing to go to Court, to sollicite and resolve upon the War which the King made shew to desire against the Spaniards: but the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Admiral, who by their consciousness of things past, measured their prognosticks of the future, were still averse and doubtful; neither willingly consenting to the Princes Marriage, nor to the journey to Court. Wherefore Count *Lodowick* called, and encouraged by the King, took a resolution to go thither alone, but very privately, to negotiate his own business by himself, to settle a safe coming for the rest, and to ripen those designs which with so much approbation he nourished in his mind, of the Hugonots desired enterprise against *Flanders*. Wherefore departing from *Rochel* with only two in his company, giving out that he went to his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, when he was a few miles distant from the Town, he took post, and arrived by night secretly at the Court: where being received with many demonstrations of favour and affection, he treated confidently with the King himself, not assisted by any of his Council, concerning the propositions of his party; for *Charles*, the better to increase a confidence in them, continuing to make shew of governing his Kingdom by counsels very different from those which his Mother had followed during his minority. The conclusions of which meeting were, That the Prince of *Navarre* should have the Lady *Marguerite* in Marriage, with 400000 Duckets; whereof 300000 should be paid by the King, and sufficient security given for them, the rest to be paid by the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alencon* his Brothers; That the Low-Country design against the Spaniards, should be put in practice with all speed; in which War Count *Lodowick* should go before; and order matters with those that were banished out of *Flanders*, and the Admiral should be Captain-General of the enterprise; concerning which consultations, he was presently to come to Court, having liberty for the guard of his Person to keep about him fifty Gentlemen, that might wear all kinds of arms, even in the City of *Paris*, or wheresoever else the Court should be; and that to gratifie Count *Lodowick*, the Kings Garison and Government should be drawn out of the City of *Orange*, and left free to the Prince his Brother, who might absolutely dispose of it and his Subjects as he pleased, the King not meddling in the Government or Superiority to which he had pretended; which things, with many other of less moment, being granted and established, Count *Lodowick* returned to *Rochel* to perswade the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral to come to Court; and the King departing from *Blois*, went into the Countries about *Paris*, where feigning only to intend hunting,

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ing, and other youthful pleasures, he gave time leave to ripen the counsels which had been taken to procure that meeting; for the facilitating whereof, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, and his Brothers, seeming angry and troubled for the honours and favours which the King so liberally granted to all those of the Hugonot Faction, left the Court; and the King, either shewing himself unsatisfied with them, or little to regard them and their merits; received nearer to his person, and into a more eminent degree of managing the affairs of State, the Marshalls of *Momorancy* and *Cosse*; both partial to, and by nearness of blood and friendship interested with the Princes and the Admiral: wherefore the Duke of *Montpensier*, who had newly married one of the Duke of *Guise's* Sisters, shewing the same dislike with the rest of the kindred, was also gone from Court, as likewise the Prince of *Daulphine* his Son.

But about that time the Kings designs which with so much care and diligence had been kept secret, were like unexpectedly to have been discovered. The Duke of *Anjou* did much favour, and was very familiar with Monsieur *de Lignerolles*, a young Gentleman of very acute wit, and high spirit, who often discoursing intimately with the Duke of the present state of affairs, induced him at last to impart the Kings most secret designs to him; partly, because he was most confident of his fidelity; partly, to hear his opinion upon so important a business, and to receive his advice and counsel in that, as he was wont in many other things: *Lignerolles* by means of his favour being grown into such esteem, that the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Guise*, and even the King himself made great account of his wit and courage. He being one day in the Chamber with the King, who much displeased at the high insolent demands of some of the Hugonot Lords after he had dismissed them with shew of favour, letting loose his anger, and laying aside dissimulation, shewed some tokens of being extremely offended; either moved with ambition to appear not ignorant of the nearest secrets, or with the lightness incident to youth, which often over-shoots discretion, told the King in his ear, that his Majesty ought to quiet his mind with patience, and laugh at their insolence and temerity; for within a few days, by that meeting which was almost ripe, he would have brought them all into the net, and punished them at his own pleasure: with which words the Kings mind being struck in the most tender sensible part, he made shew not to understand his meaning, and retired into his private lodgings, where, full of anger, grief and trouble, he sent to call the Count *de Retz*, thinking that he, who was likewise familiar with *Lignerolles*, had revealed this secret to him; and with sharp injurious words reproached him with the honours and benefits he had conferred upon him, threatening to take vengeance on that perfidiousness, wherewith forgetful of so great favours, he had betrayed him, and discovered his most secret intentions; but the Count constantly denying it, and offering to be shut up in prison till the truth were known, he called the Queen-Mother, and complained grievously to her, that she had made known those thoughts which he with such patience, and constraint of his own mind, forcing his nature, had so long dissembled: to which words the Queen smiling answered, That she needed not to learn the art of secrecie from him, and that he should look whether by his own impatience he had not discovered something of that, which he thought to be revealed by others: the King (as he was exceeding choleric) fretting and storming very impatiently, sent at last for the Duke of *Anjou*; who, without further urging, confessed freely, that he had imparted the business to *Lignerolles*, but withal assured them they needed not fear, that he would ever open his lips to discover so weighty a secret. No more he shall not, answered the King, for I will take order that he shall be dispatched before he have time to publish it. The Duke of *Anjou* either not daring to oppose that so sudden, resolute determination, or else angry at the lightness of *Lignerolles*, and for fear of the worst not caring to divert it; the King sent to call *George de Villequier* Viscount of *Guerchy*, who (as Masters are seldom ignorant how their Servants stand affected) he knew bear a secret emulous hatred to *Lignerolles*, and commanded him by all means to endeavour the taking away of his life that very day; with which resolution the King presently taking horse, with the Duke of *Anjou*, as he often used to do without staying for any attendants, went to hunt in the fields and woods not far off; which the Courtiers no sooner heard, but as fast as their horses could be brought, they followed severally stragling after the cry of the Hounds, and *Lignerolles* by their example instantly did the same; but the Viscount *de la Guerchy* and Count *Charles of Mansfield*, who was privy to his purpose, mounted upon fiery unquiet horses, hunted in the same company with

Lignerolles killed by the Kings command for shewing that he knew that which the King desired keep secret.

Lignerolles,

1571. *Lignerolles*, and drew near under colour of talking and discounting with him; which while he endeavoured to avoid, not being able to keep his horse in order among theirs that was so quarrelsome and unruly; and while they persisted still following him as it were in sport, they presently came to high language, and then to challenges; whereupon the Viscount suddenly drawing his sword, and Count *Charles* at the same instant, they fell so furiously upon him, that before he could be rescued by those that came to help him, they left him dead upon the place; which being come to the Kings knowledge, with great shew of anger and trouble, he caused them both to be taken and imprisoned in the Palace; from whence in process of time, by the intercession of Monsieur d' *Angoulême*, the Kings Bastard-brother, and by particular grace and favour they were after set at liberty.

The Admiral
after so many
wars with the
King, pro-
strates himself
at his feet,
and is gra-
ciously received

This business being passed over, which for a while had troubled the whole Court, the next was to overcome the obstinacy of the Lady *Marguerite*, who more fix'd than ever to her former thoughts, denied now absolutely to marry at all, since she was forbidden to take the Duke of *Guise*; to which the Popes continued denial of a dispensation being added, the conclusion of that marriage remained still uncertain. The Queen-Mother, by the means of the Bishop of *Salviati* the Popes Nuncio, to whom she was near allied, endeavoured to persuade them at *Rome*, that the effecting of that match would conclude to the good of the Catholick Religion; for, to draw the Prince of *Navarre* into so near a relation and confidence with the King, would be an occasion that not only he being young, and easie to be won to better opinions, would come into the bosom of the Church; but also infinite others; part moved by his example; and part out of fear to lose so considerable a prop as the first Prince of the Blood, would do the like; that they often had tryed in vain to overcome the Hugonots with sharpness and violence; therefore it was now fit to try some gentle remedies. But when they saw the Popes mind could not be changed by persuasions, they began to try if they could alter it by neglect; the King and the Queen saying openly, That being necessitated to make a match with one of another Religion, they would do it howsoever, without caring for any dispensation; nor would they suffer the peace and quietness of their Kingdom to be disturbed, and by the Popes obstinacy involved in the former wars, dangers and inconveniencies: Which things confirming the assurance and boldness of the Hugonots, the Admiral in the end persuaded by Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, and the counsels of *Teligny* his Son-in-law, and of *Cavagnes*, a man great in his esteem; but much more by the fear of being prevented by the Queen of *Navarre* and the Princes, who already were setting things in order to go to Court, took his journey with a great train of his Dependants, and came unto the King, before whom humbly bowing himself, and kneeling down in token of greater humility, he was received with as great demonstrations of love and affection. It was very remarkable, that the Admiral, who was grown old in ambitious thoughts, and high pretensions, now conscious of the errors he had committed, should in the Theater of all *France*, and in the very presence of his own principal adherents, bring himself to so publick a penance as to be seen with tears in his eyes, kneeling at the feet of that King which in times past he had so heinously offended and despised. But it was much more remarkable, that a King so young, and of so hasty cholerick a nature, seeing the man before him who so often had brought the power of his Crown and Kingdom to such doubtful hazards, should know so perfectly how to dissemble, that calling him Father, and lifting him up with his own hand, he made all the World believe he was heartily and sincerely reconciled to him.

After these great demonstrations of favour, followed effects correspondent to them; for the King commanded 100000 Franks, which amount to ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid him presently out of the Treasury, to make up those particular losses which he had suffered during the late Wars; and assigned him an Annuity of those Ecclesiastical Revenues which belonged to the Cardinal his Brother, who died in *England* a little before that time; and gave him all his rich and costly household-stuff, which, as the goods of a Criminal, had lately been confiscate: And though all other Admirals in Council and publick Ceremonies had ever given place to the Marshals of *France*; yet, for his greater honour, it was the Kings pleasure that he should sit next Monsieur de *Momorancy*, who was the first Marshal, and above all the rest. To *Teligny*, *Cavagnes*, and to all his dependants and followers, the King voluntarily did many favours; and at Councils, in his own lodgings, and abroad in publick he was still

still encompassed by many of them. All graces and favours were granted by their intercession, nor was there any thing so difficult, which the Admiral with a word might not bring to a speedy and happy issue; which was proved in the person of *Villandry*, a young Gentleman, who playing with the King, had so exceedingly offended him, that he was therefore condemned to die; for having denyed his pardon to the Queen-Mother, the Queen his Wife, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, at the first word of the Admiral he was set at liberty, and restored to his former degree of familiarity in the Court. With this assurance, and to increase it the more, the enterprize of *Flanders* was presently set on foot; for the effecting whereof, the Marshal of *Momorancy* was sent into *England*, to treat of a reciprocal confederacy with the Queen; and the Count of *Schomberg* into *Germany* to exhort the Protestant Princes to accept pensions, and to unite themselves with the Crown of *France* against the Spaniards. These things resolved on, which all were managed by the Admirals advice and direction, he with the Kings leave went to *Chastillon* to order his private affairs, and so return to Court to perfect matters already agreed upon.

About this time, being the beginning of the Year 1572. arrived the Legat *Alessandrino*, to hinder the progress of these resolutions, which tended manifestly not only to the ruine of the Spaniards, then employed for the defence of Christendom, in War by Sea against the Turk; but much more to the destruction of the Catholick Religion, and the establishment of the Hugonots. Great were the contestations that passed in this interview; for on the one side, the Legats reasons were home and evident; and on the other side, the Kings answers were so obscure and ambiguous, that the business seemed not possible to be determined, without alienating his mind utterly from the Pope; to whom it appeared most intolerable, that the most Christian King, who he hoped (mindful of so great assistance received from him) would have favoured the Christian League now by making an unseasonable War against the King of *Spain*, should be an occasion of breaking it, and a means of giving so great opportunities to the common Enemy, of doing mischief to all Christendom: But it seemed no less strange unto him, that so much money having been spent, and so much blood shed of late years to suppress the Calvinist party, the King now perverting all his old determinations, should put all good Catholicks away from him, and of a sudden give himself a prey to the Hugonots, treating Leagues and Confederacies with foreign Princes excommunicated by the Apostolick See, to the damage and prejudice of those that were most firm and affectionate to the Romish Religion. Nor was he at all satisfied by the Kings answers; who sometimes urging the weak and troublesom estate of his Kingdom, excused the peace concluded with the Hugonots; sometimes with obscure words that might receive a double interpretation, affirmatively promised, that at last all should end to the satisfaction of the Pope, and the benefit of the Catholick Religion; which nothing abated the doubtfulness of the Legats mind, seeing his words and actions so different. Yet ceased not the King with most effectual demonstrations to try all means possible to content him, honouring him in publick, making much of him in private, using all manner of art and industry, even to the presenting him a wonderful rich Jewel with his own hands; which the Cardinal refused to accept, saying, That by his Majesties unexpected falling from the Zeal of the Catholick Religion, all his most valued and precious Jewels were no more than dirt in the estimation of all good Catholicks: the sharpness of which words, and many other open signs of distaste, were not a little resented by the King, knowing the bottom of his own intentions. Nor could this so hard a knot have been unloosed without a manifest breach, especially because the dispensation was absolutely denied, had it not been for the news of the Popes desperate sickness, for which cause the Legat departing suddenly, businesses remained still uncertain, and undetermined.

Pius Quintus being dead, about the latter end of *April*, *Gregory* the Thirteenth, of a more mild easie nature, succeeded in the Chair; who in the beginning of his Papacy, perswaded by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, (who partly to seem discontented at the Court of *France*; partly, to manage the present affairs with more secrecy, was gone to *Rome*) granted the Bull of dispensation; but in such form as did not then satisfy the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and after brought in question the validity of the Contract: but the King and Queen not looking so narrowly to the Dispensation, having the Popes consent in what manner soever it were, solicited now to bring it to a conclusion; for the Lady *Marguerite*, partly by her Mothers perswasions, partly by her Brothers threat-

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1572.

The King dislikes to
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Princes.

Cardinal *Alessandrino* Le-
gat to *Pius*
Quintus, re-
fuseth a rich
jewel pre-
sented to him
by the Kings
own hand.

Gregory the 13
succeeding
Pius Quintus,
granted a
Dispensation
for the mar-
riage between
the Prince of
Navarre and
the Kings Si-
ster.

1572. nings, partly not to bring her honour in question, which already was something doubtfully spoken of; though she gave no absolute consent, yet denied no more so openly to marry the Prince of *Navarre*.

But all these practices being ripe, in the beginning of *June* the Queen of *Navarre* comes to *Paris*, received with so much joy of the whole Court, that *France* had not seen a day of greater rejoycing in many years. Two days after arrived the Prince of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*; accompanied with Count *Lodowick*, the Count of *la Roch-fou-cault*, and all the Trains of the Princes, being the chief Commanders, Cavaliers and Gentlemen that had held the Hugonot party: among which, *Piles*, *Briquemant*, and *Pluvialt*, Colonels, who in the course of that War had by their Valour acquired so much glory and renown; the *Sieur de Guerchy*, he that defended *Sanferre*, the Marquess of *Renel*, the *Sieurs de None*, *de Colombiere*, and *Lavardin*, famous Commanders of Horse, and a great many other men of quality and reputation.

The League Offensive and Defensive was already concluded with the Queen of *England*; Prince *Casimir* and *William* his Brother, both Sons of the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, were already perswaded to receive pensions from the King, when the Admiral, forgetting all his former jealousies, full of incredible pride and intolerable pretensions, returned to Court with a great train of his adherents; and to put the King upon a necessity of making War with the Spaniard, even against his will, he so ordered the matter, that Count *Lodowick*, and the *Sieurs de Genlis*, and *de la None*, who were gotten to the confines of *Picardy*, where a great many Hugonot Gentlemen and Souldiers were privately drawn together, suddenly surprized the City of *Mons* in the County of *Heinault*, a principal place, and of very great importance to the Provinces of *Flanders*; which rashness, though it inwardly much troubled the Kings mind, yet with admirable patience seeming very well pleased with, he thereby took occasion presently to dispatch *Philippo Strozzi* with a great many old Companies into places near about *Rochel*, under pretence of imbarcking them in Ships, that were made ready in that Port, to pass them over to those coasts of the Low-Countries which were held by the Confederates of *Flanders*; but indeed they were to be ready upon all occasions to surprize and possess themselves of that City, as soon as the present designs were brought to maturity: Thus with cunning policies they went deluding the subtilties of the Admiral, who held in the highest esteem, as Arbitrator of the Court and Government, seemed alone to rule the *Genius*, and direct the will of the King of *France*.

And because to begin a War of so great moment, it appeared necessary to take away the obstacle of civil discords, the King earnestly intreated the Admiral, that the enmities between him and the House of *Lorain*, might by some means or other be accommodated; which was propounded for no other end, but because the help of the Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Aumale*, and the forces of the Catholick party were necessary for the execution of the designs that were in agitation; they sought that colour to bring them to the Court without suspicion of the Hugonots. Under this pretence the Lords of the House of *Lorain* being come to *Paris* with all the train of their Faction; they promised, as also did the Admiral, in the presence of the King, that they would no more offend one another, referring all their differences either to his Majesties arbitrement, or to the opportunity of other times, when the King and his Council should think fit: by which ambiguous promises, the inveterate hatred and enmity which had so many years continued between them, and which was the original cause of all the present miseries and troubles, seemed rather smothered for a time, than utterly extinguished.

But now matters were not only brought to the point intended, but the execution of them could no longer be deferred; for on the one side the Ambassador of the Catholick King after the taking of *Mons*, had not only left the Court, but was also gone out of the Kingdom: and on the other side, the Hugonots without expecting further order or Commission, tumultuously ran to the aid of their adherents, with too great boldness, and too dangerous commotions; whereby, contrary to the Kings intentions, the War with the Spaniards was kindled in the Confinde of his Kingdom.

The first thunderbolt of so great a tempest fell upon the Queen of *Navarre*; who being a Woman and a Queen, they thought fittest to take her away by poison, administered as was reported in the perfume or trimming of a pair of Gloves; but in such secret

The Admiral causeth the Hugonots to surprize the City of *Mons* in *Heinault* in *Flanders*, to force the King to a War with *Spain*: he is displeased, but dissembles it.

The Lords of the House of *Lorain* and the Admiral are seemingly made friends before the King.

The War against the Spaniards breaks out against the Kings will.

The Queen of *Navarre* is poisoned with a pair of gloves.

cret manner, and in such just proportion, that having worn them a while, a violent Feaver seized upon her, which ended her life within four days. She was a Lady of a most high spirit and invincible courage, much above the condition of the female sex; by which vertues she not only bore up the degree and estimation of a Queen, though she had no Kingdom; but assaulted by the persecutions of so many, and so powerful Enemies, she sustained the War most undauntedly; and finally, in the greatest dangers, and most adverse fortune of her party, she built up that greatness of her Son, from whence, as from the first root, in after years sprung forth the exaltation of his State, and the renowned glory and immortality of his Name; qualities (besides her chastity and magnificence) worthy eternal praise, if (thinking it lawful for her, without the help of learning to search into, and expound the deepest mysteries in Divinity) she had not obstinately persisted in the opinions of Calvinism: Queen *Jane* being dead, because the Hugonots began to suspect something by that so unexpected accident, the King knowing that the poyson had only wrought upon her brain, caused the body to be cut up in open view, the parts whereof being all very sound, the head, under colour of respect, was left untouched, and the testimony of skilful Physicians divulged, that through the malignity of her Feaver she died of a Natural Death.

1572.

After her Funeral, her Son assumed the Arms and Title of King of *Navarre*; but his Marriage with the Kings Sister was deferred for a few days, not to mingle joy unseasonably with that grief for which the King himself and the whole Court had put on mourning; about which time the Citizens of *Rochel* (constant in not trusting any body, not willing to return unto the Kings obedience, but fortifying continually, and even in the midst of Peace providing all things necessary for War) perswaded the Prince and the Admiral to retire from the Court: which exhortations, as well of the Rochellers, as those of *Geneva*, and others of that party, were more earnestly reiterated after the Queen of *Navarre's* death; every one thinking that so sudden an accident was the unhappy omen of an unfortunate conclusion. But the Admiral in his present felicity having utterly forgot his ancient Maxims, and wholly laid aside his former diffidence; either believing that by his wisdom he had really gotten the Kings favour, and eclipsed the credit of all others; or deluded by the cunning dissimulations of the Court; or else drawn by the hidden power of Fate, presumed so much upon himself and his own authority, and was so infinitely pleased with the thoughts of the enterprize of *Flanders*, that he was far from doubting any sinister event; but despising all others, and even the King also, he esteemed himself the Oracle of *France*, and believed himself with small pains able to overturn all the attempts and practices of his enemies; and if any of his friends put him in mind of the *Guises* being at Court with so great a train, and the number of Ships of War and Souldiers which were made ready by *Strozzi*, and the Baron *de la Garde* about *Rochel*; he answered, Those preparations were made by his advice, to make incursions upon the coasts of *Flanders*; and the presence of the *Guises* at the Marriage, was only to give them some little satisfaction, being at one instant deprived of the Kings favour, and the management of affairs of State; that they should neither fear nor doubt, for his wisdom and counsel had at last overcome all the malice of his Enemies; and now that he had once set foot in the counsels, he was sure his decrees should be the guide and rule of the whole Government for the time to come: with which conceit he was so puffed up, that growing to an unmeasurable height of pride, he spake so boastingly of himself, that he became almost intolerable to his nearest and most partial friends; and was often heard to say, that neither *Alexander* the Great, nor *Julius Caesar* could be compared to him; for both of them had always had favourable and prosperous success; but he having lost four Battels, had in spite and to the shame of ill fortune, by his valour and policy, always risen again more dreadful and terrible to his Enemies: and lastly, when all men thought he had no way left to save his life, but to flee, and wander about the world, he had managed his affairs so well, as brought his Enemies to a necessity, not only of making peace with him, but also of granting him conditions more proper for a Conquerour, than one that was overcome. These discourses were not approved by some, and amongst others, *Langoiran*, who resolved to be gone; and when he took his leave, being asked by the Admiral why he went; *I go* (said he) *because I see you too much made on, and I had rather save my self with fools, than perish with those that are too wise.*

The Prince of *Navarre* assumes the title of King.

The Admiral prefers himself before *Julius Caesar* and *Alexander* the Great.

1572.

The Lady Marguerite being asked if she would have the King of Navarre for her Husband, answered not; but being urged by the King, bowed her head.

In the interim, the time appointed for the marriage being come, it was celebrated the eighteenth day of *August* in this manner: The King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Marguerite* led by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and accompanied by the King and the whole Court, went to *Nostre-Dame*, the Cathedral Church of *Paris*; where having left the Lady *Marguerite* kneeling at the Altar, (the Cloth of state being there set up) the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and the other Hugonot Lords went out of the Church, that they might not be present at Mass; which being ended, and they recalled by the Marechal d' *Anville*, the Marriage was celebrated by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; in which many observed, that the Lady *Marguerite* being asked if she would take the King of *Navarre* to be her Husband, answered not one word; but the King her Brother having with his hand made her yield and bow down her head, it was reported that she shewed her consent by that action; though she both before and after, when she could speak freely, declared always, that not only to be deprived of the Duke of *Guise*, to whom she had formerly engaged her promise, but also to make his capital Enemy her Husband, were things wherewith she could not possibly bring her mind to be contented. But the King of *Navarre*, either through the goodness of his disposition, much liker to his Father's candour, than the hardened pertinacy of his Mother; or else the condition of the times counselling him to dissemble, not only carried himself with infinite reverence and respect towards the Queen his Wives Mother, and the King his Brother-in-Law; but with a great deal of nobleness and discretion bore also with the humours and frowardness of his Wife, shewing himself so liberal and courteous to every one, and so full of thoughts of honour worthy the greatness of his birth, that stopping the mouth of Envy, which had so long been open against the Princes of the Blood, his Name formerly so detested at the Court, was now at last become popular: which noble demeanour spreading far abroad, and winning the minds of the King and the Queen-Mother, who besides the powerful tie of Blood, conceived daily greater hopes of his goodness and moderation, was likewise the cause that wrought them to a resolution of sparing his life and the Prince of *Conde's*; as well not to imbrue their hands in the shedding of the Blood Royal, (so venerable to the French Nation) as also for the assured hopes, that being taken out of the company, and separated from the conversation of factious men, they might prove as great pillars to uphold the Royal Family for the future, as in times past they had been hinderances to the peace and quiet of the Kingdom: Thus, either because of their ingenuity, or because the hidden will of Heaven had so decreed, a resolution was taken to spare the lives of the Princes of the Blood; and to deliver them from the counsels and government of the Admiral, the King commanded the Duke of *Guise* that the intended designs should be put in execution.

The King takes order with the Duke of *Guise* to have the designs put in execution.

The Duke of *Guise* was come to Court, with the Duke of *Anmale* his Uncle, the Duke of *Nemours* his Father-in-Law, the Duke d' *Elbeuf* his Cousen, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* his Brothers-in-Law, and a great company of Barons and Knights that held of the Catholick party, whereof by the consent of all he had the title of Prince, by long succession derived from his Father, and confirmed by the eminent authority of the Cardinal of *Lorain*. In the number of his followers, were many Commanders and Gentlemen of divers Nations, who living upon his pensions liberally bestowed upon them, were ready upon all occasions, though with the danger of their lives, to execute whatsoever he commanded. Wherefore having in order to the secret designs, received liberty by the Kings Commission to take away the life of the Admiral, he put those arts in practice which the other was suspected to have used before, in causing the death of his Father, and committed the business to one *Maurevell*, (the same who had slain Monsieur de *Muy* at the siege of *Niort*) giving him charge to take away his life as he came from Court, not at all suspecting any such matter. *Maurevell* having received this order, and being of a nature and inclination ready enough to put it in execution, found out a little house near the *Louvre*, which with some others thereabouts was appointed for the Dukes Family; and wherein no body else lodged; and having locked himself up in a lower room, and covered the Iron-bars of the Window with an old Cloak, he lay there with great secrecie and patience, watching his time to perform what he had undertaken; nor had he waited above three days, when the Admiral coming out of the Court in the morning, on the 20 day of *August*, to return to his own house, whilst followed by his servants, he walked softly on foot to read a certain paper, he had opportunity to shoot him with a brace of Bullets, one of which took.

took off the fore-finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him grievously near the left elbow. The Admiral feeling himself shot, knew the Window whence it came, and shewing it to his followers, the door was presently broken open, and the house searched, wherein they could find no body but a little Boy; for *Maurevell* escaping out at a back-door, took an horse which he had appointed to be there ready for him, and was already fled out at the Port St. *Antoine*; so that the Boy neither knowing the Name of him that had done the deed, nor the way he took, it was not possible to have any certainty concerning him at that time. The news of this accident was brought to the King while he was playing with the Duke of *Guise* at Tennis in the Court of the *Louvre*, and feigning himself exceedingly troubled at it, he presently left play, and departed, threatening and protesting aloud, that he would inflict most severe punishment upon those disturbers of his quiet, who durst presume to commit so hainous a crime even at the gates of his Royal Palace. He commanded all the City-gates to be shut, except two only for the bringing in of provisions, at which very careful guards were placed; and gave order that they should be kept with the greatest strictness that might be, pretending lest the murderer should make escape; but the truth was, lest any of that party should get out and save themselves by flight. The apprehension they had of the fierceness, wisdom and power of the Admiral, was peradventure the cause that they began with him; the Council doubting, that if he were alive, and in health, he would find some means for the safety of himself and of the rest of his Faction: but the principal motive that induced them to do so, was the opinion of *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, who at the consultation about that business, said, he was really of opinion, that to kill all the Hugonots together was both very easie, and very just; but he desired also that the execution might appear to carry some handfom colour; that causing the Admiral to be killed alone, every one would believe it was done only by the Lords of *Lorain*; whereat the Hugonots, according to their custom, would certainly be enraged, and break out into some uproar against the *Guises*, to whose assistance the Parisians, and all the Catholick party running together, the Hugonots would be shut up in the net, and utterly suppressed; and so meer chance should effect their designs, and the matter be imputed to private enmities, and not to the publick determinations of the State. But however it were, the King, who still seemed very much afflicted, having dined in great haste, went with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* to visit the Admiral; to whose lodgings were already come the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Marechal d' *Anville*, and all the chief of the Hugonot Faction: There the Admiral, finding that he was brought into a very ill condition by his wound, which had broken the bone, and torn all his elbow; as also because he knew he was in the power of his Enemies, asked the King leave that he might retire to *Chastillon*; where, free from the tumults and dangers of *Paris*, a City ill-affected to him, and depending upon his Enemies, he might be more safely and speedily cured: but the King complaining, and taking it unkindly, that he should not think himself safe in his protection, encouraged him, and (the Physicians joining in the same advice) perswaded him not to take such a journey, for fear the motion should cause some more dangerous accident, and intreated him to take his rest quietly without suspicion. To which words the Admiral replying, That he doubted not of his Majesties love and favour, but his fear for himself and his friends was of the insurrections of the Parisians: the King seeming careful and desirous to secure him, commanded that all his chief dependants should be lodged near the house where he lay, to the end they might be more safe, and more united to defend themselves from the tumults of the people; and gave order to the Duke of *Anjou*, that drawing the Regiment of his guards into the City, he should appoint a Company for the safety of the Admiral and those of his party: who presently obeying the Kings Command, drew in all the guards armed; and to watch that house and quarter where the Hugonots were lodged together, he chose Monsieur *de Cossens* with his Company, a man who, besides his fidelity to the King, depended nearly on the *Guises* Faction. The Admiral seeing he could not possibly get away, recommended his affairs to the trust and protection of the King, and with his accustomed Spirit (all his followers raging on every side) demanded justice of the insolence committed against him; to which both the King and Queen having answered with great signs of reality, and extream resentment for the accident that had befallen him, they returned to the *Louvre*, committing the care and custody of the City of *Paris* to the Duke of *Anjou*.

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Maurevell
shoots the Ad-
miral in the
left elbow,
and saves him-
self by flight.

The King and
the Queen-
Mother visit
the Admiral,
and under
pretence of
defending
him, set strict
guards upon
his house.

That

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That night and the next day were spent in consultations on both sides; for the Hugonots coming all about the Admirals Bed, debated not only about the means of securing themselves from the present danger; but being stirred up with anger, and exasperated with the injury, plotted how to renew the War without delay: in which deliberations, though some exhorted their Confederates to rely upon the Kings promises, yet the Visdame of *Chartres* spake so earnestly against it, that they determined whatsoever came of it, to remove the Admiral out of *Paris*, and retire together to *Chastillon*. *Teligny* being confident he should get the Kings leave; and the rest offering, in case it were denied, to carry him out of the City by force; resolving afterwards unanimously to take up Arms, and never to lay them down till the Catholick party were utterly destroyed, and the House of *Lorain* quite rooted out; every one speaking so fiercely in those tumultuous consultations, that they neither spared the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, nor the King of *Navarre* himself, whom already they reputed for their Enemy; which being discovered by means of the accustomed intelligence, was a spur to hasten the intended designs, and gave a more specious colour to those excuses that were after framed for the justification of them.

But when the Kings Council saw that the Hugonots venting their fury only in words, proceeded not to any action that could give occasion to the Insurrection; they resolved to lose no longer time, but presently to bring the suppression of them to a period; yet were there very great controversies about the execution; for the Duke of *Guise* was urgent to have the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* slain with the rest of the Hugonots; but the Queen-Mother, and all the rest abhorred to imbrue their hands in the Blood-Royal, it seeming (to them) a thing too cruel, too abominable, and to be detested in all Ages, that two young Princes of the Royal Family, in the flower of their age, in the embraces of their dearest Wives, and under the protection of so near and so late a conjunction, should be so miserably murdered: besides, they hoped confidently, that the Princes, united now by so straight a bond of consanguinity, would be sincerely reduced to the Kings obedience, and to the profession of the Catholick Faith, as soon as they should be freed from the Government of the Admiral, and deprived of the company of their factious fomenters, to which opinion the King inclining, who was more then indifferently affectionate to the virtue of the King of *Navarre*, in the next place was debated whether amongst the other Hugonots they should comprehend the *Mareschal d'Anville* and his Brothers, who professing the Catholick Religion, were both by blood and interest nearly united to the Admirals Faction. In this also the result inclined to mercy; as well to spare the effusion of more blood, which was the endeavour of many; as also because the *Mareschal de Momorancy* their eldest Brother, and he that was most strictly united to the Hugonots, being newly returned from his Embassy into *England*, was absent at that time; wherefore they thought it would rather kindle than extinguish the flame of Civil War, if taking away the younger Brothers, the eldest should be left in a condition to revenge their death: besides, they thought many things might be deferred till another occasion, when they might be effected with less noise, and more dexterity, (nor was that so urgent as the business of the Admiral, who (if one may say) mad with wrath and fury, did already contrive new wars and practices, by stirring up new commotions.) A counsel truly which in the like cases hath often proved fatal; men in the midst of bloody designs unadvisedly seeking to be praised for mercy and clemency; and not remembering, that in cases of extremity, it is neither laudable nor safe to use a mean; for the relicks of the disease by dangerous relapses, do frustrate the vigour of the most approved remedies.

But all things being resolved on, the Eve of the 24 of *August* approaching, which was the Feast of *St. Bartholomew*, being *Sunday*, about twilight the Duke of *Guise* went from Court, with order from the King to find *President Charron*, *Prevost des Merchans*, the chief Head of the people of *Paris*, giving him direction to provide two thousand armed men, who should wear every one a Shirt-sleeve upon their left arm, and white crosses in their hats, which upon notice given were instantly to execute the Kings commands: That he should cause to be in readiness the Sheriffs (*Echevins* as they call them) of the several Wards, and that upon ringing the Bell of the Palace-clock, lights should be put in every window through the Town; which things, by the inclination of the people, and the great authority of the Duke of *Guise*, besides Commission from the King, were presently performed. The Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Nevers*, with many

many other Lords of the Court took Arms, and accompanied by their friends, guarded the Kings person, all the guards being in Arms at the gate, and in the Court of the *Louvre*. At the prefixed hour, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Anmale*, and Monsieur d' *Angoulême*, Grand Prior of *France*, the Kings Bastard-Brother, with other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of three hundred, went to the Admirals house, and finding it (by the Duke of *Anjou's* order) all in Arms, and *Cossein's* Company with their lighted matches placed for a guard before it, they forcibly entred the gate of the Court, kept by a few of the King of *Navarre's* Halbardiers, and the servants of the house, which were all killed without mercy. Being come into the Court, the Lords staid there below, and one *Besme* a *Lorainer*, a Creature of the Duke of *Guise's* and *Accbille Petrucci*, a Gentleman of *Siena*, one of those strangers which he maintained, with Colonel *Sarlabous*, and the other Souldiers went up to the Admirals Chamber. He hearing the noise, got up, and kneeling down, leaned against his Bed, when seeing *Cornafon*, one of his servants, come frighted in, he asked him what noise it was: who answered, *My Lord, God calls us to him*, and ran out hastily at another door. They presently entred, and knowing the Admiral, made towards him; at which he turning towards *Besme*, who already had drawn his Sword against him, said, *Young Man, thou oughtest to reverence these my gray hairs; but do what thou wilt, for thou canst shorten my life but a very little*; after which words *Besme* ran him into the brest, and the rest, when they had made an end of killing him with their daggers, threw his body out of the window into the Court, and it was presently dragged into a stable: In the same Palace were slain *Teligny* the Admirals Son-in-law, and *Guerchy* his Lieutenant, who wrapping his cloak about his arm, fought for his life very manfully, Colonel *Montanmar*, and *Roura* Son to the Baron *des Adrets*, with all the rest that had relation to him.

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The Duke of *Guise* befeats the Admirals house.

The Admiral is slain, thrown out at the window, and dragged into a stable.

The King being come into the Chamber of the Queen his Mother, and having heard what had passed, sent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, who went thither in great perplexity, seeing that none of their Gentlemen nor attendants were suffered to go in with them: and at the same time Monsieur d' *O*, Colonel of the Kings guards, began to call the principal Hugonots that were in the *Louvre* one by one, who being come in to the Court, were all killed by the Souldiers, that stood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpose: there died the Count *de la Rochefoucault*, the Marquess *de Renel*, *Piles* who had very gallantly defended *St. Jean d'Angely*, *Pont-breton*, *Pulviant*, *Bandine*, *Francoart* Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*, *Pardillan*, *Lavardin*, and others to the number of 200.

All the chief Hugonots in the *Louvre* are killed.

At the same time the Bell of the Palace-clock gave sign to the Provost *des Merchands*; and those that were prepared for the deed, having received order what they were to do from *Marcel*, who a while before had had the same Office, and was of great authority among the people, they fell a killing the Hugonots throughout all the lodgings and houses where they were dispersed, and made an infinite slaughter of them, without any distinction of age, sex or condition. All the people were up in arms under the Masters of the Parishes, and candles were lighted in every window, so that without confusion they might go from house to house, executing the directions they had received; but though those that commanded were very diligent about it, yet could they not take so good order, but that many of the Catholicks, either through publick hatred or private spleen were slain amongst the rest, as *Denis Lambin*, and *Peter Ramus*, men very famous for learning, and divers others.

At the ringing of the Bell the Hugonot are massacred, and amongst them *Denis Lambin*.

The *Louvre* was kept shut all the day following, and in the mean time the King and Queen comforted the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, alledging that they were constrained to do that, which the Admiral had so often endeavoured, and had still a purpose to do to them; but they whose errors were excused by their youth, and pardoned for their nearness of alliance, were reserved alive, and should for the future be loved and cherished, so they would but profess the Catholick Religion, acknowledging, and yielding obedience to the King: to which words the King of *Navarre*, serving the time, and dissembling that which could not be helped, being resolved to preserve himself for a better fortune, answered with very great compliance, That he was ready to obey the Kings will and commandment: wherewith *Charles* being very well pleased, to gratifie him, saved the lives of the Count *de Grammont*, and Monsieur *Duras*, who as they promised, served him faithfully ever after. But the Prince of *Conde*, either through the inconsiderateness of his age, or a natural

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* are kept in the Kings chamber during the massacre, and after are kept prisoners.

fierce-

1572. fierceness derived from his Ancestors, in his answer made shew of opposing the Kings commands, saying, He desired only that no violence might be used against his Conscience; whereat the King exceedingly displeased, reproved him bitterly; often calling him insolent, mad, stubborn Traitor, Rebel, and Son of a Rebel, and threatned to take away his life, if he did not within three days turn Catholick, and give evident signs of his repentance; so guards were placed both upon him and the King of Navarre, all their chief Servants being taken from them, and presently cut in pieces; in whose places new ones were provided by the King according to his own mind. Those Hugonots that were lodged in the Fauxburg St. Germain beyond the Seine, among which were the Count de Montgomery and the Visdame of Chartres, (who prefiging some mischief, would not remove to the Admirals quarter) when they heard the noise, the Parisians not making haste enough to hinder their passage, instantly fled; but were followed by the Duke of Guise, (who at break of day passed the water with a great many Horse and Foot) and being overtaken, some without shooes, some without arms, some without saddles, some without bridles, but all equally unable to make resistance, were scattered and cut off, except the Count of Montgomery and the Visdame of Chartres, who with about ten in company saved themselves, and after many difficulties, getting unknown unto the Sea side, escaped over into England.

Ten thousand Hugonots killed in Paris, whereof five hundred were Barons, and men of quality. Cruelties used to the Admirals body

There were killed in the City that day and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefest employments in the War, and were now purposely met together from all parts to honour the King of Navarre's Marriage; Monsieur de Briquemant, and Arnauld Cavagnes were taken prisoners, and by sentence of the Parliament were afterwards quartered as Rebels. The Admirals body was pulled out of the stable, and cruelly abused by the fury of the common people, who detesting his very name, tore his head from his shoulders, cut off his hands, and dragging him thorow the streets to Montfaucon the place of execution, left him hanging by one of his feet upon the Gallows; and a few days after, (all the people rejoycing at it) they set fire on the same Gallows, half burning it, their barbarous cruelty finding no end, till two Servants of the Marshal de Momorancy stole away the relicks of his miserable carcase, and buried them secretly at Chantilly. Thus died Gasper de Coligny the Admiral, whose name for the space of twelve years had with no less fame than terrour filled the Kingdom of France; an evident example to the whole world, how ruinous and sudden the end useth to be of those, who not considering any thing but their own interests, think by subtile cunning practices to establish a lasting greatness upon the sole foundation of humane wisdom: for it is not to be doubted, but that he, bred up from his youth in the chief Commands of War, and brought by his valour and conduct to the highest pitch of honour, would have equalled, if not exceeded all other Souldiers of his time, and have attained to the degree of Constable, and all the greatest Offices in that Kingdom, if against the authority of his Prince, he had not chosen to exalt himself by factions and civil dissensions; since that the clear lights of his industry, valour, constancy, and above all, a marvellous ability in managing the greatest designs, shined forth even in the deepest obscurity of discords and insurrections.

The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of Anjou going from the Louvre, accompanied by the Regiment of the guards, went thorow all the City and Suburbs, causing those houses to be broken open that made any resistance; but all the Hugonots were either already dead, or else being terrified, had put white crosses in their hats, which was the general mark of the Catholicks; endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themselves, to save their lives; but being pointed at in the streets by any one, or discovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and cast into the River.

The like Commissions against the Hugonots sent through the whole Kingdom. Where executed, and where not.

The day before this terrible execution, the King dispatched posts into divers parts of the Kingdom, commanding the Governours of Cities and Provinces to do the like; but this Commission was performed with more or less severity, according to their several inclinations; for the same night at Meaux, and the days ensuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tbolouze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a most bloody slaughter of the Hugonots, without any respect of age, sex, or quality of persons: on the other side, in those places where the Governours were either dependents on the Princes, or followers of the Family of Momorancy, the order was

was but slowly and remissly executed; and in *Provence* the Count of *Tende* refused openly to obey it; for which cause, being within a while after at the City of *Avignon*, he was secretly made away, and as it was believed, by the Kings Commission. Most sad and lamentable stories might be here related; for this cruelty was prosecuted in so many several places, with such variety of accidents, against people of all conditions, as it was credibly reported that there were slain above forty thousand Hugonots in a few days: but the rule I have hitherto observed of following precisely the order of this History, will not suffer me to digress in making the tragical Narration of those passages.

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It is reported
that 40000
Hugonots
were killed in
the Massacre.

The third day after the death of the Admiral, the persecution of the Hugonots not being yet ended, the King, accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of his Court, went unto the Parliament, and though at first he had both by words and letters attributed the whole business to a popular tumult, yet there unmasking his designs, with a long relation he laid open the reasons for which he had commanded all those Rebels against his Person and Kingdom to be destroyed, who, notwithstanding his gracious Pardons so often granted to their former offences, returned still with perfidious obstinacy to plot new treasons and insurrections; that at last he was necessitated to prevent them, for fear of being prevented, having miraculously discovered their conspiracy to take away his life; and not his alone, but the lives of the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alencon* his Brothers, and even the King of *Navarre's* also, who because he was alienated from their party, was esteemed no less their Enemy than all the rest: Wherefore he thought good to make those his Magistrates acquainted therewith, to the end they might proceed with the same sharpness against so wicked a conspiracy, and make known to all the world the just and necessary causes that had forced him to use such rigour and severity. After these words wherewith he earnestly endeavoured to persuade them, that the business had been sudden, and not premeditate, happening in a manner by chance, and urged by necessity, not ripened by long plotted contrivance, he gave order it should be recorded among the ordinary Acts of that Court, that whatsoever had befallen the Admiral and the rest of his Faction, either in *Paris*, or any other part of the Kingdom, was done by his will, order, and express commission. Then he commanded them to proceed to the examination of the prisoners, to defame the memory of the dead by laying open their rebellions, and by inflicting such punishments upon them as the strictness of the Law enjoined; and lastly, he caused to be published, not only in the Parliament, but likewise in all the streets of *Paris*, That they should desist from further effusion of Blood, that which was already spilt having abundantly satisfied his just severity; which availed something in *Paris*, where the number of the Hugonots was already almost extinct and brought to nothing; but in other Cities whither the order came too late, it was more or less obeyed according to the distance of places. The Parliament readily embraced the Commission of proceeding against the Hugonots, and with the examination of the prisoners, legally making their process, they condemned *Briquemant* and *Cavagnes*, who were imprisoned in the Palace, to be publicly torn with Pincers, and their bodies quartered; commanding also a Statue of the Admirals to be broken in pieces and burned, declaring him a Rebel, a Disturber of the Kingdom, a Heretick, and an Enemy to all good men; not having any bounds to their cruelty against his memory, the Magistrates sentenced the *Hôtel de Chastillon* to be razed to the very ground, and all his posterity to be deprived of Nobility, and made incapable of bearing any Office, or possessing any goods in the Kingdom of *France*; and that their deeds might be answerable to their words, the King dispatched his Grand Provost, with all diligence to seize upon his Wife and Children; but his eldest Son, with the Widow Lady his Mother-in-law, the Wife of *Teligny*, and Monsieur *de la Vall* the Son of *Andelot* deceased, were already fled secretly to *Geneva*, and the better to avoid their danger, went to live among the Swisses in the Canton of *Bearn*; the younger Children, both male and female, were condemned to death in their tender years, coming to that end, which in the variety of worldly affairs accompanies the ruine of great Families.

The Admirals
Statue burn-
ed, and his
Palace razed.

At the same time this execution was done at *Paris*, *la Charite*, which was still held by the Hugonots, was surprized by the *Gens d'Arms* of the Duke of *Nevers*, who going into the Town under pretence of being mustered and receiving their pay, possessed themselves of the gates, and principal places of the City so suddenly and

B b

discreetly,

1572. discreetly, that the Towns-men durst not stir to make opposition; and so the City remained in the power of the Kings Officers. The same was attempted by the Viscount *de Joyeuse* at *Montaubon*, and by *Philippo Strozzi* at *Rochel*, which if they had succeeded; there might have been some hopes that *France* would have been quieted; but the inhabitants looking warily to themselves, and keeping very strong guards, both the enterprizes failed of the expected event, all those provisions being to no purpose, which had been made under colour of the War of *Flanders*. But the Viscount *de Joyeuse* having with him only some Gentlemen of that Country, his design being discovered, dissolved his party, and retired to the places under his Government: On the other side, *Strozzi* having sufficient strength both of Foot and Horse, began to besiege and streighten *Rochel*, still exhorting and perswading the Citizens to avoid the trial of strict justice, and the hazards of a desperate War, by returning willingly to the Kings obedience; to which they answered ambiguously to gain time, were resolved not to hearken, not only because they presumed upon the strength and situation of the Town, but also because, by the great number of Hugonot Ministers and Preachers who were fled thither, they were daily stirred up and encouraged to preserve the liberty they enjoyed, and not to trust the promises of the Catholicks, whose Doctrine allowed them to break their Faith with any, who being of different Religion were by them accounted Hereticks; against which *Strozzi* opposing other reasons, and shewing the necessity of obedience to the King, and the ruine which by their stubbornness they would bring upon themselves, the time was more spent in treaties and messages, than in any action or enterprize of War; yet both Horse and Foot lay near on all sides of the Town, and the Fleet scoured all those coasts, to keep them from supplies of men or victual.

In this interim the Conversion of the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* was laboured at the Court, the Queen and all the Council being of opinion, that the Princes now taken from the Hugonot party, and the male-contents deprived of the pretence and countenance of the Blood Royal, the State would remain quite purged from those humours which for so many years had with obstinate violence disturbed the quiet of it; finding the severeness of the late executions produce such hopeful effects, that an abundance of Hugonots already professed the Catholick Religion, and many leaving their Country, were gone to live out of the Kingdom. The effecting of this Conversion was most diligently endeavoured by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Uncle to both the Princes, a man of great integrity and extraordinary vertue, omitting no means which he thought might help to bring their tender minds to the Catholick Religion, and every day with Father *Maldonat* a Jesuite, and other Doctors, spending many hours to instruct them. It happened very opportunely that Monsieur *des Rosiers*, who had been a Hugonot Minister, and about that time was converted, either because he clearly saw his former errors, or to avoid the imminent danger, and to get the favour of those in power, disputed with great eloquence and learning against the Doctrine and opinions of *Calvin*; which gave the Princes a reasonable colour, and specious pretence of coming fairly into the bosom of the Church, following the Conversion of him that had been a principal Teacher and Maintainer of their former Faith. The King of *Navarre* was the first, who yielding to the time, and having resolved to conform himself to his present condition, with less difficulty, and greater expressions of approbation reconciled himself to the Church, the greatest part of his Servants that were left alive, following his example: But the Prince of *Conde*, who though of a younger age, perhaps for want of experience, was of a more wilful obstinate spirit, notwithstanding he was assaulted by continual threats and perswasions, refused still to turn Catholick, till the King, exasperated by his stubbornness, causing him to be brought unto him for his last trial, with an angry voice and terrible aspect spake only these three words unto him, *MASSE, DEATH, or BASTILE*, not suffering him to reply one word to the contrary; which terrour joined to so many other motives that were made use of to overcome him, bent his mind at last to follow the example of all the rest; and being instructed by the Cardinal his Uncle, he came publickly to *Masse*, together with the Princess his Wife, Sister to the Dutchess of *Nevers* and *Gnise*; and the same did *Louis* Prince of *Conty*, and *Charles* Count of *Soissons* his younger Brothers, who persevered afterwards sincerely in the Catholick Religion. From the Conversion of all these Princes the King and Queen conceived infinite hope of more peaceable times; and for the better confirmation of it, the King

The King of
Navarre turns
Catholick.

Words of the
King to the
Prince of *Con-*
de.

The Prince
and his Bro-
thers turns
Catholicks.

of

of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* sent Ambassadors to render publick obedience to the Pope; who rejoycing at their conversion, which happened in the beginning of his Papacy, answered their Embassie with many demonstrations of affection; the whole Court of *France* being in the mean time very much satisfied, that by those designs the Kingdom was brought into a most probable hope of a settled Peace and tranquillity: for the perfecting whereof they endeavoured all possible means to reduce the City of *Rochel*.

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But as bloody violent counsels are seldom seen to produce prosperous effects, the wilfulness of men, or the providence of God had already disposed otherwise: for all those that by divers chances had escaped the slaughter of the Hugonots, and did not comply with the Catholick profession, according to the several qualities of places, took different courses and resolutions. Those of *Britagne*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, Provinces along the coast of the Ocean Sea, just over against *England*, fled in great numbers into that Island, not only to live there according to the Doctrine of their Faith, but also uniting themselves under the command of the Count *de Montgomery*, by the favour and protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, to repass the Sea, and some where or other to disturb the tranquillity of *France*. Those of *Daulphine*, *Provence*, and *Lionois*, retired into *Switzerland*, where writing and enveighing continually against that cruel Massacre of all those of the same Religion, they laboured to raise the Protestant Cantons, and to make them break that ancient Confederacy whereby they were united to the Crown of *France*: among these, as we have said, were the Sons of *Andelot* and the Admiral, who by the fame of their Fathers authority, and the tenderness of their years, and the misery of their present condition, stirred up the minds of every one to great pity and compassion. Those of *Champagne* and *Burgundy* were gotten into the Cities of *Germany*, and there endeavoured to make the actions of the King of *France* to be suspected and ill-interpreted by the Hans-towns, and Protestant Princes. But those near the Mediterranean, and the inner parts of the Kingdom, having no other way to save themselves, took refuge into four strong Towns which were held by those of that party, and there with all their might prepared for their own defence. Those of the Isle of *France*, *Beauvais*, and *Nivernois*, had possessed *Santerre*: the inhabitants of *Gascony* and *Languedoc* fortified themselves in *Nismes* and *Montauban*: and those of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and part of *Guienne*, were fled to *Rochel*, as into a secure harbour. There under the command of *Jaques Henry* Mayor of the City, (whose authority is chief in the Civil Government) all the inhabitants had armed and divided themselves into four Companies, each of two hundred, and were daily exercised to learn the use of their arms: besides which, the Common Council, to the number of an hundred and fifty, were listed under Colours apart, as the Colonels Company, and commanded by *Arandel* the Mayors Lieutenant, a man of great valour and experience: besides these Trained Bands which served without pay for their own defence, one thousand five hundred other Souldiers were gathered together from the neighbouring Provinces, who under several Captains were paid by the contributions of the Cities and Towns near adjacent, being all men of a resolute courage, and who for the most part had been exercised in the late Wars. To these were added about sixty Gentlemen fled thither from places thereabout, and fifty seven Ministers, who amidst the noise of Arms, and toils of their Fortifications, ceased not to stir up and encourage the people to defend themselves to the last man. The preparations of Ammunition, Cannon, and other Warlike Instruments were not inferiour to the stoutness and readiness of the people: for besides the abundance of Powder, which they made continually, having set up Mills for that purpose, there were in the City-Magazine great store of Pikes and Muskets, nine very great Culverins, eight Cannon, twelve Sackes, thirty eight Field-pieces, and above seventy Faulconets, and Harquebuzes: a Croc; the managing whereof the Citizens daily practised with great diligence: Nor was their care less in providing victual, for neither sparing pains nor cost they had filled their Store-houses with Corn and Wine, whereof the Isles near to them bore great abundance, as of all other things needful for the sustenance of men in the longest Sieges.

Against all these preparations for War, the King and Queen opposed not the gathering together of Arms, but treaties and inducements to Peace: for desiring to enjoy the fruits of their designs without new dangers and troubles, they sought to reduce the Rochellers, if not to a real, at least to a seeming obedience, and to ex-

1572. gnish the remainder of that fire which might kindle and break forth in new commotions. For this cause they appointed Monsieur *de Byron* Governour of *Rochel*, a man generally held to be a favourer of the Hugonot Faction, and by many thought to have a tincture of *Calvins* opinions; but indeed the course of his life shewed him afterwards to be a true Catholick, though envy made him an enemy to the house of *Guise*, and his own interests a desirer of War. But though the King and Queen were once minded to have taken away his life among the rest in the late Massacre, yet by reason of their many favours formerly conferred upon him, they were unadvisedly confident of his fidelity in this employment, and were perswaded that the Rochellers would trust him also, and admit him at least into a seeming, if not an absolute Government; by which means they might save the Kings reputation, secure their own lives, and the liberty of the City. But the event shewed how little faith there is to be given to those men, who graving the injuries they receive in marble, while the doers write them but in sand, forget not those dangers, but inwardly conceal thoughts and designs very different from the outward appearance; for Monsieur *de Byron* being come to *Rochel*, either desiring the continuance of the War, wherein he had placed the hopes of his advancement; or through a natural pride angry that his services were not sufficiently acknowledged; or because already suspecting the Catholick party, he was loth it should prevail absolutely; or fearing they had given him that imaginary Government, thereby to take away his command of the Artillery; or doubting that all that were suspected in the present Government, should be destroyed one by one; and for his own particular mistrusting the House of *Guise*, or for what other cause soever it were, he perswaded the Rochellers under hand neither to receive him nor any body else into their City, for that the admission of a Governour would bring them to a necessity of submitting absolutely to the Kings obedience, whose intention he knew was not only to destroy the Hugonot party, but also to take away the immunities and privileges of the City it self, and to bring it to a slavish subjection, to the end it might never more be a receptacle or a foundation for the disturbers of the Kingdom: by which secret intimations the Rochellers were confirmed in their obstinacy; and though Monsieur *de Byron* seemed outwardly very desirous, and made shew of taking great pains to procure his admittance, they still refused, alledging that it was directly contrary to the liberties and privileges which the King had always protested he would allow them.

Many days were spent in these treaties, and in the mean time the arts of *Byron* being suspected by the Queen, she began to think of some more fitting instrument to perswade and mollifie the hardness of the Rochellers; nor did fortune delay to present a man that seemed very proper for that purpose; for the Hugonots in the Admirals life time, having (to assist their Confederates) passed under Count *Lodowick of Nassau* into *Flanders*, taken the City of *Mons*, and begot great jealousies in the Spaniards, who not understanding the artifices of the French King, were inclined to believe that action was done by his consent, to give a beginning to the enterprize that was divulged against the Low-Countries; all the Forces of the Catholick King drew that way, to quench so dangerous a fire in its beginning, and to interrupt the course of that War which they most confidently accounted real: but the Massacre of the Hugonots following presently after, and the Kings intentions being laid open to all the world, the Surprizers of *Mons* were not only deprived of their credit and reputation, but also of all hope of relief; and being put to great straits and necessities in the siege, were forced to yield, dispersing themselves into *Picardy*, and the Countries thereabout, where they were sharply persecuted by the Governours; and Monsieur *de Genlis* their chief Commander, after his forces were defeated and cut off by Monsieur *de Villers*, Governour of *Chausse*, lost his life, with a great many of his Souldiers and Officers. Only Monsieur *de la Noue*, he who in the late Wars had been Governour of *Rochel*, and had with so much honour defended *Xaintonge* for the Princes, was secretly saved by the Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of that Province, who having obtained a safe conduct for him, brought him to the King, by whom he was graciously received, as one worthy of high esteem, both for his wisdom, valour, and experience in Arms.

This was a personage thought proper to be made use of to deal with the Rochellers, judging that by reason of the brave exploits he had formerly done in their service, he was likely to have great power in perswading them, and by his policy and eloquence

to overcome the stubborn wilfulness of the people; for which end the King and Queen acquainting him with their intentions, and that their aim was not to reduce the liberties and privileges of the Rochellers to a strict servitude; nor to force their Consciences to forsake the Faith they professed, nor the Doctrine they believed; but only to secure themselves that the City might be no more a receptacle of the Enemies and Disturbers of the State, and with their wonted privileges, and full Liberty of Conscience, to make them acknowledge and obey their natural King; he undertook the employment, though some say, against his will, and departed from Court in the company of the Abbot *Giovanni Baptista Guadagni* a Florentine, to make trial of the last resolution of the Citizens. But the minds of that people, partly by the secret advice of *Byron*, partly by the continual exhortations of their Preachers, were already so hardened, that it was utterly vain to use any further means of bringing them to submit unto the Kings obedience; and *Monsieur de la Noue* being received (though but coldly, and with little shew of honour) into the City, whether it were his first intention, or whether the doubt of his own safety moved him to it, in stead of persuading them to yield to the Kings mercy, resolved not only to stay there with them, but also to accept the Office of their Captain-General; which they, wanting a man of valour and authority to command their Forces, had offered to him. Wherefore the Abbot *Guadagni* that came with him, returning to Court, the excuses he sent the King for having accepted that charge, were, the hopes he gave to reduce the people in time to his Majesties obedience, and the fear that (he refusing it) their necessity might cast them into the hands of some other person, who by giving way to the seditious and to foreigners, might endanger the peace and safety of the Kingdom; with which pretences endeavouring to save his credit, he cunningly held the King in doubt till the succeeding accidents did in part give proof of his present assertions.

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Monsieur de la Noue sent Governor by the King to *Rochel*, turns General to the Hugonots.

This was the second error committed at Court, in procuring the reduction of *Rochel*; for in stead of using force at first, whilst the Citizens were doubtful and uncertain, and the City then not so well fortified and provided of Ammunition, they fearing to renew the War, and perchance slighting that business as a thing of no difficulty, tryed to effect it by a Treaty; and first by sending *Monsieur de Byron* they increased the courage and obstinacy of the inhabitants; and then by employing *Monsieur de la Noue*, they furnished them with a Commander, which was their greatest want. Now because they knew at last that policies and persuasions failing, it was necessary to use force, and found that their example encouraged *Nismes*, *Sanserre*, *Montauban*, and some other lesser places surprized by the Hugonots, to make the like resistance, the King being resolved (though too late) by one means or other to end the business, gave order that *Monsieur de la Chastre* Governor of *Berry*, without further delay should besiege *Sanserre*; that the Marquess *de Villars* being at last declared the King of *Navarre's* Lieutenant, should go into *Guienne*; that *Monsieur de Joyeuse*, in whom the King and Queen confided very much, should undertake *Nismes* and other places adjacent; and that *Philippe Strazzi* and *Monsieur de Byron* (whose arts they either knew not, or nevertheless would not deprive themselves of his valour) should lay close siege to *Rochel*, whither also the Duke of *Anjou* was presently to march with all the Forces of the Kingdom.

Of these, *Monsieur de la Chastre*, a man very well affected to the Catholick Religion, and a dependant of the *Guises*, encamped presently before *Sanserre*, a City within the Government of *Berry* near the *Loire*, and by help of that River easily to be relieved from many places; but when he saw the fierce assaults he made against it were all fruitless, though bloody, resolving to take it by famine, he encompassed it so closely on every side, that after the patient endurance of a great deal of misery in a tedious siege of eight months, it was forced to yield at last, having felt all the necessities which can possibly be born by humane nature.

Sanserre taken after eight months Siege.

The Marquess *de Villars* (again confirmed Admiral in the place of *Gaspard Coligny*) went into *Guienne* with the same resolution, where chasing the Hugonots from every place, and recovering the Towns which they had taken, he drove them all into *Montauban*, where he shut them up so close, that they were reduced to great extremity, and held out more through wilfulness, than power to defend themselves.

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On the other side, the Marechal *d'Anville* (without whom *Joyeuse* could do nothing, because having left the Court, he resided personally in his Government) being averse from the total ruine of the Hugonots, both because he knew himself not much favoured by the King, and to have been in great danger of being made one in the Massacre at *Paris*, nourished other thoughts in his mind, and seeking to spin out the business by artificial delays, contrary to the opinion of Monsieur *de Joyeuse* and many other Commanders, he let alone *Nismes*, the seat and foundation of the Hugonots, and besieged *Sommier* a little inconsiderable Town in that Country; and though he took it at last to save his own reputation, yet he lost so much time, and so many men before it, that he was fain afterwards to be only an idle Spectator of the event of things.

The Duke of Anjou with mighty preparations goes to the siege of Rochel.

But the chief expectation was of the siege of *Rochel*, every one knowing that the taking of it would be the utter destruction of the Hugonots: wherefore it having been already straightly besieged many weeks by *Strozzi* and *Byron*, at length the Duke of *Anjou* came thither also in the beginning of *February* 1573. and with him all the Cavalry, all the Infantry both French and Swisse, and the greatest part of the Catholick Nobility, with wonderful preparation of all things necessary for the taking in of a place of strength. There was in the Army the Duke of *Alençon* the Kings third Brother, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, to take all hopes from the Rochellers of the protection of the Princes of the Blood: there were also the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Angoulême*, *Guise*, *Mayenne* his Brother, of *Nevers*, *Bouillon*, *d'Uzes*, and *Longueville*, the Prince *Dauphine*, the Count *de Manteurrier*, the Marechal *de Cossé*, the Bastard *d'Angoulême*, the Count *de Retz*, Monsieur *de Montluc*, and all the Commanders and Gentlemen that had any reputation in War; so that it plainly appeared, they all believed the safety of the Kingdom, and the sum of all businesses to consist in the success of that enterprise. The Rochellers having had time to fortifie the City exactly well, and to provide themselves at leisure of all things necessary against so great preparations, were resolved to hold it out to the last man; and had given the charge of the Government to *Jaques Henry* the Mayor, with a Council of Citizens, and the care of their defence to Monsieur *de la Noue*.

The strong situation of Rochel.

The seat of *Rochel* is wonderful strong by nature, environed with Fens for the space of many miles towards the Land, having only one way to it on the North-side that led to a gate of the City, which was fortified after the modern way, with moats, walls, bulwarks and ramparts, exceedingly favoured by the situation, and drawn in an excellent form to guard and flank one another; Art and Nature concurring equally to make it impregnable. Toward the Sea it hath a very fair Haven, but so ordered by Nature, that the way to it is by many Bays, and Points commanded by several winds; so that which way soever it blow, Ships may come in from one place or other; nor can a great and powerful Navy hinder the entrance of them, for the shore being very flat and shelvy on every side, and without other ports, they cannot lie there with any safety, nor ride at anchor to block up the Haven, by reason of the long and frequent tempests of that Sea; so that it is in a manner impossible to keep the City from relief that way; and as it was very easie to besige it by Land, so it was most difficult to storm or assault it; for on that side which is dry and firm, though the situation without is so high, that it almost commands the Town; yet the fortifications were so near, so high, so many, and so firmly wrought together, that to force an entrance was almost impossible; besides, just within the works there was an open large place, so convenient, that the defendants might there draw up in bodies, and march in order to receive the assault.

Such was the situation and strength of that place, and such the preparations that were made against it; nor did the issue of the siege differ from what was expected of it; for the onsets and assaults made against the City in the space of five months were almost innumerable, the Duke of *Anjou* sparing neither cost, pains nor danger, but using all military force and industry to storm it; yet the Citizens and Soldiers, and even the very women as well as men defended it with admirable valour and constancy, sustaining for a long time the force and power of a whole Kingdom, and holding out against hunger and famine no less than against the assaults and batteries of the Enemy. Amongst the various events of this Siege Monsieur *de la Noue* had opportunity to regain the Kings favour, and get leave to live privately at his own house; for while the Council of the Citizens treated of yielding to that force which they saw they

they could not much longer resist, he being fallen into a contestation with some of the Ministers, whose authority was infinite over the minds of the common people, and who without any regard to reason, exhorted them still to constancy, one of them named *la Place* was so bold and inconsiderate, that after having basely abused him, and many times called him Traitor, he insolently offered with his hand to strike him in the face; which injury though he seemed to pass by for quietness sake, and though the Minister was kept in prison many days for a mad man, yet inwardly it troubled him very much: and moreover, foreseeing that at the arrival of the Count *Montgomery*, who was expected with supplies from *England*, the chief command would be taken from him, and conferred upon the Count, with whom, by reason of an ancient emulation, he had no very good correspondence, he resolved within himself to leave the Town, and the next day sallying out of the works, as he often used, to skirmish with the Enemy, he went over with some few in his company to the Duke of *Anjou's* camp; making that pass for the fulfilling of his promise to the King, which upon new considerations he resolved to do, either for revenge of the affront he had received, or for the securing of his own safety, which he saw exposed to the calumnies, and practices of the Ministers. But whatsoever the motive was, his example was followed by a great many Gentlemen and Officers: yet all that shook not the perseverance of the Citizens, nor abated the courage of the Souldiers, supporting with gallant resolution the furious bloody assaults which night and day were made against them on every side, and enduring with constancy of mind the great scarcity of victual, and the perpetual duty which they were forced to undergo without intermission. For towards the Sea were raised two Forts, one at the point called *de Coreille*, the other over against it in the place which they call *Port-neuf*, which being mann'd with a thousand Souldiers, were kept by Captain *Coffein*, and Captain *Gas*, each with fifteen pieces of Cannon; and between them a great Carack was fastened at anchor, which furnished with Culverins, shot into the mouth of the Haven, and hindred the entrance into it; so that by continual industry it was blocked up on that side; and on the other toward the Land all the Princes and Lords of the Army had divided the work among them in such manner, that the Trenches and Redoubts touched one another every where, nor did they cease to redouble their assaults every hour; and yet the resistance of those within equalled the courage and industry of those that were without. The valour and constancy of the Defendants was much increased by the intelligence which they secretly received from their friends which were in the Camp; for not only among the private Souldiers, but also among those that commanded, there were some that did not desire the destruction of *Rochel*, nor the extirpation of the Hugonot Faction; and *Byron*, who commanded the Artillery, following his former intentions, did with great dexterity (as many were of opinion) delay the progress of the Batteries, and strengthened the resolution of the besieged. But for all these arts, their most constant Citizens, and most valiant Souldiers were already consumed: the hopes of relief from *England* and *Germany* were vanished of themselves; for the Protestant Princes perswaded by *Gaspar* Count of *Schomberg*, who was sent to them by the King, had resolved not to interpose in the commotions of *France*; there being now no Prince of the Blood, who with his authority and supplies of money might maintain the War: and the Queen of *England*, to whom the King had sent *Alberto Gondi* for the same cause, had refused to send them either men or shipping; and the Count *de Montgomery* being departed to relieve the besieged with a good number of ships, but ill mann'd and armed, though with much ado he got a ship of Ammunition to enter the Haven; yet being chased by the Kings Fleet, and despairing to do any more good in the business, he made out to Sea, laid aside all thoughts of raising the siege, or relieving the City now brought to extremity, and only as a Pyrate annoyed the coasts of *Britagne* and *Normandy*. Their victuals were likewise quite spent, and their ammunition almost all wasted; and on the other side, though the Duke of *Anjou* in a siege of so many months had lost the Duke of *Aumale* killed in the Trenches with a Cannon-shot, an infinite number of Gentlemen and Officers, and above twenty thousand Souldiers killed and dead of the sickness, and the Duke of *Anjou* himself, whilst he was viewing the works, wounded, though but lightly, in the neck, in the side, and in the left hand by a Harquebuzer charged with tarling, had more need of rest than continual action; yet neither the fierceness nor frequency of the assaults were at all allayed, but there arriving daily new forces at the Camp, among which six thousand Swisses

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Swiffes newly entered into pay, the siege grew rather streighter, and the service hotter than at first, so that the City was reduced to an impossibility of holding out longer, and would at last have been taken by force, and utterly ruined by the King, if a new far-fetcht occasion had not saved it, and prevented its so imminent destruction.

The Duke of Anjou, not to prejudice his election to be King of Poland, moves slowly in the enterprise of Rochel.

There had been a treaty many months before, of electing the Duke of *Anjou* to be King of *Poland*, the hope whereof being begun in the life of *Sigismund Augustus* King of that Kingdom, with this proposition, That the Duke taking *Anne* the Kings Sister to Wife, should by the States of those Provinces be declared Successour to the Crown; after his death it was much increased, for though *Ernest* Arch-Duke of *Austria* Son to the Emperour, and *Sigismund* King of *Sweden* were both Competitors in the same design, yet neither of them seemed comparable for valour and glory to the Duke of *Anjou*, whose name, by reason of his many victories, flew through all parts of *Europe* with a most clear fame of singular vertue and renown. The King of *France* applyed his mind wholly to that end, and much more the Queen-Mother, for the infinite love she bore to that Son; and therefore they neither spared money, promises, pains nor industry necessary to effect that business, which being brought very forward by the *Sieur de Balagny*, who under colour of travelling to see the World, stayed there, and had gotten the acquaintance of many principal men of that Kingdom; it was afterwards managed with more life by *Joan de Monluc* Bishop of *Valence*, and *Guy Siquet de Lansac*, and other persons of less quality, but not of less esteem, appointed to treat with the States of that Kingdom. The greatest impediment which the Kings Agents found, was the opposition of the *Evangeliques* of that Kingdom, (in *Poland* they so call the followers of the new opinions in matter of Faith) who had but small inclination to the Duke of *Anjou*, partly, because the Victories he achieved had been against those of the same belief; partly, because the Massacre of *Paris*, variously spoken of by the Protestants in those places so far remote, made them fear, that being chosen King, he would molest and disquiet those that were averse from the Apostolick See, and not of the Catholick Religion, whereof they knew he was so sincere a Professour. The fears of the *Evangeliques* were fomented by the Letters and Embassies of many Protestant Princes of *Germany*, much displeased at the slaughter of the Hugonots in *France*, and ill-affected to the Duke of *Anjou's* greatness. For which cause the King endeavoured by divers writings, and by means of his Embassadors, to remove the opinion which was commonly held, that the Massacre of *Paris* was contrived long before-hand, attributing the business (as sudden and accidental) unto the temerity of the Admiral, who seeing himself wounded by his Enemies, began rashly to plot a new conspiracy against all the Royal Family; and declared, that he would tolerate a Liberty of Conscience, though not the free profession of *Calvin's* Doctrine: nor did this seem sufficient, but fearing more to exasperate the minds of the Protestants and *Evangeliques*, he began to proceed more coldly in the enterprise of *Rochel*, lest the Duke of *Anjou* taking it by force, should stir up more hatred against him, and by the desolation of the City should increase the difficulties of his Election, which seemed to be in a fair way of coming to a happy issue. Nor was the King alone of this opinion, but his Embassadors in *Poland*, and particularly the Bishop of *Valence*, very much pressed the King, that to facilitate that business, he would proceed more gently against the Hugonots in *France*. For these respects new treaties of agreement were begun with the Rochellers; yet still continuing their assaults and batteries, till news came, that upon the ninth day of *May*, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* was with a general consent elected King of *Poland*: Wherefore he seeking to come off from that siege with such moderation, that his reputation might be safe, and the minds of his new Subjects not unsatisfied, from whom he endeavoured to remove all suspicion of his taking away their Liberty of Conscience, he proceeded not so violently against the Hugonots; who quite tired out, and in despair of defending themselves any longer, forgot their wonted constancy, and were desirous to obtain their peace. This was favoured by the natural inclination of the Duke, who was weary of the toils of War, and desirous not only to return to the pleasures of the Court, but also shortly to go take possession of his new Kingdom. Wherefore the City having often sent their Deputies into the Camp to treat, after many difficulties they agreed at last upon the Eleventh day of *July*, that the City should yield it self unto the Kings obedience with these conditions: That the King should declare the inhabitants of *Rochel*,

Rochel yielded to the King.

The Conditions.

chel, *Nismes*, and *Montaban*, to be his good and faithful Subjects, and should approve of all that they had done from the month of *August* the year before, being 1572. until that present time, pardoning all faults and enormities whatsoever had been committed during the Civil War by the said Inhabitants, their Soldiers or Adherents, declaring all to be done by his order. That in those three Cities he should allow the free and publick exercise of the Reformed Religion, they meeting together in small numbers, and without Arms, the Officers appointed for that purpose being there amongst them. That in all other outward matters, except Baptism and Matrimony, they should observe the Rites and Holy days observed and commanded by the Roman Catholick Church: That the King should confirm all the Liberties, Immunities and Privileges of those three Towns, not permitting them to be in any part diminished, altered or violated. That the Rochellers should receive a Governour of the Kings appointment (but without a Garrison) who might freely stay there, inhabit, go, and return into the City at his pleasure, and that they should be governed by the Laws, Ordinances, and Customs with which they had been governed under the Kings of *France* ever since they were Subjects to that Crown: That they should break all Leagues, Friendships, Intelligences, and Confederacies whatsoever within or without the Kingdom, not lending any relief or assistance to those which should continue up in Arms, though of the same Religion. That the use and exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored in those Cities, and all other places whence it had been taken, leaving freely unto the Church-men, not only the Churches, Monasteries and Hospitals, but likewise all the profits and revenues belonging to them. That all Lords of free Mannors through the Kingdom might in their own Houses lawfully celebrate Baptism and Matrimony after the manner of the Hugonots, provided the assembly exceeded not the number of ten persons. That there should be no inquisition upon mens Consciences, and that those who would not dwell in the Kingdom, might sell their Estates, and go live where they pleased, provided it were not in places that were Enemies to the Crown: and that for the observing of these Articles, the said three Cities should give hostages, which should be changed every three months, and always should follow the Court. When these Conditions were established, and the hostages given, which by the Duke were presently sent to Court, Monsieur *de Byron*, the Governour appointed by the King, entred *Rochel* with one of the Publick Heralds, took possession of the Government, and caused the Peace to be proclaimed; after which the Duke of *Anjou* (now King of *Poland*) having dismissed the Army, went with a noble Train of Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, unto the City of *Paris*; where assuming the Title of his new Kingdom, and having received the Polish Ambassadors, he prepared for his journey to go take possession of the Crown.

The Peace is published, and the Army dismissed.

In the mean time *Sanferre*, which was not comprehended in the Capitulation of the Rochellers, because it was not a free Town under the Kings absolute Dominion as the rest, but under the Seigniorie of the Counts of *Sanferre*: being reduced to extremum misery by famine, without all hope of relief, yielded it self to Monsieur *de la Chastre*, who having by order from the King to gratifie the Polish Ambassadors, pardoned all their lives, fined the Town in a certain sum of money to be distributed to the Army, and causing it to be dismantled, and the Gates, Clock and Bells to be removed, to take away from it all form of a City, and bring it to the condition of an ordinary Village, he put a Garrison into the Castle, caused the goods and revenues of the Clergy to be restored, and the Churches to the use of the Catholick Religion; and a while after (as it was reported) he commanded *Guillaume Jannet* the Bailiff of the Town, who had been chief Head of the late sedition, to be secretly thrown into a Well; though many say, that he being fallen mad with despair, cast himself wilfully into it.

This was the end of the Insurrection, which began after the Admirals death, wherein through want of care in those that commanded, or want of fidelity in those that were to execute the severity of those remedies not being used, which with small trouble and less difficulty would absolutely have plucked up the very roots of those evils, the sparks were only covered for a time, and not utterly extinguished, from whence afterward brake out more violent flames, and more lasting dangerous mischiefs. But no fear of that troubled the Court, which full of pomps and triumphs

1573. for the Coronation of the new King, thought it enjoyed a secure quiet in the midst of so many delights; which having lasted for the space of two months, the King of Poland, accompanied unto the confines of *Lorain* by his Mother and the King his Brother, about the beginning of *October* went to take possession of his Kingdom. But the King was no sooner returned unto his pleasures, intent only upon hunting and other youthful sports, when those humours began to discover themselves, which were more like than ever to disturb his Kingdom with infinite troubles and commotions.

After the departure of *Henry King of Poland*, the first place of dignity and pre-eminence belonged to *Francis Duke of Alencon* the Kings next Brother, who was not only young, and therefore void of experience, but also by nature endowed with no great abilities of understanding, of so fickle a mind, and so puffed up, that he seemed more to incline to rash precipitate advices, than to a discreet, moderate rule of living; and as he had inwardly been very much displeased at the Power which had been given to his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, and was deeply pricked with the secret sting of envy at his valour and glorious actions, esteeming the greatness and reputation of his Brother to be a dishonour and lessening to himself; so he bore a concealed hatred to all those that had any relation to, or dependance upon *Henry*, loving and admiring the Admiral *de Coligny*, and his adherents, (as was often plainly observed) but as it were tacitely reprehending the Kings deliberations, and secretly desiring to be the Head of that Faction; and though the Queen his Mother knowing his disposition, endeavoured always to keep discreet experienced men about him, which might wisely moderate his humours and resolutions; yet was he utterly averse from them, and through a conformity of nature, let himself be rather wholly guided by *Boniface*, *Sieur de la Mole*, a man of ordinary quality, but full of vast unmeasurable thoughts, and by *Hanibal*, Count *de Coconas*, a banished *Peidmontois*, who (as it is commonly the custom of Exiles) not being able to enjoy quietness himself, laboured to molest and disturb the repose of others.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were from the beginning united to the Duke of *Alencon*, because they saw themselves but lightly esteemed by the Duke of *Anjou*, Head of the Catholick party, and because they watched all occasions that might give them opportunity to revive and raise again their oppressed persecuted Faction; and not they alone, but also the Marshals of *Momorancy* and *d'Anville*, *William Lord of Tore*, and *Charles Lord of Mern*, all Brothers, who not being able of themselves to attain to the dignity of their Father, nor to the credit and authority he held in his life-time, but continuing (especially after the death of the Admiral) meanly regarded, or rather hated and suspected by the King, by reason of their near alliance to him; and jealous that their ruine was no less aimed at then that of others, sought to unite themselves unto that party, whose power might bear them up to a greater height of fortune. To these was also joined the Marshal *de Caffe*, who was but little favoured by the Catholick party, and all those that either secretly or openly had been inclined to the Admiral; and not they only, but likewise all who for particular interests, having taken distaste at the present condition of affairs, were still contriving new forms of Government; these being received, and filled with hopes and boldness, chiefly by the Lords of *Momorancy*, who carried themselves very cunningly in the business, framed a third party, which making no ground nor difference of either Religion, but wholly applying themselves to the reforming of the State, began to be called the Faction of *Politicks* or *Malecontents*.

A third party called *Politicks* and *Malecontents*, composed of Catholics and Hugonots.

But these new practices and machinations, which while the Duke of *Anjou* was present, were managed more covertly, for fear of his valour and authority; the curb being now taken away, began to sprout out more freely, not only because the Duke of *Alencon*, who favoured them, remained in possession of the chiefest place; but because the power over the Catholick party was still in the hands of the Duke of *Guise* and his Brothers, the ancient, emulous, inveterate Enemies of the Families of *Bourbon* and *Momorancy*; whereby their linking and knitting themselves together to counterpoise the excessive greatness of their adversaries, seemed more necessary, and was in appearance more excusable.

The

The opportunities for the breaking forth of this mischief were much increased by the Kings being sick, who through too much exercise in hunting, running, wrestling and riding, wherewith he was beyond measure delighted, falling into a long dangerous sickness, could not with that vigour which was proper to his nature intend the rooting up of those growing disorders; but gave greater means to the Duke of *Alancou* to discover and foment his own pretensions: wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* being gone away, he began apparently to pretend to, and procure the same Title and Authority which his Brother had so many years possessed, being set on to it by the counsels of the Marshals of *Coffe* and *Momorancy*. But this was not only opposed by the King and Queen-Mother, who neither approved his humour nor his actions; but also by his own disability, which rendered him much inferior in wit and valour to the Duke of *Anjou*, and no ways able to undergo so great a charge; besides that, the King being now of riper years, and of a wary suspicious nature, was nothing willing to grant so great a power to any body again, having perhaps more ardently favoured the Election of the King of *Poland*, because he thought he could neither so easily, nor so handsomely by any other means deprive him of that Authority and Power, which being voluntarily given him at the first, he afterwards confirmed upon himself by his own courage and renowned Victories. For all these reasons the King refusing him the Title and Power of his Lieutenant-General, his Mother began to entertain him with other hopes of procuring for him some free State, as they had done for his Brother, propounding to him a marriage with the Queen of *England*, or the command of the States of *Flanders*, which had shaken off their obedience to the Catholick King; the Treaties concerning both which were begun, more out of a design to feed him with hopes, and to keep him in good correspondence united with his Brother, than out of any grounded reason or belief that either of them could be effected.

But his hasty impatient nature gave no leisure to her politick delays: for as soon as the Hugonots and Male-contents knew that he was spitefully enraged at this repulse, and that his mind was ready to attempt new designs; with a common consent they offered him the command of all their party, telling him, that he might by that means create unto himself a more free and absolute Power than that which his Brother had injuriously refused him. The King of *Navarre* consented to this deliberation, having from the beginning sought some opportunity to advance his own fortune, and to free himself from that imprisonment (rather than subjection) which he lived in under the King and Queen, his Brother and Mother-in-law: besides, disagreeing and displeased with his Wife, he hoped by those tumults and changes to remedy all those inconveniencies, and open some way to his own greatness, or at least to his liberty, which by nature he was very much inclined to. The Prince of *Conde* consented to it likewise, being well assured to have great Authority among the Hugonots, if they by any means could rise again; whereas by reason of his Fathers memory he was much depressed among the Catholicks: but above all the rest this design was approved by the three Marshals, *de Coffe*, *Momorancy*, and *d'Anville*, the Heads of the Male-contents, knowing that they should sway and moderate the will of the Duke *d'Alancou*, who unable to govern of himself, would doubtless give them the same power the Admiral had in the minority of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

After many contrivances and consultations, the web of the business was laid by them in this manner; That the Duke of *Alancou* should suddenly and privately depart the Court; and that for his more secure retreat, some Troops of Hugonot Cavalry which were drawing together, should secretly go to meet him: That the Marshals of *Momorancy* and *Coffe* should go along to advise and counsel him in his actions: That the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* should get secretly away within two days after, and follow them the same way: That the Marshal *d'Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, should go into that Province a while before, and draw cunningly to himself the absolute power of those places, gather as many of the Nobility as he could, and endeavour the same in *Guienne*, and the parts adjacent, by means of his Nephew the Viscount *de Turenne*, and of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Vandour*, to the end that the Princes departing from the Court, might have a secure place to retire unto, and also Forces to defend themselves; to these grave solid resolutions were joined also light youthful follies by some Servants of the Duke *d'Alancou*, proposing

1573. by witchcrafts and inchantments to take away the Kings life, who already was in great danger by reason of his sickness; and he being dead, and the King of Poland far off, to settle the Duke d'Alençon in the Crown: with these various designs, the taking up of Arms was again endeavoured.

The Marechal d'Anville went into *Languedoc* with the Kings consent, under colour of visiting his Government, and there began craftily to found the minds of the Gentry, and of the Governours of places; but as a man of great wariness and discretion, doubting his plots might be discovered, he sent *Chartier* his Secretary unto the King and Queen-Mother, shewing that he treated with the Hugonots of *Nismes*, *Montpellier* and other places, to reduce them to his Majesties obedience; and that if men of trust might be sent to treat, he hoped with honourable conditions to bring them unto an absolute subjection: with which hopes the King being moved, presently dispatched Monsieur de *S. Sulpice*, and Secretary *Villeroy* to treat jointly with d'Anville about the reducing of the Hugonots: but he having by this artifice gotten a liberty of treating with the Hugonots without being suspected at Court, when he heard the Kings Commissioners were arrived at *Avignon*, he sent the same *Chartier* to let them know, that matters not being yet ripe, it would be best for them to stay there a while, and defer their coming to him till he had settled a surer foundation for that business. So holding the Commissioners in hand, and in the mean time treating in every place, he went by little and little opening his way to an absolute Authority in *Languedoc*; and the same did the Viscount de *Turenne*, and the Duke de *Vantadour* in other places.

But while the rest, not managing their business so cunningly as d'Anville, spread these designs abroad by discovering them to the Hugonots thorow all the Provinces of the Kingdom, and that *Coconus* and *la Mole* passing yet further, conspired the Kings death, and the usurpation of the Kingdom; the Duke of *Alençon* inconstant in his resolutions, and of a mind very unfit for so great an enterprise, imprudently gave some suspicion of it to his Mother; and while by her wonted arts the sounds the depths of those secret treaties, and searcheth the bottom of those designs, the Hugonots impatient of delay, perfected the discovery of the plot; for the Duke having given them notice that he with the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* intended to leave the Court, and retire into the places of their party, there to declare himself Protector of the Reformed Religion, and of the Male-contents of the Kingdom; they not staying for a more mature advice, nor a more fitting opportunity, appeared unexpectedly upon *Shrove-tuesday*, to the number of about two hundred Horse, running up and down armed under the command of the *Sieur de Guiry*, near unto *St. Germain*, where the Court then was, to secure the passage of the Princes, who were secretly to leave the Court; at the news whereof the Duke of *Alençon* and his Counsellors frightened and dismayed, because their designs were not yet ripe, and not thinking that small number of Hugonots sufficient to execute their deliberations, were so different and unresolved in their opinions, that they stirred not at all; and the King and Queen now certain of what they before suspected, retiring with all speed to *Paris*, imprisoned the Duke d'Alençon, the King of *Navarre*, and all his Counsellors and dependents, as also the Marshalls of *Coffe* and *Momorancy*, with many others whom they thought privy to their designs. Only the Prince of *Conde* and Monsieur de *Tore* escaped, fleeing first to those places which belonged to the Prince in *Picardy*, and from thence without delay unto the Hans Towns of *Germany* which adhered to the Protestant party.

The Hugonots begin again to take Arms.

The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre imprisoned.

The Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* either trusted to their nearness of Blood, or to shift off the fault of this conspiracy from themselves, and lay it (as the custom is) upon the weakest, confessed freely that they had been solicited to depart from Court, and become Heads of the Hugonots and Male-contents, and that sometimes they had lent an ear to those motions, rather to discover the intents of those Seducers, than out of any desire to adhere unto them; and that they waited an opportunity to discover the whole plot unto the King, as soon as they were fully informed of it; and that in the mean time the Duke had given some hint of it, though but obscurely, to his Mother, which might serve to prove the sincerity of their intentions: upon the ground of these confessions, which contained many particulars, the accomplices of meaner quality being kept close, and strictly examined, *la Mole*, about whom were found certain Images of the King in Wax, encompassed with

with iachantments, charms and other fooleries, the Count *de Coconas* convicted of many crimes, and divers others were condemned to die: the Marshals of *Momorancy* and *Coffe*, to the great satisfaction of the Parisians, were put into the Bastile; and for the Princes, it sufficed only by a Declaration to manifest unto the World, that it was never their intention to alienate themselves from the Kings obedience, nor to offend his Person in any manner whatsoever, much less to make themselves Heads and Protectors of the factious and seditious party of the Kingdom: but that it had been falsely and cunningly divulged by men of turbulent malicious Spirits, to stir up and seduce the people under that pretence; a thing utterly disallowed and detested by them, who desired that such rebellious and seditious persons might be brought to condign punishment, that by their sufferings the fuel might be taken from that fire, with which they had endeavoured to inflame the Kingdom. After which Declaration they were nevertheless not restored unto their former condition; but on the one side were used as Kinsmen, and on the other with diligent guards were kept as Prisoners. Those that make a sinister interpretation of all the actions of Princes, say, That the Duke of *Alencon* had no other end but to make himself King after the death of his Brother, which he saw drew near, and that the counsels of the Marshals and his other adherents aimed at that very mark; but that the Queen-Mother, who loved the King of *Poland* much better, and under his Reign promised her self the absolute Government, made the business seem different from the truth, and caused the King to imprison the Princes and the Marshals, to secure the Kingdom to the true Successour, which was the King of *Poland*, whose Reign was abhorred by all those that were Enemies to the House of *Guise*, or had any dependance upon the Hugonots.

1573.

These matters, whatsoever they were, or from what cause soever derived, happened in the beginning of the Year 1574. a Year destined to renew the old wounds of *France*; for toward the latter end of *March*, and all the month of *April* following, the Hugonots already up in Arms by reason of the late designs, and suspecting themselves to be discovered the fomenters of that Conspiracy, breaking again the bridle of all respect, attempted every where to surprise Forts, Castles and Cities; and as if the business at *St. Germain's* had succeeded just according to their own desires, they ran hastily without stop to the taking up of Arms in all Provinces; and that with so much the greater boldness and security, because they were freed from the general fear they were wont to have of the valour and celerity of the King of *Poland*, whom they had to their exceeding loss found to be so resolute and powerful an Enemy.

1574.

The first commotion was begun by Monsieur *de la Nove*, who staying in *Poitou*, gathered Forces suddenly and possessed himself of *Lusignan*, *Fontenay*, and *Mesle*, and with the help of the Rochellers, raised and disordered the whole Country, shewing manifestly by that action, that neither his desire of peace, nor his promise made to the King, had caused him to leave *Rochel* when it was besieged, but trouble for the affront he had received from the Ministers, and fear lest the Citizens should confer the chief Command upon the Count *Montgomery*. The signal of War being as it were given by this Insurrection, it was followed by many others in *Daulphine*, *Province*, *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*, every private Captain, and every Gentleman among the Hugonots endeavouring with his own Forces to seize upon some strong place, from whence robbing and pillaging all the Country, cutting off passages, laying taxes upon the people, and plundering the rich houses, they in a few days brought the whole Kingdom of *France* into great confusion.

A new Insurrection of Hugonots, stirred up by Monsieur de la Nove.

But a more dangerous fire was kindled on the Sea-coasts of *Normandy*; for the Count *Montgomery*, after he was hindered by the Kings Fleet from relieving *Rochel*, being returned into *England*, and recruited, landed in the Country which they call *le Pays de Constantine*, belonging to the Province of *Normandy*, but bordering upon *Bretagne*, where being welcomed by the Hugonots, and the discontented party of that place, in a few days he made himself Master of *Danfront*, *Carentane*, *St. Lo*, and *Valognes*, and seditious people running to him from all parts, as to a Head of great Authority, it was beginning to be doubted that Queen *Elizabeth*, invited by this opportunity, (though she made shew not at all to favour or assist the Count) had resolved once again to set foot in that Province just over against her Kingdom, which in times past had long been in possession of the Kings of *England* her Predecessors.

At

1574. At the so frequent news of these tumults and insurrections, the King who by nature was very cholerick, brake forth into such terrible rage and fury, that his sickness became daily more violent and dangerous; wherefore neither having strength of body, nor ability of mind to undergo so weighty a business, often changing and varying his resolutions, by that uncertainty gave them that were up in Arms far greater opportunity to increase their Forces; which as soon as he perceived, his disease, which could find no remedy, still continuing, he resolved to refer the whole business to the counsel and authority of his Mother, ever giving order and directions to take sharp severe courses, which could hardly be done, because the condition of the present affairs would not permit that Armies and Governments should be trusted in the hands of any but persons of great maturity, and long experience, who by reason of their age and gravity were averse from bloody violent resolutions; wherefore the Queen being brought into great streights and difficulties, and unto a necessity of proceeding not only against her Son-in-law, but even against her own Son, endeavoured to find some moderate way between the Kings anger and their unquiet designs; which was not to be managed according to the proper nature of affairs, and the ancient practice of experience; for it being apparent, that to remove the effects it is necessary to take away the causes, she quite contrary was forced by meer necessity to endeavour the taking away the effects of those tumults and insurrections in the several Provinces, thereby to preserve the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, from whom their principal cause and original proceeded.

The Queen sends three Armies into three parts of the Kingdom to suppress the Insurrections.

She resolved to send three several Armies into three several parts of the Kingdom, one commanded by the Duke of *Montpensier*, who should oppose Monsieur *de la Nove* in *Poitou*; another by the Prince *Dauphine* his Son, which should go into *Dauphine*, and the *Confin*es therabout; and the third to resist *Montgomery*, commanded by *Jaques* *Sieur de Maignon*, a man of tried fidelity, and not inferiour in valour, who was then Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Government of *Normandy*. In the mean time the taking away of the Government of *Languedoc* from the Marshal *d'Anville* was endeavoured; to which end Count *Sciarra Martinengo* was dispatched with all speed to *S. Salpice* and *Villeroy*, who were thought to be with him, that they might use some means to take away his life; or if they could not do so, at least to get a Government of so great importance out of his hands. But *Martinengo* finding those Commissioners still at *Avignon*, without means to execute the Kings intentions, it was necessary to follow the second directions, to take from him all, or at least some of the Cities of that Province, which began to be diligently prosecuted by the help of the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, the Duke *d'Uzes*, the Viscount *de Joyeuse*, and the *Sieurs* *Maugiron*, *de Quelus*, *de Rieux*, and *de Saxe*, Lords who had very great dependents in those parts.

The Marshal *d'Anville* Son of *Anna de Montmorancy* is by the Kings decree deprived of his dignities.

But the sagacity of *d'Anville* was very great, and great was the inclination of the people to his name, he having by his liberality and politick Government, generally gained their affections; whereupon when he received the news of what had passed at Court, feigning on the one side that he was not at all offended at his Brothers imprisonment, and that he did not in any thing participate of his counsels, and publicly testifying, that he would not only lay down his Government, but moreover his Office of Marshal, until the King being certified of his loyalty, should willingly restore him to his former dignities, he laboured on the other side to assure himself of the Forts and Cities, and to bring the Gentry and Souldiers as much as he could to his own devotion: by which arts he presently put himself into a posture of defence, and the Commissioners not having effected any thing, were fain to return to Court; which when the King knew, being infinitely offended, he caused him by publick decree to be deprived of his dignities, and commanded the Prince *Dauphine* to march thither with his Army.

The Duke of *Montpensier* being entred into *Poitou*, had already taken *Talmont*, and laid siege to *Fontenay*, seeking all possible means to draw Monsieur *de la Nove* into the field, who being again declared General of the Rochellers, was exceeding diligent in gathering Souldiers and Gentlemen together; but finding himself not able to keep the field, he resolved to defend the strongest places, which he had furnished with all things necessary, endeavouring by advantage of situation, by conduct, industry and diligence to do some mischief to the Enemies: in which time Monsieur *de Maignon* desirous to shew his fidelity to the King and Queen, by whom he found him-
self

self to be much esteemed, and to raise himself to a more eminent degree of fortune, marched with the third Army directly to the place where the Count of *Montgomery* was, much increased both in strength and courage. His Army consisted of five thousand French Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; to which were added many Gentlemen and Volunteers, who excited by Letters and Commands of the King and Queen, very solicitous for this enterprise, came thither to serve without pay: besides, there were fourteen pieces of Cannon, which were taken out of the Forts of *Cæn*, and other Cities adjacent, with a sufficient proportion of all sorts of Ammunition. The Field-Marshal was *Jean d' Hemery*, Sieur de *Villers*, who stirred up by his own valour and natural ingenuity, far from those dissimulations and double dealings which were then every where in fashion, and being of one mind and counsel with his General, a man also of a clear uncorrupted loyalty; having to deceive the Enemy, made shew of moving toward *Volognes*, (a place less defensible, but more abounding in spoil and plunder) he set forward about Sun-set, marching all night with infinite diligence toward *St. Lo*, in which place was the Count of *Montgomery*, with his Son and his Son-in-law.

1574.

Villers Brother-in-law to the Author.

St. Lo is a Town in the lower *Normandy*, not very great, but indifferently strong, being seated near the Sea, upon the River *Vire*, which falling into the Ocean not far from thence, is by the help of the Tide made-navigable to the very gates of the Town; and as a safe Harbour secureth those Ships that come in from the frequent storms of that coast; here lay those Ships which had brought the Count *Montgomery* out of *England*, ready upon all occasions to weigh anchor and put out to Sea. But *Villers* arriving, unexpectedly with the Van of the Army at the very peep of day, sent the Sieur de *St. Colombe* with his Regiment, that might be some twelve hundred French Foot, and four small pieces of Cannon, to possess the bank of the River below the place where Ships lay at anchor, to hinder them from getting out of the Port. *St. Colombe* advancing with the expedition which was requisite for that purpose, instantly took his post upon the bank of the River, and at the same time began to entrench himself and plant his Cannon; which he performed so well, that the passage of *Montgomery's* Ships being cut off within a little time by reason of the narrowness of the River, he being inferior in strength, could no longer hope to save himself with his Fleet. *Villers* as soon as he saw that passage stopped, wherein consisted the chiefest point of the enterprise, placed himself with the light Horse, and the Regiment of *Lavardin* at the foot of a hill right against the gate toward the Sea, and began to fall upon those of the Town who were come out to discover the Forces of the Enemy; and whilst they were kept in a hot skirmish on that side, Monsieur de *Matignon* arrived on the other with the rest of the Army, and presently made good those passages toward the Land; so that in less than three hours the City was blocked up, and besieged on every side. In the mean time the Squadrons of Cavalry under *Malicorn* and *Meleray* being come up, those that sallied out were within a little while beaten in again, though with loss on both sides, there being slain above sixty of the Catholics, and about eighty of the Hugonots. The Catholick Army being divided, lodged it self into two several quarters, shutting up the ways both by Sea and Land; for it was their chief design to keep the Count from any means of saving himself; and as soon as it was quartered, they presently began their trenches, and to plant their Cannon, believing the Town was able to hold out but a very few days. But the Count knowing his weakness, and making it his chief aim to save himself, having the night following often given them their alarms in several places to try and amuse the Catholick Camp, at last he with a few of his Souldiers forced a *Corps de Guard* of the Sieur de *Luce* his Regiment, which kept a passage toward the Land, and knowing the Country very well, by the help of the night saved himself undiscovered in certain low moorish grounds, which use to be overflow'd by the Tide, and then passing an arm of the Sea in certain small Fisher-boats which he found by chance, went to *Danfrons*, having left his Son and Son-in-law at *St. Lo*, but with an assured hope of relieving them within a few days.

St. Lo is besieged by the Catholics, *Montgomery* being in it.

Montgomery flees from *St. Lo*.

His flight was not known unto the Catholics, (for the darkness of the night, the small number of his company, and his means of getting away had concealed his escape) till grown strong in Horse by the help of many Gentlemen of his party, he began to run about the Country, cutting off passages, and making shew that he would relieve the besieged, whereby being at last assured that he was slipped out of the net,

1574. net, and insulted furiously over the neighbouring Country, they called a Council of War, wherein the opinions being various, the Sieurs *de Fervaques*, *Ruberpre*, and many others counselled the prosecution of the siege of *St. Lo*, (a business which they esteemed but of a few days) to take away that secure retreat from the Enemy, and cut off all hopes of saving themselves by Sea: but *Villers* and *St. Colombe* were of opinion, that leaving *St. Lo* still besieged, to divide the Forces of the Enemy, they should with the same celerity they came thither follow the Count *de Montgomery*, thinking that to suppress him would quite extinguish the War. This resolution being approved by *Matignon*, having left *Fervaques* and *Malicorne* to block up *St. Lo*, he himself with *Villers* and *St. Colombe*, taking with them two Regiments of Foot, six hundred Horse, and only four small pieces of Cannon, marched so speedily to *Danfron*, that they prevented the Enemies intelligence; who though the Walls of the City were very weak, yet trusting to the River *Mante*, that runneth about one side of it, and to the Fort, which seated upon the top of a Hill guards it on the other side, were resolved constantly to defend the place. The night following the Cannon were planted, and in the morning, there being hardly forty yards of the wall beaten down, *Villers* despising the hindrance of the River, passed over at the head of the Infantry up to the breast in water, and assailed it so boldly, that the Souldiers being terrified, fled without resistance into the Castle, and the Town remaining in the power of the Catholicks, was by the fury of the Souldiers almost utterly ruined and destroyed: Much greater was the difficulty of assaulting the Castle, seated upon an intire Rock, where the Sap could do little good, and so high above the plain, that they were forced with infinite difficulty to raise Cavaliers for the planting of their Ordnance, which while the Catholicks put in execution, with the same speed and courage, the Hugonots still molested them with sharp bloody sallies, which at last ceased; for one Cavalier being finished, they began furiously to batter the Curtin. After the battering followed a fierce assault, in which though the Catholicks lost *St. Colombe* with a great many Volunteers, and about two hundred of their most valiant men, the Hugonots received so much loss by the death of a great many Gentlemen, and the greatest part of their Souldiers, that they were able to hold out no longer; for which cause, lest the assault which was preparing with more Forces than at first, should be renewed the next day, they yielded themselves the same night to the discretion of the Conquerours: and Monsieur *de Matignon* entering the Castle, caused the Souldiers to be pillaged, and let them all go, keeping only some few Gentlemen prisoners, and the Count *de Montgomery*; who with a very strong guard was brought to Court, where by the sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, he was publicly executed as a Rebel, in the place appointed for Malefactors: The King and Queen not only rejoycing that they had freed themselves of so fierce an Enemy, who held perpetual correspondence with foreign Princes, but also that they had revenged the death of *Henry* the Second, slain by him, though accidentally, (as we have said) in a Tournament, from the occasion of whose death proceeded afterwards all those following calamities.

The Count
Montgomery is
taken in *Dan-*
fron, sent to
the Court, and
executed.

Danfron being taken, Monsieur *de Matignon* returned to *St. Lo*, which he began to besiege more streightly; and the seventh day *Villers* storming it with the chief of all the Infantry, remained Master of the wall, (though with the loss of much blood) and of a Tower which placed in the flank, defended the Avenue that led toward the gate. The assault being renewed in the morning by break of day, the victorious Army entered the Town, where the Son-in-law of *Montgomery* being slain, and Monsieur *de Colombiere*, a Souldier of great valour and noble birth; Monsieur *Lorges* Son to the Count was taken, who being condemned to the same punishment which his Father had suffered, corrupted his guards, and saved himself by flight. *Carentane* and *Valognes* yielded without staying to be besieged; that fire being thus extinguished, which with so much danger had been kindled in the most suspected parts of the Kingdom.

But at that time the Kings life was drawn almost unto the last period; for having begun some months before to spit blood, being afterwards oppressed with a slow, but a continued internal Fever, he had in the end utterly lost all strength; whereby knowing himself to be already near his death, he caused all the Lords and Officers of the Crown which were then at Court, to be called unto him; and having told them the danger of his sickness, and nearness of his death, he declared his Brother

ther *Henry King of Poland* to be his Successor in the Kingdom, and until his coming, the Queen his Mother to be Regent; strictly commanding the Duke of *Alencon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all others. under pain of Rebellion to obey and serve her faithfully until the arrival of the lawful King. After that the Secretaries of State, and *Renato de Birago*, (who a while before was chosen High Chancellor in the place of *Michael de l' Hospital* already dead) had passed the Patents for these matters, and registered them in the Parliament, the King recommending the Peace of his Kingdom to his Council, and his little Daughter the only Child which he had by the Queen his Wife, and *Charles* his Bastard Son, who was yet a Child, unto the care of his Mother, with grave and pious discourses, having dismissed all those that were present, he held his Mother still fast by the hand, and ended the course of his troublesome Reign upon the Thirtieth day of *May*, before he was full Five and Twenty years of age; leaving his Kingdom, after the revolution of so many Wars, in no less danger and confusion than he had found it in Fourteen years before, when he came a Child unto the Crown.

1574.

*Charles the IX.
dieth the 30 of
May, 1574.*

The End of the Fifth BOOK.

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THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The SIXTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

The Sixth Book contains the Arts used by the Queen Regent, to hold matters in suspense till the coming of the King, Henry the Third, out of Poland. He departs secretly from that Kingdom, and passing through Italy, comes to Turin: The Queen sends thither to inform him of the affairs of France; and thither also comes the Marechal d' Anville. The King denies to resolve upon any thing till he have conferred with his Mother; he restores those places to the Duke of Savoy, which for security, had till then been kept from him. He passes at Pont Beauvoysin; is met by the Duke of Alancon and the King of Navarre; by him they are set at liberty: He meets the Queen his Mother, and they enter the City of Lyons. The Kings designs and ends, to which he intends to direct the course of his Government, are particularly set down; he desires Peace, and to procure it, resolves to make War coldly. He treats of Marriage, and resolves to take to Wife Louyse of Lorain, Daughter to the Count de Vaudemont. He is Crowned at Rheims, and there marrieth her. He labours to get his Brother elected King of Poland; but he is put beside it: The War continues in the mean time, and Mombrun, Head of the Hugonots in Daulphine, is defeated, taken, and executed. The King alters the manner of Government, to lessen the Authority of the Great Ones. The Duke of Alancon deprived of the hopes of Poland, and not being able to obtain the Title of Lieutenant-General, flees from Court, and becomes Head of the Politicks and Hugonots: All the other Lords of that party, put themselves under him, and the Prince of Conde sends him great Supplies out of Germany; which passing through Champaigne, are routed and dispersed by the Duke of Guise. The Queen-Mother goes to confer with the Duke of Alancon, and concludes a Truce: in the mean time the King of Navarre leaves the Court, flees into Guienne, and declares himself Hugonot: The Prince of Conde advanceth with the German Army, and at Moulins joins with the Duke of Alancon: The

The Queen returns, and concludes a Peace, but with such exorbitant Conditions, that all the Catholicks are offended at it. The Duke of Guise and his Brothers lay hold of the occasion, declare themselves Heads of the Catholick party, and make a League to oppose the Establishment of the Hugonots; the grounds and progress of that League are related: The King of Navarre thereupon pretending, that the Catholicks began first, by the means of the Prince of Conde, takes up Arms. The King assembles the States General in the City of Blois, to settle things in order; but after several attempts and contrivances, they break up without concluding any thing. The King desires Peace; but seeing the Hugonots inclined to War, raises two Armies against them: The Duke of Alençon with one of them takes la Charité, Issoudun, and other places; the Duke of Mayenne with the other takes Thon-Charente and Marans. From War they come to a Treaty of Agreement: Peace is concluded, and the Queen-Mother goes to confer with the King of Navarre to make it the stronger. The King intent upon the design of his hidden thoughts, employs his time wholly in Religious Exercises; assumes all Offices to himself; and disposes of them to his Favourites; among whom, the Dukes of Joyeuse and Espernon are especially exalted by him. He institutes a new Order of Knighthood called du S. Esprit. The Queen-Mother goes from the King of Navarre, and visits a great part of the Kingdom. The Duke of Alençon, to obtain Queen Elizabeth in Marriage, goes over into England, is much honoured; but, notwithstanding publick demonstrations, nothing is determined. The Hugonots renew the War; the Prince of Conde takes la Fere in Picardy, and the King of Navarre possesseth himself of Cahors, and other places: The King dispatcheth several Armies against them, by which la Fere is recovered, but little done in other places: The Duke of Alençon being returned into France, interposes and settles the Peace again. He goes into Flanders to command the States that had cast off their Obedience to the Crown of Spain, does little good there, returns into France, and dies.

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THE death of Charles the Ninth happening just at that time when the remedies used by him, to purge the humours of his Kingdom, were in the height of their operation; He left not only all parts of France in great disorder and confusion; but also the state of the Crown in exceeding danger and uncertainty, by the subversion, or at least weakning of all the foundations of the Government: For, besides the lawful Successour, so far distant in a strange Country, who if he had been present, might by assisting at the Helm in a time of so great peril, have steered and moderated the doubtful, troublesome course of the Commonwealth; all the Instruments of Rule and Power were also either very much weakned, or utterly perverted; and even those means which usually maintain and preserve others, were universally bent to the distraction and ruine of that Kingdom.

The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, nearest of the Blood Royal, and by that prerogative chief of the Council of State, were held as guilty of a most heinous crime, and straitly guarded as prisoners. The Prince of Conde, though very young, yet of an ancient reputation by the fame of his Ancestors, not only absent and fled from Court, but protected by the favour of the Protestant Princes, and ready by foreign Forces to bring in new Inundations. The Hugonots up in Arms in every Province, and manifestly intent by all means possible to surprize and possess the chiefest Cities and Fortresses. Many of the greatest Lords, some secretly, some openly, were alienated; and divers of those who had most experience in affairs, most authority with the people, and most reputation in war, were already (if I may use that word) Cantonized in their several Provinces and Governments; the Treasury empty, or rather destroyed; the Gentry wearied and impoverished; the Militia wasted and consumed;

1574. sumed; the people ruined and undone; and yet not only the diffentions in matters of Religion, but also the emulations and enmities of the great ones were still more than ever kindled and stirred up. In this miserable condition no other prop upheld the State from a final subversion contrived and plotted by so many, save only the wisdom and magnanimity of the Queen-Mother, who by long use accustomed to resist the heaviest strokes of Fortune, having presently after the Kings death taken possession of the Regency, endeavoured constantly by the best means she could, to stop the dangerous precipice of the present affairs.

But the diseases of that Kingdom were not so light, nor the humours that distempered it so weak, as could by gentle medicines be cured in a short time, especially in the Kings absence; wherefore the Queen, by the experience of so many years, well acquainted with the nature and quality of the sickness, not presuming more upon her own strength than in reason she ought to hope; thought in that present conjuncture, she should do enough, if she could keep the state of the Kingdom from growing worse, and preserve it from falling into greater distractions, suspending the present disorders till the Kings coming; who afterwards with a well-grounded resolution might apply such remedies as he thought most proper; and in this she imitated the ordinary custom which Physicians observe in the cure of the most desperate maladies; who having in hand a body full of gross, corrupt humours, either in the heat of the Dog-days, or the extream cold of Winter, (both times unfit to cleanse and purge them away) endeavour by gentle lenitive medicines to allay the violence of the disease, till the conveniency of the season gives them opportunity to make a perfect cure. She was the rather perswaded to take that course, because she knew not what the King would resolve on; who though he had severely persecuted the Hugonots, during the Reign of his Brother, yet mens opinions and resolutions changing, according to the alteration of affairs, she could not be certain whether he would incline to Peace or War; and therefore she thought best to reserve things in such manner, that he might have power to follow that which he most approved. Wherefore being resolved to dissemble, and to value the substance more than the appearance of things, she determined first of all to make preparations for War, that she might not be taken unprovided; and then in other matters, with delays and prolonged hopes to lull and entertain the expectations and inclinations of the Great Ones, endeavouring chiefly to keep Foreign Armies from invading any part of the Kingdom.

With this resolution she with all speed sent *Gaspar Count of Schomberg*, to raise six thousand Swisses, and some Troops of German Cavalry; to the Duke of *Montpensier* (who by reason of the Kings desperate sickness was come to Court) she gave charge, that returning presently to the Camp which was left in *Poitou*, he should recruit both the Horse and Foot as much as he could: and the same commission she gave to the Prince *Dauphin*, who with the other Army was in the confines of *Dauphine* and *Languedoc*: and nevertheless at the same time having still a regard to those ends she had secretly proposed to her self, though she took not away the guards which were placed upon the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, yet she began to use them with wonderful shews of honour and affection; for alledging that it stood not with their reputation to be set at liberty without some previous testimony of their innocency, and without the decree and consent of the lawful King, lest the nearness of blood and relation might seem to have had greater power with her than truth and reason; in all other things she shewed such an entire confidence in them, that she did nothing of importance without their advice; and promised besides to be a particular Instrument in effecting their hopes and pretensions; by which means the Duke of *Alencon*, being of an unconstant nature, and allured by his Mothers flatteries, suffered himself to be easily guided by her subtilty: and the King of *Navarre*, finding no opportunity to advance his fortune, feigned to give credit to all she said. Thus these two Princes either drawn (though not sincerely) to her party, or quieted, and as it were lulled asleep, the Regency being confirmed in her without opposition, she jointly with her Son and Son-in-law, writ to the Magistrates, Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of the Crown; not because their assent was necessary to make her Orders authentick, nor because she had any great confidence in them; but to shew she was both in mind and counsel united with those Princes, and to take away all hopes of their protection from those, who desiring new changes, had set their eyes upon

upon them with wondrous expectation. These Letters, besides the notice of the Kings death, and his election of the Queen-Mother to be Regent, contained also the confirmation of those Edicts granted (by Charles lately deceased) to those of the Reformed Religion; as Liberty of Conscience, the free permission of their Ecclesiastical Rites; and finally, an effectual exhortation to them all, to live under the obedience of those Edicts, and of the ordinary Magistrates, in quietness and tranquillity; on the other side, exhorting those Magistrates to conserve all persons in their own just rights, and to prohibit any kind of molestation to all sorts of people whatsoever; which things were by Monsieur de Villeroy Secretary of State, her most assured Confident, laid open with many artificial flourishes, and with interpretations, and commissions favourable to the Hugonots: to withdraw the fuel from that fire; and among so many discords, in part to qualify and mitigate in the minds of such as were most credulous, those so turbulent dissensions kindled in matters of Religion.

To these satisfactory words, joining deeds no less proper and efficacious, she dispatched the Abbot *Giovanni Battista Guadagni*, to Monsieur de la Nove, to treat of a cessation of Arms in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, where the Duke of *Montpensier* still increasing his Army, did purposely slacken his proceedings; it being the intent of the Queen Regent, rather to suspend the causes, than prosecute or hasten the effects. With the same directions she dispatched Monsieur de *St. Sulpice* to the Marshal d'Anville, to the end that by giving him hopes of his Brothers liberty, and of his confirmation in the Government of *Languedoc*, he might endeavour to settle the commotions also in those parts, and bring things to a truce, which she was resolved to accept of, though upon disadvantageous conditions. The Abbot *Guadagni's* negotiation produced its effect; for the Rochellers, and other people thereabouts, who by woful experience had sufficiently known the valour and severe resolutions of the new King, when, as his Brothers Lieutenant, he made War against the Hugonots; being in very great fear of him, inclined easily to the Truce, as it were to a forerunner and Introduction of Peace; for which cause it was concluded, that there should be a Cessation of Arms for two next ensuing months, *July* and *August*, and for as much longer as the King should think fit, to whom they remitted themselves in that business; and that 12000 Crowns should be paid unto them by the Regent, to maintain their Garrisons without annoying or molesting the Country.

But the Treaty of *St. Sulpice* wrought not the same effect; for though the Marshal d'Anville was more disposed to maintain himself by arts and dissimulations, than by force, and therefore inclined to the Truce; yet of his own party *Monsieur de Montbrun* in *Dauphine*, who made War rather like an Outlaw against every body, than like a Soldier against a certain Enemy, would not hearken to any agreement, which would necessitate him to lay down his Arms, and cease to over-run and spoil the Country: And on the other part, the Catholics of *Languedoc*, and especially the Parliament of *Toulouse*, were so enflamed against the Marshal d'Anville, that they hardly yielded to the Cessation, though commanded by the Queen Regent; it would at last have been effected, if d'Anville at the same time aiming by any means to secure and possess himself of those places that depended on him, arrogating the Kings power to himself, had not by deeds contrary to his words, summoned the States of that Province, and by means of his own adherents, published Decrees and Ordinances, which had more of an absolute Prince, than of a Governour. Whereupon the Parliament of *Toulouse*, infinitely incensed at those proceedings which did manifestly impair their authority, not only refused the Truce themselves; but forbade all those of the Catholick party either to accept, or put it in execution.

But neither the injuries of her Enemies, nor the disobedience of her Friends, could alter the Queens determination; who making small account of outward appearances, minded only the compassing of her own ends: Wherefore continuing the businesses which were set on foot, she treated still with him, and with his Agents, to gain the benefit of time by the same arts, wherewith he endeavoured to settle the foundations of his own Estate: Which things, while they were in agitation, the Rochellers, fickle and unconstant in their resolutions, either because they were excited by those of *Languedoc*, or because the 12000 Crowns which were paid them, were not sufficient to maintain their Souldiers, who wanting the spoils of War, disbanded and forsook them daily, upon a sudden broke the Truce, which a while before was so willingly accepted and concluded, and in all places round about committed most grievous cruel outrages:

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In the absence of the new King Henry 3. a Truce is made for two months.

The Parliament of Toulouse ordains, that the Truce shall not be accepted nor executed.

The Rochellers break the Truce.

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outrages: Yet neither for all this was the Queen any thing dismayed; but dissembling all injuries with marvellous patience, to accomplish her own designs, dispatched new Agents to the Rochellers, and to *d'Anville*, that they might renew the Treaty; it sufficing her, though the business could not be effected, that till she had notice of the Kings arrival, the time might be spun out, without new troubles and distractions; and therefore every where mingling Treaties of accommodation with actions of War, both sides proceeded with equal slowness, not concluding any agreement, and employing the Armies only in the business of small importance.

And now affairs were brought almost to the point which the Queen before desired; for Monsieur de Montpensier with an Army kept the Forces of the Hugonots at a Bay in *Xaintonge*; the Prince *Dauphine*, with another, opposed their attempts in *Dauphine*; and *d'Anville*, who, doubtful in his mind, thought more to establish himself, than to make any new conquests, being held in hand with arts and promises, drew out the time, without making any more express Declaration. But the Prince of *Conde*, residing in *Strasbourg*, one of the Hans Towns in *Germany*, was already resolved (following the steps of his Father) to make himself Head of his party; and therefore treated with the Protestant Princes about the raising of new Forces, and by Messages solicited the Hugonots of *France*, to unite and gather themselves together, and to assist him with some reasonable sum of money, whereby while the King was absent, he might without delay enter with a powerful Army into *Burgogne*.

For this cause the Deputies of the Hugonot Provinces (they then called them the *Reformed Churches*) being met together at *Millant*, with the Agents of the Marshal *d'Anville*, (who, though he feigned the contrary, and entertained the Queen Regent with words and promises, was yet secretly united to them) they consulted as well about the means of procuring money, as about the conditions upon which they should admit the Prince unto that command; which the Queen no sooner knew, but she presently dispatched fitting persons (whereof she judiciously chose many, and with her liberality maintained a great number) who under colour of treating an agreement, should by sowing doubts and discords, hinder and delay the resolutions of that meeting: nor did the Deputies agree very well among themselves; for though they all knew well enough, that without the name of a Prince of the Blood, that should, both within and without the Kingdom, want authority and reputation, and by consequence the strength of all their Forces; yet were their opinions diverse concerning the Prince: for many had yet set their eyes upon the Duke of *Alencon*; many desired the King of *Navarre*; and some were unsatisfied with the youth of the Prince of *Conde*, doubting that his want of years and experience would be accompanied with weakness and contempt. To this was joined the ambiguousness of *d'Anville*, who though his chiefest aim was his own security, and the conservation of his Government of *Languedoc*, yet could he not altogether withdraw his thoughts from pretending to the first place, which though he could not obtain for himself, yet he desired at least that he that had it, should acknowledge it principally from him: nor could it much please *la Noue*, whose power with the Rochellers was very great to see a Superiour chosen, whose eminence and reputation would much eclipse and diminish the authority of his Command. But neither the Queens policy, nor their own particular divisions could restrain the general ardour and inclination with which most of them voluntarily concurred, to put themselves under that Prince, whose Ancestors they were accustomed to obey, and whose very name alone made deep impressions in the minds of the people, by reason of the so famous, and so much deplored memory of his Father. Wherefore the Articles of Agreement were set down in the name of the Provinces, (*d'Anville* and *la Noue* assenting to them of necessity, though secretly) whereby after their wonted pretences and protestations, the power and command of that party was conferred upon the Prince of *Conde*, committing to his protection both the Liberty of their Consciences, and the ordering of that War which was thought so necessary for their common safety. To these Capitulations joining a convenient sum of money, they appointed three Deputies to assist the Prince, both in the conduct and sudden expedition of the Germans, and to relate to him the state of their affairs, and their common resolutions.

The Prince of
Conde is made
Head of the
Hugonots.

At this very time the Hugonots using all possible means to help themselves, printed an infinite number of little Pamphlets under divers Titles, but all with biting stings and fabulous Narrations against the Actions and Government of the Queen Regent, to whom

whom many of them being brought, and the Council purposing to decree severe punishments against the Authors and Printers of those defamatory Pamphlets, and seditious Libels; she opposed that opinion, alledging, that to prohibit them, was a certain means to make them authentick; and that there was no greater proof nor trial of the good, than when they were hated, and abused by malicious people; and persevering in her resolution, not to regard outward appearances, she dissembled all those injuries with admirable patience; but when she saw the preparations for the coming of the Germans, being most resolute to oppose them with force, if policy were not sufficient, she went from *Paris* accompanied with the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, who not yet set at liberty, followed her, but without constraint; and being come into *Burgogne*, she herself mustered the Swisses and Germans, confirming the affections of the Commanders with liberal gifts, and many favours; and then marching with them towards the Provinces that were up in Arms, which were the same where the Kings coming was expected, and through which the Army of the Protestants intended to enter the Kingdom, she resolved to stay in *Lions* as a convenient place to move which way soever need required.

In the mean time, the King having had notice of the death of *Charles*, brought to him by Monsieur de *Chemeraut*, within thirteen days, though the Nobility of the Kingdom of *Poland*, infinitely satisfied with his valour and comportment, did use all possible means to stay him there; yet he not willing to forego his hereditary right to *France*, for the elective Kingdom of *Poland*, there being so great a difference between them; and solicited by those urgent affairs which called him away, to remedy such violent dangers, departed secretly by night with a small retinue, and passing through *Austria* with all possible speed, went forward toward his own Kingdom by the way of *Italy*. He was continually hastened by Letters and Messages from the Queen Regent, who with much ado smothering the sparks of that fire, which was ready to break into a flame, infinitely desired her Sons presence, that she might without further delay apply such remedies as were proper for the malignity of the disease: wherefore the King suspending no longer time than just what necessity required in the entertainments of the Princes of *Italy*, and particularly in the delights of *Venice*, where he was received with wonderful pomp and honour, about the end of *August* arrived at *Thurin*, where it was expected he would begin to prepare, and lay the ground-work of his designs.

The Marshal d' *Anville*, upon security of the Duke of *Savoy's* word, came thither to him, as also *Philippe Huraut* Viscount of *Chiverny* his old Chancellor, *Gaspar* Count of *Schomberg*, *Bernard de Fixes*, and *Nicholas de Neuville* Sieur de *Villeroy*, both Secretaries of State, who all were sent from the Queen Regent, to give him an account of the affairs of his Kingdom. But the King having heard their relation, with the secret designs of his Mother, and on the other side the pretences and excuses of the Marshal, though not only *Roger* Sieur de *Bellegarde*, and *Guy de Pibrac* his favoured Counsellors; but also the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Lady *Margaret* laboured all they could to bring him to some determination that might be favourable to d' *Anville*; yet nourishing high thoughts in the depth of his mind, and making his excuse that he would resolve nothing without the assistance and approbation of his Mother, to whose vigilance and prudence he was so much obliged, he dismissed d' *Anville* with ambiguous answers, and hastned his journey so much the more, lest he should be put upon a necessity of referring that to the determinations of others, which he purposed to reserve to the execution of his own premeditated designs; for the better compassing whereof, seeing he had so many businesses to settle in his own Kingdom, that for many decads of years it would be in vain to think of any enterprise on that side of the Mountains; and desiring absolutely to gain the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Margaret*, that he might make use of them afterward in the effecting of his purposes, he resolved to restore unto them *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and *la Vallée de Perouse*, which for security of the intentions of those Princes, had been held by the Kings his Predecessors; thinking it superfluous to keep places with a vast expence, out of his own Kingdom, which were of no other use but in consideration of those hopes, which as affairs then stood, were very far off, and unlikely. Yet many condemned that his precipitate restitution of them, and *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* Governour of those places, and a man of equal wisdom and loyalty, after having used all possible endeavours that they might not be restored, laid open his opinion finally in writing; which he desired might

Henry the III. returning out of Poland, stays at Thurin, and restores certain places to the Duke of Savoy, kept by the Kings of France for security.

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might be kept for his discharge, among the Records and Charters of the Crown; where at the King was offended, though he wisely dissembled it, thinking them vain and ambitious, who would seem to know more of his own secrets than he himself.

The fifth day of *September*, he came into the confines of his own Kingdom at *Pont-Beau-voyfin*, where the Duke of *Alençon*, and the King of *Navarre* expected him, who having till then (though with much gentleness) been kept as prisoners, were with demonstrations of much honour and affection fully set at liberty by him at the first meeting; and to give the greater testimony of his good will toward them, he placed himself in the midst between them both, to receive his subjects which were come thither to the confines to shew their dutiful respects unto him. The next day he met the Queen his Mother, who was purposely come to a little Castle near *Lyon*; and being entered together into the City, they began without further delay, to treat of businesses, concerning the Peace, or War which they were to make with their armed subjects.

The King knew very well not only the wavering troublesome estate of his Kingdom, but also the miserable condition to which he himself at that time was reduced; for the whole Kingdom being divided into two different factions, the one of the Catholics, the other of the Hugonots, both which had their chief heads appointed and established long before hand, and through the long reiterated distractions, not only the Cities and Provinces, but also all particular persons divided between them, he found that he was left (as we use to say) dry between two Rivers; and that his power being shared and dismembred between those two great parties, he retaining nothing but the name of a King, was utterly deprived both of his forces, and due obedience; and moreover, that to avoid misery and contempt, he was necessitated to become factious, and partial; and mixing in the dissensions of his subjects, to make himself the author of his own misfortunes, and a necessary instrument to imbroid and destroy his own Kingdom. For though the Hugonots and Politicks were called by the name of Rebels, as those who first had shaken off the yoke of their obedience to the King, and openly opposed him; and though the Catholics fought under a colour of so specious and so necessary a cause as the defence and preservation of their Religion: yet for all that the malice of mankind had mingled with it the venom of private interests, and under that honourable pretence, the ambition of the Great Ones had to the prejudice of their Kings, built up their own Power, and established a kind of unsufferable Authority.

The *Guises*, whilst in the Reign of the late Kings they bore the principal sway in the Government, had very fair opportunities to raise and confirm their own Greatness, by putting the commands of strong places, and the Governments of Provinces into the hands of their own Creatures, and nearest Confidants; by placing their dependants in the Courts of Justice, in the Kings Council, in the chief honours of the Court, and the management of the *Finances*; and by drawing an infinite number of men to their own devotion, who were straitly engaged to them for many favours, gifts, riches and dignities obtained by their means; which things, whilst the minds of men were passionately inclined to that party, and taken with the specious mask of Religion, to many seemed tolerable, and to many very reasonable and just: But now they were taken notice of to be united in one body of a Faction, they appeared as a great engine erected to oppose, and upon any fit occasion to resist even the authority and pleasure of the King himself. But on the other side, the Hugonots had no less conveniency of establishing themselves, and strengthening their own power; for having by the ostentation of liberty, and by promising Offices and Authority, drawn unto themselves all the male-contented and turbulent spirits, who once entangled, could no more disengage themselves; and the Edicts of so many several Pacifications, having still confirmed those Offices and Governments to those upon whom they had been conferred by the Princes and Heads of the Faction; in process of time, the Provinces were incumbered with them, places of strength possessed by them, many chief Offices of the Crown replenished with their adherents, and a great part of the Nobility, with many popular men, were united and interested with them through the whole Kingdom. Wherefore the late Kings, who by reason of the shortness of their Reigns, had given greater opportunity to the building up of those two powerful Factions, remaining utterly deprived of all the means and instruments of Government, were forced by necessity to become Champions of the passion, and Promoters of the greatness of other

other men ; so that being unable of themselves to execute any solid resolute design, in stead of governing, they were governed ; and in stead of bridling that violence, they themselves were carried away by the impetuous stream of those Factions : which indignities being seriously considered by the present King, full of high thoughts, and of a lively generous spirit, had made such an impression in him, that though he used his uttermost endeavours to dissemble and conceal it, he could not but with deep sighs often break forth into the words of *Lewis* the XI, (one of his Predecessors) * *That it was now high time to put Kings out of their Page-ships* : meaning, that they having so long been subject to the lash and discipline of the Heads of those Factions, it was then seasonable to shake off their Empire and Dominion. With these considerations having even in the time of his Brothers Reign begun to observe and deplore that weakness of the Kings, and insolence of the Subjects, and having made a greater reflection upon them in the thoughts of his late Voyage, after the Crown was fallen into his hands, he resolved with himself to use all possible force to shake from his neck the wretched dishonourable yoke of those Factions, and to make himself a free absolute King, as so many of his glorious Ancestors had been.

But as this thought was certainly very necessary for one that desired to Reign, and very just in the lawful possessor of a Crown ; so was it also infinitely hard and difficult to be put in execution. He wanted the sinews of the Treasury, already wasted and consumed ; he wanted the obedience of his Subjects, who were so obstinately interested in their several Factions, that the Majesty and Veneration of a King was already become fabulous and contemptible : he wanted faithful trusty Ministers ; for every one by some strait tie or other was engaged to one of the parties ; and the business of it self by reason of their so excessive power, was a work of mighty art, extraordinary care, infinite diligence ; and for the perfecting thereof, propitious Fortune was no less requisite than great length of time. But notwithstanding all these so weighty obstacles, the Kings mind being so inwardly wounded, that he could not take himself off from the perpetual meditation of that design, and thinking no enterprise (how painful or difficult soever) impossible to his youth and valour, firmly determined to apply all his most powerful endeavours to compass that end, which he was not only perswaded to by publick respects and his former considerations, but was also moved and incited thereunto by his own private passions and particular inclinations ; for having conceived an inveterate hatred against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, from the time that he was employed against them, in that War wherein he had been nourished and brought up from his very childhood ; he ardently desired to see the ruine of them, and of all the rest of their Faction ; from whom, by reason of former injuries, he believed he could never have any real nor faithful service : and on the other side, calling to mind the offence received from the Duke of *Guise* in the person of his Sister the Lady *Margaret* then Queen of *Navarre*, (of whom it was reported that he had obtained more than ordinary favours) he had converted all the love which he formerly bare him into so great a spleen, that (although he dissembled it) he burned with a most fervent desire of revenge ; and for her sake could not endure any interest, dependance or alliance of blood with the house of *Guise* ; so that publick causes concurring with private enmities, he so much the more easily resolved to destroy both those so potent Factions.

But in contriving proper means to attain that end, the first doubt he met withal was this, Whether the establishment of Peace or continuance of War were more profitable for the advancement of this design ; and though partly to discover their inclinations, partly to draw from them some considerations agreeing with his own intents, he heard the opinions of his Councillours in that point ; some exhorting him to embrace Peace, and others encouraging the prosecution of the War ; yet he concluded with himself, that War continually nourishing and increasing the force and power of the Factions, was disadvantageous for his present purpose ; and that Peace which would lull asleep turbulent spirits, and with the benefit of time quiet the passions and animosities of both parties, was much more helpful and proper to the effecting of his desires. For whilst the War continued, new Abettors and Adherents were daily added to the Factions, new places fortified, which were in the power of the Heads of those parties, new Garisons brought in, and youth was bred up in the profession of Arms, and in the obstinacy of civil dissensions : whereas by Peace, the feuds and enmities between particular men would be extinguished, the course of the Factions stopped,

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1574.

* *Qu'il estoit temps de mettre les Roys hors Page.*

Henry the III. ill-affected to the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde, Heads of the Hugonots; as also to the Duke of Guise, Head of the Catholics.

1574. the fortifications already made (as the custom is) would be demolished, the number of those, who (wanting other means of living) maintained themselves by War, would be dissipated, the remembrance of past hatreds buried, and the old engaged Leaders (so accustomed to discord) dropping away, young men, free from passion, and bred in peaceful thoughts, would spring up in their places. To these reasons was also added this other important respect, That it being necessary for the execution of so great a design, to furnish the Treasury with some store of moneys for the foundation of his own power, and the sufficient maintenance of his Greatness, and Forces proper for a King; this could not be put in practice but by the benefit of Peace, since War did continually destroy and consume the publick stock, wasting that in a few months, which with much labour was a whole year a gathering from the people. Besides this, that old consideration wrought also, which had ever produced the conclusion of Peace; for the Prince of *Conde* being ready to come out of *Germany* with a great foreign Army to the evident danger of *France*, it seemed much more to the purpose to divert that tempest by an agreement, than by resisting it with force in that weak beginning of his Reign to put the state of his Kingdom in so manifest an hazard. These reasons, which perchance by the desire of Rest, and of the delights of the Court, (to which he was very much inclined) were made to appear more valid and powerful; perswaded him to imbrace an accommodation; yet because the occasions of the War were so just and reasonable, and because the Hugonots on their part provoked him daily with new injuries, in so much as *Mombrun* coming from the mountains of *Dauphine*, had plundered his own carriages as they passed from *Savoy* to *Lyons*; and on the other side, because the Catholick Princes unanimously exhorted him not to forsake that path of constancy and valour which in former times he had so gloriously trodden, for the suppression and extirpation of heresie; he feared his designs would easily be discovered, if it were observed, that he, a young warlike Prince, should refuse to show himself against the Rebellious, and not care to punish the insolence and contumacy of his own Subjects: for having no cause to think that his former actions could argue him guilty of either baseness of mind, or weakness of understanding, they would rather believe he had directed his aim at some further and more important ends, which he thought it would be impossible for him to compass, when once they were laid open by more than probable conjectures: wherefore resolving to make use of the continued ordinary means of dissimulation, which by nature and custom he was very well versed in, he determined in himself to continue the War, but with such cold faint proceedings as should not alter the state of affairs; and in the mean time by convenient opportunities dexterously and dissemblingly to bring in Peace, upon the ground whereof he would after go on to nearer, and to more effectual means; for feigning sometimes to be taken up with exercises of devotion, sometimes with pleasing delightful entertainments, he thought by a shew of negligence and carelessness in time to delude the wisdom of the most politick Observers, as if nourishing only soft effeminate thoughts, he had wholly given himself over to ease and devotion.

With those arts he thought he might easily lull the vigilancy of the Faction, and afterward have both time and opportunity, as occasion served, to build up his designs. He purposed to cherish, and exalt in Court quick-witted and crafty-natured men, to whom he might securely commit the administration the Government; in time he intended to draw into the hands of his Creatures and Confidants, not so much the name and title, as the substance and essence, both of the greatest Civil and Military Offices; he hoped with those opportunities which time uses to afford, by degrees to take away the greatness and reputation of powerful factious men, either by depriving them of their place, diminishing their adherents, lessening their credit, or finally by cutting them off; by which means prudently managed he promised himself, (though with some length of time) that he should ruine and pull down by little and little, those powers which had been built up, and now appeared so eminent and terrible; which things wisely disposed, and discreetly contrived, might perhaps in the end have succeeded happily, if the King in process of time had not suffered himself to be transported by his own nature and inclinations.

Now being upon these considerations, resolved to continue the name, but to slacken the effects of War, he recalled the Prince from the command of the Army, who with an ardour equal to his courage, and a sincerity equal to his nature, had done his business so handsomly, that having taken and sacked *Paris*, a place of very great consequence,

sequence, and overrun all the Province of *Vivarez*, he had filled the Hugonots with infinite terrour; which progress being contrary to the Kings intention, having sent for him from the Army, under colour of being present at his Consecration, he committed the charge thereof unto *Roger Sieur de Bellegarde*, newly created Marshal, who was not only an interested friend to *d'Anville*, with whom chiefly he was to make War in that Province, but one esteemed by the King so faithful to him, that he was confident he might dispose of him at his own pleasure; and because the Duke of *Montpensier* on the other side, having razed *Lusignan*, taken *Fontenay*, and other adjacent Towns, pressed the Hugonots so home, that they were already, as it were, shut up in *Rochel*, he commanded away some of his Forces, pretending, that they were more necessary in *Champagne*, to hinder the entrance of that foreign Army, which under the Prince of *Conde*, was not far distant from the borders of the Kingdom; and because *Henry Duke of Guise*, the principal Head of the Catholick party, Governour of *Champagne*, had the command of the Forces of that Province, he made *Armand Sieur de Byron* his Lieutenant; who no less famous for wisdom, than valour, had already shewed himself very favourable to the Hugonots.

1574-

Matters of War being settled, and balanced in this manner, the King began to think of Marriage; for, the hopes of the Family depending upon him, and the Duke of *Alencon*, both without Children, it was necessary to provide for the succession of the Kingdom. Before he went into *Poland*, he was not a little taken with *Louyse*, the Daughter of *Nicolas Count of Vandemont*, and Niece to the Duke of *Lorain*, being besides the beauty of her person, infinitely pleased with the modesty of her disposition, and discreet behaviour; but the fear of augmenting the greatness of the House of *Lorain*, and of bringing the Cardinal into the management of affairs, whose genius was wont to rule the wills, and sway the affections of his Predecessors, did much dissuade him from that thought; and recalling to mind the late occurrences, under the Reigns of *Francis the Second*, and *Charles the Ninth*, and the great pretensions and authority of the Cardinal, he could not bend his mind, to suffer by that means, a new increase of that Power, the abatement whereof he had with so much labour, and so long patience propounded to himself. For which considerations turning his thoughts another way, he purposed to demand *Elizabeth* Sister to *John King of Sweden*, a Princess for wit and beauty not inferiour to any; and Secretary *Pinart* was presently sent to treat about the match. But in the mean time while the King stayed at *Avignon*, the Cardinal of *Lorain* (whose power and wisdom he so much feared) chancing to die of a Burning Fever, he suddenly changed his determination, recalling *Pinart* from his treaty, and being swayed by affection, which in all, but especially in great minds, prevails above all other respects, he took to Wife *Louyse de Vandemont*, who in the beginning of the next year was brought to *Rheims* by the Duke, and Dutches of *Lorain*.

The King demands the Sister of the King of Sweden to Wife.

The death of the Cardinal of Lorain.

The Kings third consideration, was, how to settle his Brother the Duke of *Alencon*, who being of a seditious spirit, and fickle turbulent nature, was not likely to be more quiet in the Reign of the present King, whom he already hated and envied, than he had been in the late Reign of *Charles*, who had not given him such causes of hatred and emulation. Two Propositions came into his mind for that purpose; one was to procure *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* in Marriage for him, but that had been often treated of, and always waved, by her resolution not to marry: the other to resign the Crown of *Poland* to him, but that could not be done, but by the consent and election of that people, the which (they believing themselves injured and deprived by the King, in his so secret departure from them) was very hard to be obtained. But not being to be discouraged by difficulty, from making trial what might be done, he chose two Ambassadors to treat about the business, *Guy Sieur de Pibrac* a man of great learning and experience, one of his intimate Counsellors, and *Roger Sieur de Bellegarde*, substituting in the command of the Army *Alberto Gonai Count of Retz*, who because he was an Italian, brought up, and raised by King *Charles*, and the Queen-Mother, was infinitely trusted by him, and made partaker of many of his most hidden secret intentions.

With these designs, but with a shew of feasts and triumphs, began the year 1575. For the King being departed from *Avignon*, to be consecrated with the accustomed Ceremonies, was come to *Rheims*, where the holy Oyl is kept in a Viol (commonly called the *Sainte Ampoule*) destined by ancient Veneration, for the anointing of the

1575-

1575.
The King is
consecrated at
Reims; by Lewis
Cardinal of
Lorain, Bro-
ther to the
Duke of Guise,
and next day
marrieth
Louyse de Van-
demont Niece
to the Duke
of Lorain.

Kings of France. The Ceremonies were performed with solemn State, by Lewis Cardinal of Lorain, the Duke of Guise's Brother; and the next day after the King married the Princess Louyse; all the sadness of former troubles, dissolving it self into delightful thoughts, dances, tournaments, and all manner of pomp and jollity: then having visited the Church of St. Maclou, where the Kings with a fast of nine days, and other pennances, use to receive that famous Gift of Healing the Kings Evil with nothing but a touch, the King in the end of March came into the City of Paris.

In the beginning of April, the Deputies of the Prince of Conde, the Marechal d'Anville, and of the associated Provinces, were come thither by his permission, to treat of Peace; to whom were joined the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and of the Cantons of Switzerland, to exhort and perswade the King, to grant those conditions to the Hugonots, which they thought necessary for their security: but their demands were so exorbitant, though the King were of himself inclined to embrace Peace, yet could he not bend his mind to hearken to them; and the Catholick party with bitter murmurings spoke openly against the insolence, and impertinence of their propositions: wherefore after a long ambiguous Negotiation, the Deputies took leave, returning to relate the Kings pleasure to those that sent them; and left Arenes one of their number at the Court, to keep the business in agitation, and not utterly to cut off the treaty of Peace, which was so much desired on both sides.

About this time (though it were contrary to the Kings intent) the War was not at all less active, than it was before; for mens minds being inflamed of themselves, by the fire of each faction, much blood was daily spilt in several encounters; and it happened, that Mombrun, grown proud by the success of many Victories, thinking to have his wonted fortune, in a sudden disorderly charge, which he gave the Forces of Monsieur de Gordes the Kings Lieutenant in Dauphine, was not only repulsed, but also so streightened, between a River and a Hill, by the multitude of the Catholicks, that all his men being defeated and scattered, he was first wounded, and after taken prisoner; so that being brought to Grenoble, he was by publick decree of the Parliament condemned to death, and the sentence executed without delay; he not only bearing the punishment of those infinite troubles, which he had brought upon that Province, but also of his boldness in daring to plunder the Kings own Carriages and Servants. From this battel wherein Mombrun was defeated, escaped Francis de Bonne Sieur de Lesdiguieres, a man of great wisdom, and no less boldness and vivacity, who in process of time, being made Head of the Hugonot Faction in Dauphine, advanced himself by his prudence and courage so far above his own private condition, that in the end he came with incredible reputation to be made High-Constable of the Kingdom.

Mombrun
had taken the
Kings carriage
and taken
himself and
excited.

Francis Bonne
made Head of
the Hugonots,
and after
High-Consta-
ble of the
Kingdom.

Nor was the state of affairs any quieter in the other Provinces; for the Marechal d'Anville having called a meeting at Nismes, and another afterward at Montpellier, had declared himself Head of the Politicks, and joining in confederacy with the Hugonots, had openly attempted those places, which held of the Kings party; In the Province of Perigord, Henry de la Tour Viscount of Turenne, had caused many places to revolt unto the Hugonots, in Normandy the Rebels had taken the Mount St. Michael, though within a few days after it was recovered by the care and valour of Matignon; and in all those Provinces, there happened daily little, but frequent encounters, which though they altered not the condition of businesses in the main, yet did they nourish discord in mens minds, and augment the power of the Faction; which reasons confirming the King so much the more in his resolutions of procuring a Peace, he sent Monsieur de la Hunaude, a man of much popular eloquence, to treat with la Nove and the Rochellers, to try if by any means they might be removed from those high conditions they demanded; and still continued the Negotiation of Agreement with the Agents of the Prince of Conde and Monsieur d'Anville. He also very politickly gave a beginning to those arts which were already contrived, and shewed openly that his mind was averse from the troubles of business, and the toils of War; and on the other side, much addicted to a devout solitary life, entertaining himself with softer pleasures, and more gentle quiet conversations: but in the mean time he ceased not to consult privately, and as much as he could to draw forward his design; which that it might be kept the more secret, he continued his custom of not propounding his most weighty affairs in the open Council of State, but to treat of them only in the Cabinet-Council, which was begun in his Brothers time, and by him reduced to a very small

small number, which were the Queen his Mother, *Renato di Birago* an Italian, High Chancellor, *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, *Philip Hurault* Viscount of *Chiverny*, *Pom-pone Sieur de Bellicourt*, *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* Bishop of *Limoges*, *René Sieur de Ville-guier*, and the two Secretaries, *Pinart* and *Villeroy*. To these not communicating the whole secret, but only those things which were presently to be done, he resolved as he saw occasion; and daily drew persons of wit and valour to the Court, but such as, taken from moderate fortunes, ought to acknowledge their advancement only from his hand. And to bring the disposing of the publick monies, and the giving of all grants into his own power, that so men might be obliged to him alone, and the dependance be taken away from the Heads and Princes of the Factions; seeming to find fault with the ill-ordering of those two most principal things in his Brothers time, he decreed that the Treasurers, not giving other account to the Chamber appointed for that purpose, nor to the Superintendent of the *Finances*, might make up their accounts and reckonings with nothing but acquittances signed with his hand; by which means disposing of moneys according to his own pleasure, he caused it secretly to be conveyed where he thought most convenient, without making any body acquainted with it but himself. In the business of grants and favours, he commanded that no one should intercede or beg for another, but that every one should present their own Petitions, which being once signed with his hand, the Secretaries of State were presently to dispatch them without delay, reply or contradiction: for during the Reigns of the late Kings, the Princes and great men of the Kingdom, and the Favourites of the Court were wont to present Petitions for private men, favouring their requests by their Authority, and the Petitions were sent to the Secretaries of State and the High Chancellor; who, if they found any thing in them contrary to Law, or the Institutions of the Kingdom, rejected and refused them without further consultation: But if they were such things as might be granted without inconveniency, they registred them in a Roll orderly head by head, which Roll was always read once in so many days before the King and his Council, and every request being maturely weighed, those that were granted, were signed by the Kings hand, and those that were denied, were crossed out of the Roll, and that being copied fair, was called the Counter-Roll; which was no sooner done, but the High Chancellor sealed it, and then the Secretaries dispatched them presently. But *Henry* desirous to deprive the great ones of that means of gaining adherents and dependents, resolved to alter that course, and therefore ordained that private persons should bring their Petitions immediately to himself, which he reading at convenient times, signed those which he was pleased to grant, and would have the Secretaries of State without further debate or exceptions instantly to prepare the Warrants; which new custom, though it seemed strange to the great persons of the Kingdom, and gave occasion of distaste to many, yet brought it the grant of all Gifts, Pardons and Offices into the Kings absolute disposing, taking away by little and little the followers that flocked after the Heads of the Factions, and reducing all Petitioners to acknowledge their Obligations particularly to himself.

On this manner did *Henry* go politically advancing his designs; but as all things which must be effected with length of time, receive divers alterations, according to the variety of worldly accidents, there hapned a thing, which for a season crossed and interrupted the Kings purposes. The Duke of *Alençon* had till then been kept in hand by the hopes of attaining the Kingdom of *Poland*: For though Monsieur de *Bellegarde* discontented at many things, and seeing himself lessened in the Kings favour, was retired into the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, whereof he was Governour, and had refused to treat concerning that Election; yet Monsieur de *Pibrac*, a man of perfect abilities, went thither, and for a time hoped to bring it to an happy conclusion. But when he once saw that expectation vanished, (for the Nobility and Commons of *Poland* being much displeased with the Family of *France*, had elected *Stephano Battori*, an Hungarian of great fame, and remarkable valour) not being able to live under his Brother, and expect the changes of his fortune from his will and pleasure, he fell upon a new design of building up his own greatness by himself; for finding he was repulsed in his pretending to the Office of Lieutenant General, and that, to sow discord between him and his friends, it was sometimes given out that the Duke of *Lorain*, sometimes that the King of *Navarre* should have it, he thought that making himself Head of the Hugonots and Catholick Male-contents, as were the House of *Montmorancy*, and the Marechal de *Bellegarde*, either he should obtain a very absolute power among them,

1573.

Henry the III. frames a new Model of Government.

The manner observed at Court in the granting of Petitions.

The Duke of Alençon excluded from the Crown of Poland, and Stephano Battori a Hungarian elected to succeed Henry the Third.

1575. them, or else constrain the King to grant him that by force, which he despaired to obtain by his good will. Having given some little hint of these his vast thoughts to *Madam de Sauve*, (of whom he was passionately enamoured, but not answered with a reciprocal affection) and she having in part signified her suspicions unto the Queen-Mother, his discontents encreased very much by the bitter words and unkind looks which he received daily: Wherefore being by disdain and anger brought unto a violent resolution, he determined rashly to absent himself from Court, and to make himself the Head of those who had often wooed and perswaded him to it. This resolution (he being a man of mean capacity, and more ready to undertake, than able to manage so great an enterprize) was put in execution so unseasonably, and with so little appearance of reason, as made many doubt that it was a plot agreed upon by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, that he should feign himself discontented, and alienated from them, to deceive the Hugonots, and, under colour of friendship and assistance, to open a way to the suppression and destruction of those that were up in arms. But it is most certain, (and I have heard it affirmed by a person who having had principal Offices in the Government, was partaker of the most hidden secrets which were then in agitation) that this action of the Duke of *Alençon* was so far from being contrived by the King and Queen-Mother, that on the contrary it was so terrible and so displeasing to them, that being as it were astonished with the blow, they neglected no possible means, nor thought scorn of any indignity how great soever it were, so they might but withdraw him from the party of those factious men, and restore him to his former nearness and obedience.

The Duke of
Alençon his
flight and De-
claration.

Now the Duke of *Alençon* having to some of his most familiar Confidants secretly communicated his intention of leaving the Court on the fifteenth day of *September* this present year, went into the Faux-bourg of *St. Marceau*, under pretence of visiting a certain Lady, which he loved and enjoyed; and entering the house where she dwelt about the shutting in of the day, while his Gentlemen expected him on the street-side, he went forth at a private back-gate which led into the fields; and being come where he was expected by those that were privy to his purpose, he presently got on horse-back, and with a small Train, but very great speed, riding all night, arrived at the City of *Dreux*, a place that was under his command, and there published a Declaration next day, wherein he shewed that the causes of his departure were the unworthy dealings that had been used towards Him and other great Lords of the Kingdom, who were kept in prison without any fault or demerit, and the imminent ruine which he foresaw did hang over the common safety by reason of the Kings evil Councillors; exhorting all *France* to join with him to make a General Assembly of the States, and, by means thereof, remedy the unjust burthens of many, moderate the heavy taxes laid upon the people, regulate the abuses of justice, establish the Liberty of Conscience so often by publick solemn decrees promised to those of the Reformed Religion, and restore peace and happiness to all sorts of men in the Kingdom: for which things (but without offence to the Kings Majesty) he protested to spend the last drop of his blood, as he was necessarily obliged to do by his affection to his Country, and love to all good men. By which Declaration divulged particularly in those Provinces and places most abounding with the Hugonots, it was plainly to be seen, that he aspired to the command of that party, which by the authority of so great a Prince, and the number of his followers, which were many, was like to be very much augmented in strength and reputation.

But the King hearing of his Brothers departure, that very night dispatched *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* with some certain Horse, to try if by any means possible they could take him; which not succeeding by reason of the great speed the Duke of *Alençon* made, and the advantage of so many hours; he being unresolved in his own thoughts, called his Cabinet-Council together, (on the sixteenth of *September* at night) and began to treat of those remedies which were to be used against so sudden and so unexpected an accident: in which consultation the Queens opinion concurring with the Kings inclination, and with the advice of the major-part of the Board, the conclusion was, That not regarding any conditions how hard soever, they should try by all possible endeavours to withdraw the Duke of *Alençon* from his new begun design, and separate him from the commerce of those turbulent people; to which end, though the King (being a cruel Enemy to Heads of the Factions) bare an ill will to the Marshals of *Cosse* and *Momorancy*, who were still kept prisoners in the Bastile; yet
to

to appease and satisfy his Brother, by whose occasion they were fallen into that rebellion, and to take away the fuel from that fire, they were both set at liberty in that very conjuncture of time; the Queen intending to make them instruments of reconciliation with her Son, to whom she resolved to go in person, not believing that any could be so powerful and prevalent to persuade him as the authority and flatteries of a Mother, accompanied with those Arts which she was wont in all occasions to use with marvellous dexterity.

The Duke of *Alençon* was come into *Poitou*, where he was presently met by Monsieur de la Noue, Gilbert Sieur de *Vantadour*, a Lord of principal note in *Limousin*, and the Viscount of *Turenne*, both allyed to the Marshal d'Anville, and all the Hugonot Towns sent to honour and acknowledge him by messages full of duty and respect.

Nor did the Prince of *Condé* (who, being joined with Prince *Casimir* upon the confines of *Germany*, had drawn together a mighty Army) shew himself less ready or desirous to obey him than the rest; for knowing his ambitious nature, and how much credit and reputation he gained by the name of the Kings Brother, he thought it was to no purpose to contend with him for the first place, being confident, that though he carried the name of the supreme power, yet the real authority of command would nevertheless still remain in him, as well by reason of the ancient assurance he had of the Hugonot Faction, as because that foreign Army was paid and raised by his own industry; so that in his employment he acknowledged no other Superiour, but only His authority under whose conduct and direction he first took up Arms: Wherefore, preventing the motions, and in a manner the very desires of the Duke of *Alençon*, he declared him Captain-General of his party, and seemed to content himself with the Title of his Lieutenant in the command of the foreign Army; which drawing near to enter into *France* with 14000 Swisse and German Foot, three thousand French Firelocks, and seven or eight thousand Horse, and fearing too long a delay by reason of the greatness of his Army, and the tedious difficulty of the way, he resolved to send *Guillaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Thore* with two thousand German Horse, two hundred Gentlemen, and two thousand Foot of several Nations, throw *Champagne* (which is the nearest way) to join with the Duke of *Alençon*, who he thought stood in need of present assistance. *Thore* entering the Kingdom near *Langres* in *Burgogne*, and thence by the shortest way crossing over *Champagne*, hastened by the swiftness of his march to avoid the opposition of the Catholics, and passing the River *Marne*, to get as soon as he could into security: but being overtaken by the Duke of *Guise*, who with his Brother *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, *Armand* Sieur de *Byron*, the Count of *Retz*, and a fresh powerful Army followed to intercept his passage; either the temerity of his Soldiers, (as he said afterwards) or his own desire to fight, persuaded him to stay near *Dormans*, and alter the thoughts of hastening his voyage into a design of encountering the Enemy. Their Forces wanted much of equality, though both their courages were ardent and resolute; for the Duke of *Guise* had above a thousand Lancers, two thousand other Horse, and ten thousand good French Foot, and the Soldiers of *Thore* weary and tyred with the length of their march, were not near so great a number: yet he that under favour of the woods might have gotten to the River which was hard by, and have passed it at a ford called *du Vergez*, facing courageously about, fell to skirmish with the first Catholics Troops led by Monsieur *Fervaques* Marshal of the Field, the *Rhingrave*, and Monsieur de *Byron*; but when he found the skirmish succeed prosperously, ordering his men only in two Divisions, whereof one was led by the Count *la Val*, and the other commanded by himself, he began fiercely to give the on-set; and though the place in respect of the open Field, was very advantageous to the greater number, the issue was uncertain for many hours, till the Duke of *Mayenne* with the Van of the Cavalry, and the Duke of *Guise* with those Gentlemen that accompanied him in the Battel, charged into the Body of the German Horse, who having nothing but Pistols against the violence and fury of the Lances, being routed and trodden under foot, lost their lives desperately in the place. In this encounter all the Germans were utterly defeated, and by order from the Commanders cut in pieces without mercy, except only one Cornet of the Reiters, who being placed in the Rear, and seeing the slaughter of the rest, yielded himself to their discretion, and was spared rather by the weariness than pity of the Conquerors. Colonel *Stine* the chief Commander of the Germans was slain, with many Gentlemen of quality, *Cleruant* a famous Leader

1575.
The Marshals of *Momorancy* and *Coffe* set at liberty.

The Prince of *Condé* comes with a great Army out of *Germany*.

The Prince of *Condé* declares the Duke of *Alençon* General of the Hugonots.

of

1575.

The Duke of
Guise is shot in
the face.

of the Hugonots taken, and *Thore* passing the River with a few Horse saved himself by flight. Nor was this Victory gotten by the Catholicks without blood ; for besides the loss of an hundred and fifty of their best Souldiers, the Duke of *Guise*, whilst valiantly following the execution he pursued the fugitives, who fought as they ran away, was himself shot in the left cheek, the skar whereof served afterwards for a memorable mark to win him the love of all those who being affectionate to the Catholick Religion, honoured the signs of that Blood which had been spilt, and of that danger which had been undergone fighting in person for the service of the Church of God.

Monsieur de *Fervaques* carried the news of this Victory to the Court, who departing before the Duke of *Guise* was wounded, made a lame imperfect narration of the business, yet much to his own advantage ; but *Pelican* the Duke of *Guise*'s Secretary arriving a few hours after, who brought word of his Lords being hurt, and many other particulars of that Action ; *Fervaques* was not only slighted by the King, but laughed at by the whole Court, thinking that he with a false story of the Encounter would have attributed the honour of the day unto himself, which was due to the worth of those who had purchased it with their blood : whereupon he conceived himself to be very hardly used, considering the valour that he really had shewed against the Enemy, with whom he had fought gallantly first of all : and therefore he was excited by his natural inconstancy to make one in the managing of a new design, which not many days after caused a great disturbance in the Court.

A Cessation of
Arms for six
months.

In the mean time the Queen-Mother, attended by the Marechals of *Cosse* and *Momorancy*, arrived at *Campigny* in *Poitou*, to meet with the Duke of *Alencon*, who was so puffed up with the present ambition of commanding so many, and with the near assistance of the Foreign Army already come to the confines of *Burgogne*, that she not being able to agree with him concerning Articles of Peace, at last procured a Cessation of Arms, about the end of *November*, which was to continue for six months, in which time she not only hoped that the German Army would waste away ; but also that the Duke himself being of a fickle unconstant humour, might be drawn to a more reasonable, and more secure Peace : the conditions of the Truce were, That the King should pay 160000 Ducats to the Prince of *Conde* and the Germans, provided they passed not the *Rhine*, nor entred into the confines of *France* : That the Cities of *Angoulesme*, *Saumur*, *Nyort*, *Bourges*, *la Charite* and *Meziere*, should be assigned unto the Hugonots, and Politicks for their security, which should presently be restored as soon as the Truce was expired, if the Peace were not concluded in the mean time : That the King should give the Duke of *Alencon* wherewithal to maintain an hundred Gentlemen, an hundred *Gens d'Arms*, an hundred firelocks, and fifty Swisses for the guard of his own person : That the Deputies of the associated Provinces, and of the Politick and Hugonot Princes, should come to *Paris* in the midst of the month of *January* next ensuing, to treat about conditions of Peace, and in the mean time all acts of Hostility should be forborn through the whole Kingdom. Which Truce being published about the twentieth of *December*, the conditions thereof were not so punctually observed ; for Monsieur de *Ruffec* Governour of *Angoulesme*, and Monsieur de *Montigny* Governour of *Bourges*, refused to resign those places to the Duke of *Alencon*, pretending in excuse that they thought they could not be secure in any other places, by reason of the hatred they had drawn upon themselves in the service of the King, and of their Religion ; but the Queen (with whose consent it was doubted those Governours had made resistance) in lieu of those two Cities, gave them *St. Jean d'Angely*, and *Cognac*, places of much less importance ; and on the other side the Prince of *Conde*, and the Germans fearing the same thing which the Kings party hoped, would not consent to forbear entering into the Kingdom ; knowing that if their Army should lie still in idleness, it would certainly consume, and destroy it self.

1576.

Hereupon the Queen-Mother leaving the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Marechal of *Momorancy* with her Son, that they might entertain him with thoughts of Peace, returned speedily to *Paris*, to be present at the Treaty with the Deputies, which was begun in the month of *January* 1576. with assured hopes of bringing it to a happy conclusion : for the King by his own inclination already affecting Peace, and the Cabinet-Council to deprive the Rebels of the person of the Duke of *Alencon*, and free themselves from the imminent danger of a foreign Army, were content that very large conditions should be granted ; which afterward either by an assembly of the States, or by

by some other means they were resolved not to observe; which Negotiations while they were prolonged by the many pretensions of the Male-contents, behold a new accident interposed it self, before the Accommodation was concluded: for the King of Navarre being already two and twenty years of age, of himself full of sprightly thoughts, and spurred on by so frequent examples, and by the emulation of other Princes his equals; not enduring to be ill looked on, and almost despised at the Court, whilst the Duke of Alençon, a vain indiscreet man, and the Prince of Conde his inferior both in years and honour, arrogated to themselves the chief command of that party, which he was wont to rule; and his spirit not suffering him longer to bear the humours of the Queen his Wife, which whilst he stayed at Court he was forced to dissemble; either drawn by some supernatural hidden cause, or set forward by his own inclination to a beginning of eminent success, took a resolution to leave the Court; and retiring himself to his Government of Guienne, to try if he could draw that power to himself, which he saw was going to be settled upon the other discontented Princes.

The difficulty was to put this thought in execution; for he was not only carefully watched by his guards, who under shew of doing him honour were his diligent keepers, but even the nearest attendants upon his own person, depended wholly upon the King and Queen-Mother, who mixing hopes with fears, led him gently in hand with continued ambiguous promises, to hold him in an opinion that they would trust him with the charge of Lieutenant-General, which they had refused to venture upon the unsolicitedness of the Duke of Alençon; but he being secretly advertised by *Daielle* a Provençal Gentlewoman, one of the Queens maids, whom he privately enjoyed, and by *Madam de Carnavalet*, with whom he had a very near familiarity, that those were but arts to keep his hopes fastened to the Court, he took a resolution to try his fortune, knowing that he should be assisted and followed by *d' Aubigny*, and *Armagnac*, the one Gentleman, the other Groom of his Bed-chamber, the only men that remained with him of his old Family. But this not being sufficient for the well effecting of his design, (embracing the opportunity which occasion offered) he communicated his intents to *Guillaume Sieur de Fervaques*, with whom by a certain sympathy of extraordinary spirit, he had contracted a familiar friendship; who highly offended at the present affairs, the inquietness of his mind being accompanied with great subtilty, and no less courage, approved the resolution, and warily contrived both the time, and manner of their escape: for which purpose being gone out of the City upon the twenty third of February, with a few Gentlemen and Servants, under colour of hunting the Stag, which the King of Navarre was wont much to delight in, and having deceived his guards by many several ways, they passed the River with all possible speed below *Poissy*, and thence changing their Voyage, in stead of continuing toward the West, they turned presently toward the South, and avoiding the great high-ways, arrived at *Alençon* without the least stop or delay; where staying no longer than was necessary to refresh themselves, they suddenly passed the River *Loyre* by the Bridge of *Saumur*; and preventing fame by their so speedy journey, came before they were looked for into *Guienne*, where the King of Navarre taking the opportunity of his so unexpected arrival, (because they knew not whether he was come as a Friend, or as an Enemy to the King) with an incredible diligence, which gave them who were unprepared no time to arm or certify themselves, still making use of his Authority as Governour for the King; and with that authority mingling force, he began to make himself Master of the chiefest places, calling in and reducing all those who for the memory of his Father, and his own late command, were willing to follow and depend upon him.

Although this sudden turn did at first disturb the minds of the King and Queen-Mother, who while they laboured to remedy disorders, saw daily new unexpected troubles to arise; yet as soon as their thoughts were quietly settled, they began to find both advantage and satisfaction by it, hoping that the multiplicity of Heads would bring forth discord and emulation; whereby the power of the Male-contents would be weakened, and being divided into many parts, every one of which would be severally governed by particular interests, would in the end be unable to maintain it self: With these hopes they shewed so open a joy at the departure of the King of Navarre, either for that consideration, or because they would not seem dejected at so great an opposition of Fortune, that many believed the King of Navarre was perswaded to that resolution by *Monsieur de Fervaques*, rather by the advice and consent of the Queen,

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The King of Navarre displeased for many causes, flees from the Court, and proceeds against the Catholics.

1576.

than out of any faithful care of his advancement; which was the more credibly believed by many, who know not the truth of the business, when they saw that *Fervaquer* within a little while after forsaking that party, returned again unto the Kings obedience. But I have since heard Monsieur de *Fervaques* himself affirm, that the occasion of his so sudden change, was because he saw the King of *Navarre* (next whom (as one that had run the same fortune) he hoped for the first place) was fain to let himself be governed by those of most ancient authority in that Faction, and many were preferred before him, that were not only less affectionate to his affairs, but of less ability and meaner condition.

The King of
Navarre pub-
lisheth that he
was forced to
turn Catho-
lick.

But it is certain that this revolt of the King of *Navarre* produced an effect not much unlike that which the King and Queen hoped; for though at first it was probable, that it would give a great addition of power unto the Hugonot Faction, to which he had joined himself with open Declarations, alledging that his Conversion to the Catholick Religion four years before, had been constrained and forced by the imminent terrour of a cruel death; yet it was the occasion that the Duke of *Alencon*, being as it were eclipsed by the lustre of the Prince of *Conde*, and King of *Navarre*, who by reason of the ancient confidence had of them, were in greater esteem and reputation, did the more easily condescend to a conclusion of Peace, knowing that the true essential authority would be in them, and in him only the title and appearance; for the King of *Navarre* having with much ease assumed the command of *Guienne*, and the protection of the Rochellers; and on the other side, the Prince of *Conde* commanding the Foreign Army, the Duke of *Alencon* had no power but what they pleased to confer upon him; who making shew to honour him very much for his title of the Kings Brother, in all other things reserved to themselves as well the priviledge of resolving, as the authority of executing, he having nothing left him but the weak dependence of some few Male-contents.

About this time the German Army marched toward *Burgogne*, against which (the Duke of *Guise* not being yet cured of the wound he had received on his face) *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* advanced with the Kings Forces, which being much inferiour to the strength of the Enemy, he still encamped in safe Quarters near the Suburbs of those Cities where he passed, endeavouring to cut off passages, and spoil the ways, (which of themselves were much broken by the extremity of ill weather in the Winter-time) by that means to hinder their progress, as well in marching, as of being able to take any place that was of importance for the War: whereby the Prince of *Conde* always receiving damage, as well in his Quarters, as in sending out to forrage, and very much annoyed by the hail and snow which fell in great abundance, was forced to move slowly, and in a very close Body, endeavouring by the pillage of the weakest places to satisfy the greediness, and supply the wants of his Souldiers; wherein as his discreet conduct plainly appeared, being able in so tender an age to govern an Army made up of several Warlike Nations, and keep it within the unusual limits of obedience to military discipline: so likewise the prudence and industry of the Duke of *Mayenne* was very remarkable, who not of much riper years, neither sparing any pains, nor avoiding any sufferance in so sharp a season, either in his own person, or his Souldiers, did with admirable diligence keep still close to the Foreign Army, and oppose their march with so much carefulness, that except some few open places which were quitted, no City nor walled Town felt the calamities and miseries of the German incursions; and it happened, that he having one night when it was late, given order to march away from a place where his Army was quartered, to prevent the Enemies advancing; some Companies of Foot, not only terrified by the obscurity of the night, which was exceeding dark, but also by a thick storm of hail, snow and rain together, refused to go along with the rest of the Army, that marched in order under their colours with infinite patience; which being told the Duke of *Mayenne*, he caused them all to make a halt, and commanded the Cavalry to cut those mutinous Souldiers in pieces; which being performed without delay, as he confirmed that discipline in his Army which Civil Wars (as they are wont) had for a long time corrupted and destroyed; so did he give a testimony of that severe gravity which ever after was proper to that Prince in all his other actions in the War.

Charles Duke
of *Mayenne*
commands his
mutinous Sol-
diers to be
cut in pieces.

But neither could the valour of the General, nor the discipline of the Army, with so great a disadvantage of strength, absolutely hinder the progress of the Germans; wherefore notwithstanding all rubs and delays, they at last joined with the Duke of
Alencon

Alancón about the beginning of *March* in the confines of *Bourbonois*, who having mustered his Army which he found amounted to the number of 35000 fighting men, went to *Moulins*, where with the Prince of *Conde*, Monsieur de *la Noüe*, the Deputies of the King of *Navarre*, and the Marechal d' *Anville*, he began to advise what was fittest to be done: the Commissioners appointed for the Treaty of Peace being returned from Court, and the Marechal of *Momorancy*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and Monsieur de *Bellieue* being there for the King, both parties consented, though for diverse respects; and with several intentions to the conclusion of peace; which though it were opposed by the Marechal d' *Anville*, who having already procured his Brothers liberty, and established himself absolutely in the Government of *Languedoc*, was not willing by an Accommodation to return to that obedience from which (as a thing of danger) he had by force and cunning withdrawn himself: yet the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, who were not pleased to see the Duke of *Alancón* enjoy that place which they were wont formerly to possess, and took it ill that he should reap the fruits of their past and present labours, desired the Agreement might be concluded, by which means he returning to the Court, and into his Brothers favour, the chief power of that party would remain in them, believing that as by his continuance on their side, he did much prejudice their authority, and also greatly hinder the execution of important designs; so if on the other side he could obtain from his Brother the command of the Catholic Army, he by his want of experience would give them many occasions to advance and establish themselves; wherefore their inclinations, and the nature of the Duke of *Alancón* prevailing, it was in the end resolved, That they should propose the Articles of their demands unto the King, which if they were accepted, they would conclude a Peace; but if rejected, they would resolutely continue the War.

1576.
The Duke of
Alancón mu-
stered 35000
fighting men.

The King of
Navarre and
Prince of *Conde*
offended at
the Duke of
Alancón's
power, think
to free them-
selves of him
by a Peace.

Their demands proposed were very high and exorbitant, but the Kings inclination to Peace, and the desire of the Council to obtain the same, were great enough to digest them all, both to free themselves of the eminent danger of a Foreign Army, and take away those vast expences which (the Treasury being empty) fell all upon the poor miserable Subjects; as also to ease themselves of that burthen which had so generally tyred mens minds and bodies; wherefore the Queen already ghesing at the Kings designs, having by many conjectures sounded the depth of his intentions, came her self in person (as her custom was) into the Duke of *Alancón*'s Camp about the beginning of *May*, and there settled the conditions of Peace, which by a decree of 73 Articles were ratified by the King, and solemnly published upon the fourteenth of *May*, he himself being present in the Parliament.

This was the fifth Peace concluded with the Hugonots; by which, after the accustomed clauses belonging to the approbation, and oblivion of all that was past, full Liberty of Conscience, and the free exercise of their Religion, without exception of times or places, was granted to the Hugonots, with a power of erecting Schools or Colledges, or calling Synods, of celebrating Matrimony, and administering the Sacraments with the same freedom as was allowed to the Catholics. All men of the Reformed Religion were permitted to execute any places or offices, and enjoy any dignities of what quality soever, without that distinction and precedency of the Catholics, which had formerly been observed; promises were made to settle a Court of Justice in every Parliament, half whereof should be of the one, and half of the other Religion, to judge the causes of the Hugonots; eight Towns were granted to the Princes for their security, till the Articles were fully and perfectly performed, viz. *Beaucaire* and *Aiguemorte* in *Languedoc*; *Perigoux*, and *la Mar de Virduin* in *Guienne*; *Nyon*, and *Serres* in *Dauphiné*; *Isiire* in *Auvergne*, and *Seine la Grand Tour* in *Provence*. The sentences against *la Mole*, the Count de *Coran*, the Admiral de *Coligny*, *Briquemaunt*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, and *Mombrun* were revoked, and declared null: and further it was declared, that no fault was to be imputed to the Visdame of *Chartres* and *Beauvais*, for having contracted, or negotiated any agreements with the Queen of *England*; for the Duke of *Alancón*'s Apennage (so they call the maintenance which is allowed to Kings Sons and Brothers) they assigned *Berry*, *Touraine*, and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, three of the greatest and most fertile Countries in all *France*; and 100000 Crowns of annual pension: To the Prince of *Conde* they allotted the Government of *Picardy*, and for his security the City of *Peronne*, a very strong place seated near the Sea. To Prince *Casimir* the Principality of *Château-Thierry*, a pension of 14000 Crowns,

Peace is made
with the Hu-
gonots the
fifth time.

1576.
The Prince of
Orange for-
merly decla-
red Rebel, is
restored to his
Estate.

the maintenance of one hundred Lances, and the entire payment of all arrears due to the German Army, which amounted to 1200000 Ducats. To the Prince of *Orange*, the restitution of all those States he was wont to possess in the Kingdom of *France*, which for Rebellion had been taken from him by the sentence of Parliament, and added to the Kings Revenue: finally, an Assembly of the States General was promised within six months, who were to represent unto the King the grievances of his Subjects, and consult of their remedies: which condition proposed by the Princes to see a better gloss upon their cause, and to win the applause of the people, was willingly received by the King, as a convenient means to dissolve, and disannul the Articles agreed upon, which (with many others less considerable, but not less unreasonable and exorbitant) as soon as they were known to those of the Catholick party, exasperated most of their minds in such a manner, that they not only murmured freely against the King himself, as one of a mean spirit, drowned in the effeminate delights of the Court; and the Queen-Mother, as if to recover her Son the Duke of *Alencon* from the way of perdition, she had neglected the Majesty of Religion, and precipitated the general safety of the Kingdom: but many were already disposed to rise, and would have taken Arms to disturb the unjustness of that Peace, which was generally esteemed shameful and not fit to be kept, if within a while they had not manifestly understood, that the King and Queen purposely to recover, and draw home the Duke of *Alencon*, had consented to conditions in words, which they were resolved not to observe in deeds; for the foreign Army being first of all sent away, by having disturbed part of the arrears to Prince *Casimir*, and given him security for the rest, partly by pawning Jewels, partly by engaging the word of the Duke of *Lorain*; and having exactly performed all things promised to the Duke of *Alencon*, none of the other Articles were observed, either to the Hugonots in general, or to the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* in particular: but the King permitting, and tacitly consenting to it, the Assemblies of the Hugonots were every where violently disturbed; the Government of *Picardy* was not given to the Prince of *Conde*, nor the City of *Perronne* assigned to him; the Courts of Justice which were to be formed in the Parliaments, were deferred with several excuses; and of so many Counsellors which ought to have been elected, the King having named only *Ayenes*, one of the Deputies which had treated the Peace, to be President of the Parliament of *Paris*, they refused to accept of him, the King not being at all displeased at it: which things clearly discovering the Kings mind, though they quieted those Catholicks, who judged of the state of affairs without interest or passion, and disposed the most part of peaceful-natured men to expect the issue of the Assembly of the States, which the King had appointed to be in the City of *Blois*, on the fifteenth day of *November*; yet the *Guises*, who were not slack in laying hold of any opportunity, to augment their own greatness, and to secure the state of that Religion, which was so straightly linked to their interests, began upon the conjuncture of so great an occasion, secretly to make a League of the Catholicks, in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, under colour of opposing the progress, and establishment of Heresie, which by the Articles of Peace was so fully authorized, and established; but in effect to reduce the forces of the Catholick party, into one firm entire united body which they might dispose of as occasion served, for their own security, and for a foundation of that party whereof they hold the principality.

The Assembly
of the States is
appointed at
Blois the 15 of
November.

Henry Duke of *Guise*, *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, and no less than they, *Lewis* Cardinal of *Guise* their third Brother, were left not only Heirs to their Fathers greatness, and reputation, and Possessors of the Rule and Government of the Catholick party, but had also by their proper valour and industry, acquired wonderful renown and love among the people, partly by their liberal popular nature, partly by their care and zeal shewed in preferring before all other respects, the protection and maintenance of that Religion, whereof they were the sole Champions and Defenders. These Brothers (to whom were joined the Duke, and *Chevalier d'Armato*, the Duke of *Elbeauf*, the Duke of *Mercœur*, with his Brothers, (though allyed unto the King, yet all of the same house of *Lorain*) when contrary to their expectation they saw the Peace concluded, and ratified with Articles so unjust, and prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and to the credit and power of their party; stirred up with anger and disdain, (which often use to lay open mens resentments) began to enter into a great suspicion of the Kings counsels and designs, thinking that a Prince of a noble, Warlike nature, would never have suffered

suffered the temerity of his Subjects, to draw him to such shameful conditions, but that he concealed some deeper thoughts, and more weighty undiscovered resolutions: wherefore though the King by means of the Queen-Mother, and many others which they both confided in, gave them to understand that his intention was to break, or at least to moderate those conditions, by the Assembly of the States at *Blois*, and that he had consented to those dishonourable Articles, only to deprive the Hugonots of so powerful a prop, as the person of the Duke of *Alençon*; but that he would settle all by convenient, proportionable remedies; yet those Princes were not altogether satisfied, but every day by various conjectures, penetrating more deeply into those mysteries, as also being highly displeased at the Kings Decree, whereby taking away the power, in appearance from all, but in effect from them alone, of procuring gifts, and interceding for favours, for the followers and dependents of the Catholick party; and falling into a great distrust of his affection towards them, they resolved, either by that opportunity to establish the foundation of their own power, or else by so great an obstacle to hinder those designs which the King had begun and contrived in his mind; to bring their followers and adherents into one well-united Body, drawing together and confirming that engine of power, which though vast and mighty, was yet spread and dispersed as blood in the veins, through all the parts of the Kingdom. And because the present occasion gave them a wonderful opportunity to allure mens minds with honourable specious pretences, to affright the fearful into a consent to their desires, and to stir up the anger of those that were unsatisfied, and utterly displeased at the conclusion of the Peace, they began to work upon the Parisians and Picards; *Those*, as in all times jealous of the preservation of the Catholick Religion; *Those*, as terrified with the fear of being commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, to whom the Government of their Province had been promised.

The way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the Kings own institution, who either moved by his inclination to piety, by the admonitions and writings of Father *Bernard Castor* a Jesuite, and many other religious men of that and other orders; or else to cover and palliate those hidden intentions which he had resolved on for the course of his future Government; had brought in the use of many *Fraternities*, who under divers habits and different names met together upon days of devotion, to spend their time in processions, prayers, disciplines, and other spiritual exercises, under the pious pretence of appeasing Gods wrath, of imploring a remedy for their present divisions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace and concord amongst all the people of the Kingdom; by which means the Catholicks did not only meet freely together in all places, but also found matter and opportunity to discourse of present affairs, and to bewail the miserable condition to which the Crown was reduced by division, and by the increase of heresie: from which lamentations coming to talk of businesses of the Government, and the affairs of State, it was not hard both for those Brethren themselves, and perchance for others more crafty, and better acquainted with the designs of the principal contrivers, to sow the seeds, and ingraft the beginnings of that league, which had a near connection with that devout pretence for which the Catholicks assembled themselves in so many several places.

This practice was first begun in *Picardy* by *Jaques Sicut d' Humiers*, Governour of *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, and *Roye*, who being a remarkable man for riches and followers in those parts, and for some private causes an Enemy to the House of *Montmorancy*, and by consequence to the Prince of *Conde*, whose authority he hated, and whose greatness he apprehended, for fear of being put out of his Government; began by means of those Assemblies, which were no less frequent there than in other places, to exhort the inhabitants of *Peronne* not to suffer their Town to be made the nest and receptacle of Heresie, nor to let that fire be kindled in their bosoms, which was like in time to inflame their whole Country, and consume all the other parts of *France*: he perswaded them, that the first day of the Princes admission would be the last of their liberty; for being made subject to the tyranny of Hereticks, Seditious Men, and Foreigners, there would no longer be any possibility for them to enjoy their Estates, Houses, Wives, nor their own Children, all which would become a prey to the covetousness and cruelty of those that governed: he added, that they could expect nothing but mischief which way soever things were carried; for if the Hugonots prevailed, they would certainly be exposed to the slavery of the English, with whom it was known the Prince had

1576
By the Duke of Guise his cunning, political discourses are brought into those assemblies which were instituted for devotion.

made

1376. made an agreement to give them places and Fortresses in *Picardy*: and though the Catholics should prevail, they were to look for no better than long sieges, miseries and calamities of War and Famine, since he was so earnest to get the possession of that Government for no other reason, but by the help of its strength to resist the last assaults of his evil fortune: By which plausible reasons that people being moved, and the inhabitants of *Mondidier*, *Roye*, and *Dorlan* their neighbours being perswaded to the same, they consented to make a League among themselves to hinder the Prince from taking possession of that place, and of the Government of *Picardy*, and to maintain and preserve the Catholick Religion in their Province. Nor was this practice less advanced in the City of *Paris*, where the zeal of the common people in matters of Religion, and the open enmity which they had at all times professed against the Hugonots, afforded them very fit matter to foment those designs: wherefore there being many of the Parliament-men and Sheriffs of the City, (*Eschevins*, as they call them) and not a few of Religious Orders, who in those meetings and Fraternities laboured cunningly the promoting of that League, a great number of men of all degrees and qualities were by a strict Oath already tyed and united in the bond of that Association.

The example of the Picards and Parisians was followed by the Nobility of *Poitou*, and *Tourain*, as nearest to those places possessed by the Hugonots, and more exposed to the imminent danger of their authority; and being led by *Louis de la Tremouille*, Duke of *Touars*, (a Lord of great dependents, and of ancient nobility and reputation, but a man full of turbulent unruly thoughts) were already united and associated, drawing after them not only the greater part of the Clergy, but also a great many of the Commonalty. Nor did the other Provinces want either Heads to introduce, or fit matter to receive the same Confederacy, which being proposed by men of great subtilty, and no less authority, under a plausible name and specious apparence, easily gained credit even among the wisest, and spread wonderfully through all Cities and Provinces.

The Form of that League and Covenant which was to be signed by all those that consented to it, was this:

The form of
the League or
Covenant.

IN the Name of the most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, our only true God, to whom be Glory and Honour.

The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion ought to be, and is made for the establishment of the Law of God in its first estate, and to restore and settle his holy service according to the form and manner of the Catholick Apostolick Roman Church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary unto it.

Secondly, For the preservation of King Henry, the Third of that Name, and his Successours the most Christian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due unto them from their Subjects, as it is contained in those Articles that shall be presented to him in the Assembly of the States, which he swears and promises to observe at the time of his Consecration and Coronation, with protestation not to do any thing against that which shall be ordained and settled by the States.

Thirdly, To restore unto the Provinces of this Kingdom, and to those other States which are under it, those ancient Rights, Pre-eminences, Liberties and Priviledges which were in the time of Clovis the first most Christian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any such can be found) under the said protection.

In case there be any impediment, opposition or rebellion against that which is aforesaid, be it from whom it will, or proceed it from whence soever it may, those that enter into this Covenant shall be bound and obliged to imploy their Lives and Fortunes to punish, chastise and prosecute those that shall attempt to disturb or hinder it, and shall never cease their endeavours till the aforesaid things be really done and perfected.

In

In case any of the Confederates, their Friends, Vassals or Dependents, be oppressed, molested or questioned for this cause, be it by whom it will, they shall be bound to imploy their persons, goods and estates to take revenge upon those that shall have so molested them, either by the way of justice or force, without any exception of persons whatsoever. 1576.

If it shall come to pass, that any man after having united himself by Oath unto this Confederacy, should desire to depart from it, or separate himself upon any excuse or pretence, (which God forbid;) such Violaters of their own Consciences shall be punished both in bodies and goods, by all means that can be thought of, as Enemies to God, Rebels and Disturbers of the Publick Peace; neither shall such revenge be ever imputed unto the aforesaid Associates, nor they liable to be questioned for it, either in publick or in private.

The said Associates shall likewise swear to yield ready obedience, and faithful service unto that Head which shall be deputed; to follow and obey him, and to lend all help, counsel and assistance, as well for the entire conservation, and maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppose it, without partiality or exceptions of persons; and those that shall fail or depart from it, shall be punished by the authority of the Head, and according to his Orders; to which every Confederate shall be obliged to submit himself.

All the Catholicks of several Cities, Towns and Villages, shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours of places, to enter into this League, and to concur in the providing of men, arms, and other necessaries, every one according to his condition and ability.

All the Confederates shall be prohibited to stir up any discord, or enter into any dispute among themselves, without leave of the Head, to whose arbitrement all dissentions shall be referred, as also the determining all differences, as well in matters of goods as good name, and all of them shall be obliged to swear in this manner and form following;

I swear by GOD the Creator, (laying my hand upon the holy Gospel) and under pain of Excommunication, and Eternal Damnation, that I enter into this holy Catholick League, according to the form of that Writing, which hath now been read unto me; and that I do faithfully, and sincerely enter into it, with a will either to command, or to obey, and serve, as I shall be appointed; and I promise upon my life and honour, to continue in it, unto the last drop of my blood, and not to depart from it, or transgress it for any command, pretence, excuse or occasion, which by any means whatsoever can be represented to me.

The Copies of this League framed with so much art by the Guises, (that making a shew to obey, and maintain the King, took from him all his obedience, and authority, to confer it upon the head of their Union) were very carefully, and with much cunning dispersed by the hands of discreet wary men, and such as were deeply engaged to them; so that by little and little it began to spread in every place, the cause or original not at all appearing; whereby making very great, but hidden proceedings; because custom had already disposed mens minds to a desire of novelties; they easily, and in a short time, drew all those into one body, whom either for zeal of Religion, dependance of interest, desire of change, or hatred of the Hugonot Princes, they thought fit to bind together in that League and Confederacy. But it being necessary to provide moneys for the nourishment and maintenance of that United Body, and to find out some protection of great power and authority to shelter and defend it from the Kings forces; the Lords of Guise turning their eyes out of the Kingdom, thought that both for their Religion and themselves, it was as lawful for them to make use of the help and favour of foreign Princes, as it had been for the Hugonots to require the assistance of the Queen of England, and the Princes of Germany:
and

1576. and therefore they began secretly to treat at *Rome* for protection, and in *Spain* for men and money: nor did they find in any place any averfence to their desires; for the Pope being displeased at, and afraid of the Peace concluded with the Hugonots, willingly gave ear to those things which might conveniently oppose their establishment: and the Catholick King grown jealous that the designs of the Duke of *Alençon* would at last break out upon *Flanders*, and that the King to quench the fire of his own house, would be content to kindle it in his Neighbours, willingly concurred to foment those in *France* who laboured to renew the War, hoping that the discords in that Kingdom, might one day give him an opportunity of some grand design, and in the mean time preserve the peace and quietness of all his own.

Nicholas Cardinal *de Pelle-vé*, bred up in the house of *Guise*, treated the interests of this Union at *Rome*, which by *Gregory* the Thirteenth, a man of great candour and goodness, but of a facile nature, was hearkened unto with much readiness; it pretending nothing but Faith, Religion, Charity, Zeal to the publick good, correction and reformation of abuses; though in effect it contained private passions, mingled with particular interests: which not being unknown to the Court of *Rome*, many discouraging of so new and high a design, ascribed the cause of it to a desire the *Guises* had to govern the Kings will; who excluding their help and counsel, shewed that he would rule as it pleased himself; others drawing the business another way, attributed it to their care of conserving their own greatness, which they had with so much sweat and labour been so long a building up. Nor did there want those who passing yet further, (perchance through the malice they bore to that party) taxed the Heads thereof, to aim at vaster ends; which whether true or false, were after published to be the deposing of the King himself, as a dissolute, incapable, mean-spirited man, and in time to settle the Crown in the house of *Guise*, which some did openly maintain to be derived in a right line from *Charlemagne*. But whether these designs were indeed plotted from the beginning or whether they took birth from the emergent occasions which happened after, it is not so evident; for as they were divulged and amplified by the Hugonots, so were they closely concealed, and firmly denied by the *Guises*. But they themselves could not deny two great and powerful occasions; one a discontent because they could not sway and govern the present King, as they had done *Charles*, and *Francis* his last Predecessors; the other a desire to rule the Catholick party, founded long before by their Ancestors, and increased and confirmed by themselves; and to these was added as a third, the necessity of opposing the Kings designs, which they now saw tended openly to their ruine, thereby to free his neck from the yoke of Factions. These interests which could not be wholly concealed from the Pope, (for that Court, most wise in judging of all things, did easily penetrate into them) made him so much the more reserved and wary what to resolve, by how much the apparent respect of preserving the Catholick Religion spurred him on to consent unto it.

Causes that moved the *Guises* to frame the Catholick League.

The King of *Spain* becomes Protector of the Catholick League.

But whilst the approbation of this League is treated on at *Rome*, the Pope inclining but ambiguously unto it, the business was very easily determined on the other side in the Court of *Spain*; the propositions being such, that the Catholick King ought rather to have desired that the League should put it self under his protection, than make himself be long entreated to comply with those requests, which for that purpose were effectually made unto him: for indeed it was a gate which did not only open unto him a passage to the security of his own States, but also to very great hopes of acquiring more, and at least (if no better) to keep the King of *France* his Forces divided and employed, with which the Crown of *Spain* had so long and so obdurate contentions.

These practices, especially those which were managed in *France*, were not unknown to the King, for they were represented unto him by the Queen-Mother, and other his intimate Confidants; nay, the Count *de Retz* had particularly advertised him, that Monsieur *de Vins* negotiated that Confederacy in *Provence*; and the Prince of *Conde* by the means of the *Sieur de Montant*, had made him acquainted with the Union of those in *Poitou*; besides, that at the same time one *Nicholas David*, an Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, was stayed and taken in his journey, which he confessed he was employed in by the *Guises* to negotiate that business at *Rome*: The Hugonots dispersed certain Writings, which under title of a Commission given to him, contained the designs of the Catholick League, and their end and intention to possess themselves of

of the Crown; but for the most part full of exorbitant, fabulous, incredible things; so that they were generally believed to have been maliciously forged and spread abroad to discredit the Lords of *Guisse*, and to render them odious and suspected; who did not only absolutely deny the tenure of those Commissions, and account *David* a fool, and no better than a mad-man if he had any such Writings about him; but they also caused them to be answered by some of their party, proving many things in them to be absurd, and without any appearance of truth. But those divulged Papers generally believed to be false, wrought not so great a suspicion in the King, as the Letters of Monsieur *de St. Goart*, his Lieger Ambassador in the Court of *Spain*, who gave him notice how he had discovered that some French Catholick Confederates did earnestly treat of secret businesses in that Court. But whether so many discords and confusions springing up daily, they could not all be provided against at the same time, and therefore they neglected those which at first seemed less material; to remedy others which were more urgent and weighty; or whether the King taken up with his secret designs of opening a way to future matters, did slight the present danger, being confident he should cut off all those plots and conspiracies at one time: whichever of these causes it were, it is most certain, that though the King knew all these practices, he was so far from opposing or hindring them, that he seemed not displeased to have one Faction struggle with the other, thinking that by those jars which would arise between them; he should remain absolute Arbitrator, and enjoy the fruits of that weakness which they would bring upon themselves by falling upon one another. Besides, he thought this so high and so general resentment of the Catholicks, gave him a very lucky occasion to break the conditions of peace granted to the Hugonots, and to make appear to the World, that he did it not of his own resolution, because he had so intended from the beginning; but because of the general discontent of his Subjects, of whose good, and of whose desires he was obliged as a Father to be much more careful, than of complying with the will of those that were rebellious and disobedient; for which cause he did not only tolerate the continuation of those practices about the League, but by ambiguous actions, obscure words, and dark answers, that admitted several interpretations, he almost made it be believed, that all was managed by his order and permission.

But if the King resolved to make use of that opportunity to break the Articles of Agreement, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were no less disposed to do the same; who having thrust the Duke of *Alencon* out of their faction, sought to lay hold of any occasion that might kindle the War again, by which they hoped to establish their own greatness: wherefore the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* having often complained to the King and Queen; the King of *Navarre*, that his interests were utterly forgotten in the conditions of the Peace; and the Prince of *Conde*, that neither the Government of *Picardy*, nor the City of *Peronne* were assigned unto him; and the King having still interposed delays and impediments, had at last remitted all to be determined by the States: now upon this new occasion of the League, they redoubled their complaints the more earnestly, urging that they could not continue in that uncertainty of their present condition, whilst their adversaries united their forces in a League to suppress and destroy them: with which importunities the King being troubled, and having (rather to hold him in hand, than with an intent to perform it) offered the Prince in stead of *Peronne* and *Picardy*, to give him *St. Jean d'Angely* and *Cognac*, in those parts where the strength of the Hugonots lay; he not staying for the assignment, suddenly made himself Master of them, and following the success of that beginning, sent for Monsieur *de Mirabeau* under colour of treating with him concerning other businesses, and forced him to deliver up *Brouage* into his hand, a Fort of great importance, as well for that it lies upon the Coast of the Ocean Sea, as because it abounds with such store of Salt-pits, which yield a great and constant revenue; he made the Sieur *de Montaut* Governour, and put into it a strong Garison of his dependents, furnishing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with exceeding diligence; nor content with that, but vigorously prosecuting that enterprise by the means of his dependents, in a few weeks he reduced into his own power, *Royan*, *Pons*, *Talemont*, and *Marans*, with many other considerable places in *Xaintonge*.

But the King of *Navarre*, who with more deliberate considerations had raised his thoughts to higher designs, making use of the ready boldness of the Prince of *Conde* in those matters where force and violence were needful, with infinite moderation (to

1576. which as well by choice, as nature, he was much inclined) under title of being Governour of the Province, reduced the principal Cities to himself, shewing both in words and actions, a great deal of gentleness to the Catholicks, a great deal of reverence to the Kings person, singular desire to help the advancement of every one, and very much trouble for the losses and outrages which by occasion of the War he was necessitated to bring upon that Country; by which arts having gained all the people of *Perigord*, and the Towns of *Loudun*, *Agen*, *Ganache*, and many lesser places, he possessed all that Country except *Bordeaux*, where the Parliament residing, the Citizens had ever refused to admit him; yet ceased he not after many repulses, sometimes to allure them with kind messages, sometimes to assure them with large promises, shewing himself to be utterly averse from the animosity of the Factions, and the cruelties used by others in Civil Wars, since he of his own accord had settled the use of the Catholick Religion again in those places that were of his own Patrimony, from whence his Mother had taken it away, and with much modesty, respect, and favourable Declarations treated with the Church-men concerning the interests of Religion; which artifice, or nature, or rather (as it often happens) artifice derived from nature, won the hearts of all the people, and took off that hatred, which (as Enemies to the Commonwealth) they were wont to bear to others who had held the chief command of that Faction; which he desiring to join and unite into one body, as he saw the Heads of the Catholicks endeavoured to do on their side, having obtained leave of the Citizens to enter *Rochel*, (the command whereof he knew to be very necessary for him) he was so skillful in managing the affections of the people, that having tamed and assured the minds of the Citizens, which were full of suspicions, and unapt to give credit to any body, by their counsel, and with the consent of all the Cities which followed their party, the Deputies whereof he had assembled in that place, he in the end made himself be declared Head and Protector of that party, and the Prince of *Conde* his Lieutenant General, shewing himself every where so full of sincerity and moderation, that he thereby gained not only their inclination and good will, but also a very free and absolute authority over them; which among so many jealousies, and so many pretenders, perchance he could not have obtained by other arts: for neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor the Marshal *d'Anville*, nor perhaps Monsieur *de la Noue*, nor Monsieur *de Rohan* would so easily have yielded to him, if they had not been forced (besides the splendour of his Royal name) to give place to his popularity, and his arts of Governing. Now having obtained the power of that Faction chiefly by the favour of the Rochellers, and knowing that Monsieur *de Fervagues* as a subtil man, and not trusty, was suspected of all, but especially the Citizens of *Rochel*, who desired for their security, that Messieurs *de Rohan*, *de Monty*, *de la Noue*, *Langoiran*, and other old Abettors of that party, might have the first place in their Councils, and in their Civil and Military Offices; or else, persuaded by *d'Aubigny*, who affirmed he had discovered that *Fervagues* at the very last point had revealed his intended departure to the King, and that they were not stayed, because the King having a wonderful ill opinion of him, gave no credit to his words; he cunningly gave him occasion to go his way, (as hath been already related) and making up his Council of men that were famous for integrity and honest intentions, did not only take away the jealousy of the Rochellers, and of all the neighbouring Provinces, who feared he would change his Power into a tyrannical Government, but won the hearts of many Catholicks; who, so they might enjoy the liberty of living in the Religion of their forefathers, were also disposed to serve and follow him. He interposed his authority that the Rochellers might give way to the exercise of the Catholick Religion in their City, and before he departed procured leave for Mass to be said in a little Church, many being present at it; which things accompanied with his modest temperate speeches, as they gained him a great deal of affection from those of his own party; so did they lessen and extinguish that hatred which the *Guises* by imputations of revolt and apostacy, endeavoured to fasten upon him among all degrees of people in the Kingdom.

The King of Navarre declared General of the Hugonots, and the Prince of Conde his Lieutenant-General.

At the intercession of the King of Navarre, the Rochellers permit the Catholicks to say Mass in their City.

But the King in so great a combustion of all things, and in so miserable a condition of his Crown, which was openly assailed by the Politicks and Hugonots, and secretly conspired against by the Catholicks of the League, having conceived great hopes of finding a way to compass his designs by means of the General Assembly of the States, was intent upon calling them together in the City of *Blou*, where he, with his Mother, and the Duke of *Alencon* his Brother arrived the tenth day of *November*; and having by

by his Letters given notice to the Deputies of the several Provinces to meet together without delay, the business was followed with so much diligence, that the sixth day of *December* gave a solemn beginning to the Assembly. The Kings intention was (prosecuting his own designs) by means of the States, to settle a firm general Peace, which being established by the common consent of the whole Nation, no man should have cause to find fault withal; but, lasting in a firm continuance, might quite abolish the interests of the several parties, cause the present animosities to be forgotten, and give him time and opportunity to execute his own resolutions of abasing and weakening the strength and credit of both the Factions. He hoped that a moderate Agreement would readily be laid hold on by all the three Estates: For the Clergy were always fain to contribute very largely, as to a War wherein they were more interested than any others; the Nobility wearied with the toils of War, and exhausted with the vast expences of it; and the Commons, who besides the continual and intolerable taxes and contributions, being (in the Fields by the insolencies of Souldiers, in the Cities by the interruption of Trade) subject to all the miseries of War, seemed greedily and impatiently to desire Peace.

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The Assembly
of the States
at Blois.

With these ends and hopes, the several Orders of the States being met together in his presence, he began with a grave effectual Speech to deplore the miserable calamitous estate into which the Kingdom of *France*, formerly so powerful and flourishing, was then reduced; since every degree and part of so great a Monarchy being fallen from their former greatness and prosperity, into a labyrinth of discord and confusion, was manifestly brought to terms of lamentable ruine and desolation: That the obedience and veneration of the Royal Majesty, which had in all times been so proper and peculiar to the French, was now utterly lost: That the bond of that charity which the love of one common Country useth ordinarily to knit faster among men of right understanding, was broken to pieces by the violence of inveterate intestine hatreds: That by the licence of Civil Wars, which had lasted so many years, the due respect to justice was taken away, the fear of Magistrates trodden under foot, and the sincerity of mens manners exceedingly corrupted: That he knew, whatsoever calamities the people suffer, are always attributed to the Prince's evil Government; yet he was satisfied with the clearness of his own Conscience, and doubted not but equal Judges would free him from all blame, considering the tender age of the King his Brother, and of himself, when the beginnings of that mischief brake forth: That all the World knew how much care and pains the Queen his Mother had undergone to remedy those misfortunes, which from what causes they were derived, was sufficiently apparent: That the conservation of the Kingdom, and the inheritance of her Sons yet Children, (conspired against with so much cunning, and openly assailed with so much violence) was to be ascribed to her prudence, constancy and magnanimity; but if her vertuous endeavours had not been able to extinguish those mischiefs, too fierce and powerful in their beginnings, perchance it was the permission of Divine Providence, to punish the sins of both Prince and People together: That it was likewise manifest to every one, what he himself had done for the suppression and extirpation of the present evils; that under the Reign of the King his Brother, he with those victorious achievements which were not unknown unto the World, had tried the rigour of the sword; but he had found by experience, that the letting of blood only weakened the body, but neither lessened the violence nor malignity of the disease: That by civil intestine Wars, Religion it self (which receives its nourishment from Peace) was much impaired and abased, so that in stead of gaining those Souls that were gone astray, by violent means they did endanger the loss of those that were most zealous in the truth; for which cause he had both before he went into *Poland*, laboured to bring in Peace by a Cessation of those calamities; and since God had called him to the Crown, endeavoured by all means possible to procure the repose and quiet of his Kingdom: That to that end he had called the Assembly of the States, that by the advice of his good and faithful Subjects some way might be found to stop the course of those present miseries; wishing, rather than they should continue, that the thred of his life might be cut off before he had seen the half of his days: That it was therefore time to think among themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which putting an end to the reciprocal enmities, discords, wars and animosities, they might with gentleness and moderation perfectly restore the candour of Religion, bring mens minds again to their due veneration and obedience, reduce the integrity of Justice to its primitive condition, banish the pernicious liberty of Vice,

King Henry
the Third his
speech at the
beginning of
the Assembly
of the States
at Blois.

1576 recover the ancient simple honesty of Manners; and finally, give breath to those dangers of the Clergy, to those toils of the Nobility, and to those losses and distractions of the Common people, which by occasion of the War he was (to his great grief) not only forced to continue, but also to increase and multiply without end: That he thought for the procuring of those blessings, there was no more secure nor effectual means, than a good, moderate, and lasting Agreement; and yet that he was ready to give ear to any reasons that could be objected to the contrary, and to any other means that could be propounded, that so he might make choice of those which should be thought the best, most easie, and most profitable: That therefore he did earnestly exhort every one of them, that laying apart all passions and interests, they should study sincerely to find out such propositions as they thought most fit, to ease the troubles of the State, and quiet the distractions of the Kingdom; for as he was very willing to consult of all things in common, so was he absolutely resolved, that whatsoever they concluded and established, should be most exactly and punctually observed.

The High Chancellour *Birago* spake then to the like effect, and with a longer Oration shewed the same things, concluded at last, that since the admirable wisdom of the Queen-Mother, and the valour and generosity of the King had till then preserved *France* in the midst of so many troubles and dangers, the States ought now to offer their general opinion and advice, every one striving to propound such profitable, seasonable remedies, as might relieve the Kingdom from present, and keep it safe from future miseries. All the three Orders severally gave the King many thanks for his affectionate care, and praised his just intention, every one promising for their own parts to assist with faithful loyalty and sincerity of heart.

But though in these first appearances the Kings intention and that of the States seemed both to be the same, yet inwardly they were very different; for the Deputies of the Provinces were for the most part such as had subscribed to the Catholick League, and were swayed by the counsel and superintendency of the Duke of *Guise*, who being absent himself had sent his Brother of *Mayenne*, *Pierre Espinac* Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Baron *de Senecy*, and many other of his dependents thither; and therefore the Deputies whom it concerned to propose and conclude matters in the Assembly, were for the most part resolved, not only to moderate the last Articles of Peace, which the King would willingly have agreed to, but also to break them utterly, and again with more force than ever to begin the War against the Hugonots, who having violated the conditions, had already taken arms for their own advantage. But the Kings mind was absolutely averse from that, which being known to the Deputies, who had discovered it by many signs, especially by his Speech unto them, and foreseeing that by his power he would delude and frustrate all their designs, as long as he was able to resolve alone of whatsoever was propounded; they sought cunningly to take away that Prerogative, and settle it in a certain number, who should have power to conclude and determine all businesses without contradiction or appeal. Wherefore the Deputies of the Nobility and Clergy partly consenting, and the Deputies of the Commons not altogether opposing, they thought it unfit to dispute openly whether the States were superiour to the King or no, (a very ancient question, though disproved by the manner of holding the States, and always deluded and made vain by the Kings authority) but to petition the King, that for the dispatch of all businesses with speed, and with the general satisfaction, he would be pleased to elect a number of Judges, not suspected by the States, who together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear such motions as from time to time should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve upon them, with this condition, that whatsoever was jointly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered or revoked.

The King was not ignorant of the importance of that demand; and though he was inwardly much displeased that they went about to deprive him of the power which was naturally his, and from a free King bring him to the slavery of his Subjects; yet by how much greater the force of that storm was, with so much the more dexterity endeavouring to overcome it, he answered graciously, that as often as the States should offer any propositions or demands, he would without delay hearken to the twelve Deputies, (which he gave them power to nominate) and that as soon as he had maturely weighed their reasons, they should have a speedy and resolute answer to determine whatsoever was necessary for their general contentment; and that for the better satisfaction

It's an ancient question, whether the Assembly of the States or the King be Superiour.

faction off them all, he was willing to deliver unto the States the names of such as were admitted to his Councils, to the end that they might know the qualities of those persons by whose advice he meant to govern, which he would consent to do by the example of any of his Predecessors; but to confirm and ratify whatsoever others should determine without himself, it was not possible for him ever to yield to in any manner, it being contrary to all precedents observed by the King his Predecessors. The States being excluded from that hope, and despairing of being able to compass their desires, since the cunning of the demand was taken notice of, turned another way, and began to propose, That matters of Religion might first of all be decided; for it being once established to admit no other but the Catholick, (which neither the King himself would dare to oppose, nor any of the Deputies, though there were many of them who secretly were of another mind) all hope of Peace would be laid aside, and the War with the Hugonots presently be resolved on. Wherefore the Archbishop of Lyons proposing for the Clergy, the Baron de Sancerre for the Nobility, with the consent of *Pierre Verfort*, one of the principal Deputies, for the Commons, a man depending upon the House of Guise, and one of the chiefest sticklers in the League; the Clergy concurred in this Vote, That the King should be moved to prohibit the exercise of any other than the Roman Catholick Religion; and that all sorts of people subject to the Crown should be forced to live according to the Rites of that Church; the same Proposition was followed by many of the Nobility, who suffered their Votes to be swayed by the will of others, though many of that Order were against, not the integrity of the Roman Catholick Faith, but the taking up of Arms, desiring the preservation of Religion; and reducing of such as were out of the way, but by those means which might be used without War. The Commons assented to this last opinion, because the burthen of the War lay chiefly upon the meanest people; as Merchants, Tradesmen and Husbandmen: nor could any of the Deputies (who in particular reaped fruit by those troubles, and being engaged with the Heads of the League, did therefore obstinately follow the Vote of the Prelates) have power to perswade any of them to change their verdict; for *Jean Bodin*, a man famous for learning and experience in State-affairs, one of the Deputies of the Commons of *Vermendois*, and who was secretly induced by the King to contradict the Church-men in that particular, endeavoured by a long discourse to make appear unto the Assembly how ruinous and fatal the now taking up of Arms would be, repeating from the beginning all the dangers and miseries of the late Wars, which made a very deep impression in the minds of the third Estate, and would have done the like in both the other Orders, if their Consciences had been absolutely free and sincere; but meeting with men who were not only carried by the zeal of Religion, but whose opinions were byassed and pre-engaged, it was determined by plurality of voices, that request should be made unto the King to establish only the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom, and to exclude for ever all communion with the Hugonots. Nevertheless, *Bodin* procured certain words to be entered in the Records of the Order of Commons, to certify their desire of unity in Religion without the noise of Arms, and the necessity of War.

Jean Bodin contradicts the Prelates in the general Assembly.

This motion of the States being propounded to the King, who had already sounded the secret practices of the Assembly, made him resolve no longer to oppose, (knowing that the plurality of voices would be clearly against him) but to delude the propositions of the Deputies; for by opposing, he saw those Arms of the Catholick League would be turned upon him, which were then prepared against the Hugonots; wherefore seeking obliquely to hinder that determination, he proposed to the States and perswaded them, that before it were enacted, Commissioners ought to be sent to the King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, and the Marschal d'Anville, who by true substantial reasons should perswade them to obey the will of the States, without returning again to the fatal hazard of Arms, hoping by such delays to find some remedy against that resolution which he saw the major part of the Deputies was obstinately bent upon. To that purpose they chose the Archbishop of Vienna, Monsieur de Rubempré, and the Treasurer-Manager, Commissioners to the King of Navarre; the Bishop of Autun, Monsieur de Momorine, and Pierre de Rait to the Prince of Conde; the Bishop of Reims, the Sieur de Rochefort, and the Advocate Toley to the Marschal d'Anville, to know the last resolution of every one of them. But the King of Navarre having notice which way the States inclined, and seeing so terrible a storm preparing against him, while the time was spent at Blois in consulting, and things were drawn out in length by diversity of

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In the mean time the States Commissioners being come unto him, he gave them audience at *Agen*, in the beginning of the year 1577. with demonstrations of great honour and respect. There the Bishop of *Vienne* having eloquently declared the resolution of the States, to suffer no other but the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *France*, exhorted him effectually in the name of all the Orders to come unto the Assembly, to re-unite himself in concord with the King his Brother-in-law, to return into the bosom of the Church, and by so noble and so necessary a resolution to comfort all the Orders of the Kingdom; by whom, as first Prince of the Blood, he was greatly esteemed and honoured; and afterward enlarging himself, he represented the several commodities of Peace, and the miserable desolations of War. The King of *Navarre* with succinct, but solid words replied punctually, That if the happiness of Peace, and miseries of War were so great and many as he alledged, the States ought therefore sincerely to establish that Peace which was before concluded, and not by new deliberations, and by revoking Edicts already made, to kindle again the sparks of War which were almost extinguished: That it was an easie matter to discourse of the rooting out of a Religion by the Sword, but experience had always shewed, it was impossible to effect it; and therefore it was to be esteemed a more discreet advice to allow a spiritual Peace, thereby to obtain a temporal one; than by disquieting mens Consciences to fancy the conservation of an outward Peace: That for his part, he was born and brought up in the Religion he professed, and he believed still that it was the right and true Faith; but yet when by sound reasons urged to him by men of understanding, and not by force and violence, he should find himself to be in an error, he would readily repent his fault, and changing his Religion, endeavour the conversion of all others to the belief of that Faith which should be acknowledged the true one: Therefore he prayed the States not to force his Conscience, but to be satisfied with that his good will and intention; and if that answer were not sufficient to content them, he would expect new and more particular demands, for the better answering whereof he would presently assemble a full Congregation of his party at *Montauban*; but in the mean time, while he saw all things prepared to make War against him, he was constrained to stand armed upon his own defence, to prevent that ruine which he plainly saw contrived by his Enemies.

The Prince of *Conde* will not acknowledge the Assembly of *Blais* to be the States General; nor treat with their Commissioners.

The Prince of *Conde*'s answer was very different; for having received the Commissioners privately, he would neither open their Letters, nor acknowledge them for Deputies of the States General, alledging that that Assembly could not be called the States General, which wanted the Deputies of so many Cities, Towns and Provinces, and which treated of violating mens Consciences by force, of shedding the Blood-Royal of *France*, and suppressing the Liberties of the Crown, to comply with the desires of strangers, who were so hot upon the prosecution of their own intolerable, pernicious interests of ambition and private ends, that it was a Conventicle of a few men suborned and corrupted by the disturbers of the publick Peace, and therefore he would neither open their Letters, nor treat with their Commissioners.

The Marechal d' *Anville* gave an answer not much unlike, but something more moderate, the Deputies having found him at *Montpellier*: For having represented to them, that his heart was real as any mans to the Catholick Religion, wherein he had been born, and would continue as long as he lived, he told them, that it would be both vain and impossible to prohibit the exercise of the Reformed Religion granted by so many Edicts, and confirmed by so many Conclusions of Peace, and that by blowing up the flames of War, the destruction and ruine of all parts of the Kingdom would be continued; but that it ought to be consulted of in common in a lawful Assembly of the States General of *France*, and not in a particular Congregation as that of *Blais*, where only the Deputies of one party were met together; and therefore he did

did protest against the validity of whatsoever should be there decreed or resolved.

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The Commissioners returned to *Blois* with these answers in the beginning of *February*; and the Duke of *Guise* being come thither to give a colour to the business on his part, the inclination of the States appeared manifestly ready to disannul the late *Edict* of Pacification, and resolve upon a War with the Hugonots; Wherefore the King not willing to draw the hatred of all the Catholick party upon himself, nor give them cause to suspect the sincerity of his Conscience, making the Pope and all Christendom believe he held intelligence with the Hugonots, which jealousy would have endangered the Catholick League to take Arms of themselves without his Authority, and disorder the whole state of things: Besides being advised by the Bishop of *Lymoges*, and Monsieur *de Morvillier*, two of his principal Councillors, he determined (since he could not by open resistance hinder the designs and progress of the Catholick League, which already had taken too deep a root) to make himself Head and Protector of it, and draw that Authority to himself which he saw they endeavoured to settle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; hoping that he being once made Moderator of that Union, in time convenient means would not be wanting to dissolve it, as a thing directly opposite to his intentions: Wherefore shewing a great desire to extirpate the Hugonot Faction, and making all believe that he was highly offended with the Princes answers, he caused the Catholick League framed by the Lords of the House of *Lorain* to be read, published and sworn in the open Assembly, where they themselves were present, establishing it as an Irrevocable and Fundamental Law of the Kingdom: Then he declared himself principal Head and Protector of it, with loud specious protestations, that he would spend his last breath to reduce all his people to an unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: Thus did he labour to avoid that blow, which he saw he could not break by making resistance.

Henry the III. declares himself Head of the Catholick League.

But the King having for many days shewed a wonderful desire to suppress the Hugonots, purposed with one mortal blow to try the constancy of the Deputies; for having sent his Brother the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Duke of *Nevers* unto the Assembly, he caused them to propose, that it being requisite to make War with powerful Armies, against those that were disobedient to the Catholick Church, great sums of money were also necessary, and that therefore the Kings Treasury being exhausted, he desired the States to assist him with two millions of Ducats to maintain the vast expences of War; which none ought to refuse, since they had all solemnly taken the Oath of the League, and thereby obliged themselves to contribute their Fortunes in common; at which demand, the Deputies for the City of *Paris* not being present, (because some were indisposed, and the rest gone home to elect the *Prevost des Merchands* the chief Officer of that City) and therefore *Jean Bodin* being President of the Order of Commons, and knowing all that burthen was to be laid upon the people, rose up, and answered, That the Third Estate had always propounded and protested to desire unity in Religion, and the reducing of those that went astray but without the noise of Arms and War, and that if they looked into the Records of the Assembly, they should find those very words formerly expressed in the Vote of the Commons, which he had caused to be registred, and that since they had not consented to the War, neither were they bound to contribute to the expences of it, to satisfy the fantastical humours of some of the Deputies, and consume their own Estates to renew the yet bleeding wounds of the Kingdom: to which speech of his, not only the other Orders, but the Clergy themselves assented, who having sworn that in words, which they were not so forward to perform in actions, and desiring no less than the rest to ease themselves of those contributions wherewith all of them were equally wearied and burthened, the ardour and constancy of those began to waver, who had so readily resolved upon a War at the charge and danger of other men: whereupon the King turning his sail according to the wind, the next day he himself propounded to the Deputies, That since they thought the charges of War so grievous a burthen, they should patiently expect the Duke of *Montpensier* and Monsieur *de Byron*, sent by him to the King of *Navarre*, to procure his conversion in a friendly and peaceable manner; with which motion (notwithstanding the opposition of many) the major part of the Deputies were contented.

Not many days after the Duke of *Montpensier* returned; and being brought into the Assembly by the Kings command, related in order all that had passed in his Negotiation.

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tion, and in substance shewed them that the King of *Navarre* being most desirous of the Peace of the Kingdom, would be contented with such reasonable conditions, as cutting off all exorbitant, superfluous matters which were granted in the last Edict, might moderate and compose all differences without putting themselves upon the necessity of a War, and gave almost assured hopes, that he himself (though he would not give occasion to have it thought that he turned Catholick by compulsion) might yet in time condescend to alter his opinion, and make a happy conclusion of all things: which relation coming from the Duke, who was of the Blood-Royal, Brother-in-law to the Duke of *Guise*, and always partial to the Catholicks, wrought such an effect in the minds of all, as encouraged *Jean Bodin* and others of the Order of Commons, again to try the way of agreement with expresse protestation, that unity in Religion ought to be procured without War: Which Vote being some days stiffly opposed, and as constantly maintained, was at last carried, and a Writing drawn up in the Name of the States, beseeching the King to endeavour an unity in Religion by peaceful means, and without the necessity of War; which being propounded by the King himself in his Council, the opinions concerning it were diverse; for the Duke, and Cardinal of *Guise*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and others, were against the proposition of the States, alledging that the end they aimed at could not be obtained without the extirpation of the Hugonots, who were up in Arms, and moreover had already renewed the War; and affirming, that last proposition of the Deputies to be artificially contrived and extorted; whereas the first had been voluntarily and generally agreed on, and the Oath taken in approbation of the League, which was directly contrary to the present proceedings. But the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Marechal de *Coffe*, Monsieur de *Byron*, the High Chancellour *Byrago*, *Morvillier*, *Chiverny*, *Bellicre*, and *Villeclair*, with the major part of the Council being of the contrary opinion, alledged that there were many other means (though such as required more time) to bring those that were out of the way, home into the bosom of the Church; and that to destroy so much people would exceedingly weaken the Kingdom, and bring it again into the late miseries and dangers. Wherefore it was concluded that the Duke of *Montpensier* should return to the King of *Navarre*, to know his last answer concerning his conversion and reconciliation to the Church, and the settling of a lasting, reasonable Peace.

In the mean time many other things were debated in the Assembly, about the rule of justice, the ordering of the *Finances*, the payments of debts, and the reformation of manners; among which matters, some of the Prelats moved, that the Council of Trent might be received and observed: but the Deputies of the Nobility, and those of the Commons opposed it stoutly; with which the major part of the Clergy concurring, for the conservation (as they said) of the priviledges of the Gallique Church, and such as had been granted to it by several Popes, it was at last resolved, that it should pass no further.

The Heads of the Catholick League and their followers omitted not to seek some way of restraining the Kings power, and propounded that his Council might be reduced to the number of four and twenty Counsellors; which should not be chosen at the Kings pleasure, but by every Province of the Kingdom, as is the custom in other States. But this motion being made but coldly, and stiffly opposed by many as contrary to the ancient constitutions, and all former precedents, it was in the end cast out, lest the mention of it should too much exasperate the King.

With these deliberations, not only ambiguous and uncertain, but also opposite and disagreeing among themselves, the Congregation of the States broke up, which having neither concluded Peace nor War, the King was left free to do what pleased himself: who having happily, though not without much pains and industry, overcome the conspiracies of the League, was in good measure confirmed in the resolution of his first designs; having not only increased his inward hatred toward the House of *Guise*, but found by experience his own weakness, and the too great power of their Faction: Wherefore being resolved to establish Peace, because both parties were nourished and fomented by the War, he first of all put the Bishop of *Lymoges* away from the Court, and cunningly excluded *Morvillier* from the Cabinet-Council, suspecting that they held secret intelligence with the Duke of *Guise*, and that they had perswaded him to declare himself Head of the League, not sincerely, but to assist that party; for though the artifice had succeeded happily, he thought nevertheless he had discovered that in many

After many disputes the general Assembly is dismissed without concluding any thing.

many occasions they had dissuaded the War with the Hugonots; which they having done, because they thought it so became their Order, being of the Clergy, had thereby stirred up the Kings anger and suspicion, who was jealous beyond measure of seeing the League favoured or not opposed by any of his own Creatures. The Bishop of *Lyons* being retired to his own house, lived very quietly all the rest of his days; but *Morvillier*, a man secretly full of great ambition, was possessed with so deep a melancholy, that within a few months he ended his life with grief.

The King presently dispatched Monsieur *de Byron* and Secretary *Villeroy* to the King of *Navarre*, that they being joined with the Duke of *Montpensier*, might prosecute the Treaty of Agreement: But though the King of *Navarre* (who with wise consideration measured the strength of his party, which was not very powerful at that time, making shew to do it through a moderation of mind, and a desire of the general quiet) did yield to decline the late conditions, and consent to what was proposed by the Kings Agents; yet the Prince of *Conde*, of a fierce haughty nature, and the Hugonot Ministers, with whose advice all things were necessarily to be governed, were still obstinate against Peace, unless upon the Capitulations already established, disputing about such things as necessity disposed another way: wherefore as soon as their stubbornness, and the difficulty of the Treaty appeared to the King, being resolved to put the Hugonots in mind of their weak estate, and force them to receive conditions of Peace, if they persisted in their wilfulness, he sent out two several Armies against them in the beginning of *April*; one into the Countries near the *Loire*, and the Provinces on this side the River, under the command of the Duke of *Alençon*, who to remove all doubts, was declared his Lieutenant-General; the other, on that side of the River in *Xaintonge*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom he made use of much more willingly than of the Duke of *Guise*, because he found him of a more moderate mind and inclination; and besides those two Armies, he set forth a Fleet under Monsieur *de Lausac* to clear the coasts, and hinder the entry into *Rochelle*: By this means he thought presently to make the Catholick party weary of those expences which (by the management of the Duke of *Alençon*) would become intolerable; and at the same time to break the obstinacy of the Hugonots, letting them see how little means they had to resist his forces; whereby he might afterwards accommodate the conditions of Peace in such a way as should appear to him just and reasonable, since the former Capitulations could be neither broken nor moderated, unless there were first some beginning of a War.

It was not hard for either of the Kings Armies to do great matters in a little time, for the Hugonots being reduced to an exceeding want of men and money, were not able to keep the field; and their fortified places, though valiantly defended, yet having no assistance ready either of their own party, or of strangers, their only help and refuge in all times of their need, they were fain either to let themselves be miserably destroyed, or yield to the discretion of the Conquerors. So no Head of the Hugonots appearing in the Field, the Duke of *Alençon* having attacked, and within a few days taken *la Charité*, was marched into *Auvergne*, and had besieged *Issoire*, a place strongly situated and well fortified, but which imported most, constantly, or (to say better) desperately defended by the inhabitants: Yet as the event always proves it impossible to keep any place that cannot be relieved, it was brought to such extremity at the beginning of *June*, that being at last yielded to discretion, it was not only sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword, as it pleased the immoderate will of the Duke of *Alençon*, but it was also set on fire, and burnt to the very ground: On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having without difficulty taken *Touche-Charente*, and *Morvan*, had laid siege to *Brouage*, a place for situation, strength, and the profit of the Salt-pits, of very great importance; where the Prince of *Conde* having tried all possible means to relieve the besieged, the Hugonots after some difficulty were brought into such a condition, that about the end of *August* they delivered it up, saving only the lives of the Souldiers and inhabitants, which agreement the Duke punctually observed. Nor did their affairs prosper better by Sea than Land: for *Lausac* with the Kings Fleet having driven away that of the Rochellers commanded by the Sieur *de Clairmont*, and taken two of their greatest Ships, landed also in the Isle of *Oleron*, took it; and being at last come to the Cape of *Blaye*, did exceedingly incommode the affairs of *Rochel*. These accidents having qualified the Prince of *Conde*'s fury, and overcome the obstinacy of the Ministers; there was not any of the Hugonots, who

The King sends two Armies against the Hugonots. The Duke of *Alençon* made the Kings Lieutenant-General.

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foreseeing their total ruine, did not desire and labour for peace, with so great an inclination of all private men, that the Souldiers forsook their colours, the Gentlemen retired to their own houses, and the inhabitants of the City, detesting the exercise of Arms, returned to the business of their shops; besides, the Marechal d'Anville, who in their prosperity had united his Counsels and Forces with them, now pretending he had been abused and ill dealt withal by certain Heads of the Faction, did endeavour to make his peace, and return unto the Kings obedience, and had already taken Arms against some of the Hugonots, by whom he gave out, that he had been grievously offended.

Nor were the Catholicks more cool and moderate in their desires of peace; for though the good success of the War redounded to the benefit of the King, and of the Catholick Religion, yet the charge of contributions, and the losses the Country sustained by the insolencies of the Souldiers, and want of Government in the Duke of Alençon's Army, resulted to the detriment and ruine of private men; wherefore seeing that the War, though unactive, and not very dangerous, was yet like to be long and tedious, a great many of those who at first either desired it, or did not oppose it, began now to long for peace, to free themselves from the burthens and incommodities of the War; and, except the Lords of Guise and their dependents, there was not any who did not think it requisite to procure an agreement, for the ease of the people who were so exceedingly oppressed. But the expectation of the Hugonot party was settled upon the King of Navarre, who (having from the beginning foreseen that mischief, and desired peace) now treating at Bergerac with the Kings Deputies, knew so well how to hide and conceal his weakness, that though he stood not upon those conditions which were last concluded with the Duke of Alençon, yet he held up the affairs of his party in being and reputation. But the Kings inclination, and by consequence the easiness of his Ministers, was not less than the policy of the King of Navarre: wherefore a Cessation of Arms being agreed upon for a few days in the beginning of September, the Accommodation was so actively followed, that in the end the Articles of Peace were concluded with so great contentment of both parties, that the King being come to Poitiers with the Court for that purpose, shewed manifest signs of joy, calling it His peace; and the Prince of Conde embraced it with so much greediness, that the ratification coming to him in the evening when it was already dark, he caused it to be publicly proclaimed that very night by torch-light.

Through weakness of both parties the Peace is concluded and published by torch light.

The Edict of this Pacification was very copious, being comprised in Seventy Four Articles, which did limit and take away many of those exorbitancies that had been granted in the former Edict in favour of the foreign Forces establishing a very moderate, political Government, equally just and reasonable for both parties: it permitted the exercise of the Reformed Religion in the Houses of Gentlemen Feudatories, or (as they call them) * *de Haute Justice*, with the free admission of every body: but in the Houses of private Gentlemen, not above the number of seven was allowed, and in a prefixed place in every Jurisdiction and Bailiwick, except in Paris and ten leagues about, and two leagues compass from the Court wheresoever it should be; it bridled the licence of those who leaving their Religious Orders, had joined themselves in matrimony, by special favour pardoning what was past, and severely regulating the future: it restored the use of the Catholick Religion in all places from whence it had been taken during the War: it prescribed the present restitution of Ecclesiastical Revenues to Priests and Prelates in what Province soever, and that without any delay: it obliged the Hugonots to the certainty of Baptism, to keep the appointed holy-days, to exclude Consanguinity in Marriage, and many other things wisely observed in the Catholick Church, and very proper for a peaceful orderly Government: it took away *les Chambres * mi-parties* (as they call them) which were already settled in Paris, Rouen, Dijon and Bretagne, leaving them still in the other Parliaments, but with a smaller number of Hugonots; nor was any thing omitted which could hinder discords, take away scandals, re-unite the minds of those that were dissident or divided, and settle the authority of Magistrates and vigour of the Laws in their first state and condition: Yet were eight places granted to the Hugonot Lords for their security for the space of four years, after which (the Edict being entirely observed) they promised faithfully to restore them into the Kings hands; they serving only in the interim till the Edict of Pacification was settled in a way, and by time and observance reduced unto the ordinary

* High Jurisdiction; authority to judge and determine all criminal or capital matters (except High-treason) within his own precincts, and all civil actions or controversies, except in Royal cases, and such as concern Gentlemen and the high ways.

* Courts of justice, where in half were Catholicks, half Hugonots

dinary usual course. These places were *Mompellier* and *Aiguemorte* in *Languedoc*; *Myon* and *Serres* in *Dauphine*; *Seine* in *Provence*; *Perigneux*, *la Reolle*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in *Guienne*; things all prudently ordered, and disposed for the establishment of a well-settled Peace.

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But though the King for the Catholick, and the Princes of *Bourbon* for the Hugonot party, had (to the universal joy of the people) concluded this Agreement, which seemed very likely to take away the late discords, and quiet the distracted estate of the Kingdom; yet neither were mens minds generally pacified, differences totally composed, nor the tumults utterly appeased; but the fire of publick War being extinguished, particular quarrels did still boil in the interests of private persons; for neither did the *Mareschal d'Anville* (who every day withdrew himself further from the Hugonots) cease to prosecute those by whom he pretended to be injured in *Languedoc*, under colour of reducing the places of his Government under his own command; nor did the *Sieur des Diguieres* in *Dauphine* dare to trust the peace, nor hazard himself upon the Kings word, remembring what had befallen *Mombrun*, in whose company he had made War, and therefore still continued armed for his security: and the Catholicks (especially the adherents of the League) when they saw the Hugonots meet at their Sermons, being inflamed with anger, and transported with passion, could not suffer them without murmurings and detractions, which occasioned many contentions, and sometimes dangerous bloody accidents: whereby a great part of *France*, though the peace was made, continued still in broils and insurrections. But the King believing that the benefit of time and moderation of Government might at last appease and extinguish all those commotions, dissembled those things which were written and presented unto him from several parts, and had settled his whole thoughts upon the framing and executing of his designs: yet after the space of some months, seeing the stirs and dissensions still continue, he resolved that the Queen his Mother going into *Poitou* to confer with the King of *Navarre*, and then into the other most suspected Provinces, should with the wonted effect of her presence compose the differences, artificially taking away those scruples which still disturbed the Edict of Pacification.

About that time the King created two Mareschals, men of admirable valour in War, and singular prudence in Government, *Armand Sieur de Byron*, and *Jaques Sieur de Matignon*, who free from the interests of the Duke of *Guise*, depended meerly and wholly upon the Kings will, acknowledging him their sole Benefactor; and though *Byron* for those passages concerning *Rocheb*, and some other jealousies, had for a long time been little favoured by the King, especially before he came unto the Crown; yet being now resolved to exalt and trust those who were disaffected to the House of *Guise*, he came to rise to one of the highest places: it being generally conceived, that he was chiefly induced to those other matters by the envy and hatred which he inwardly bore that Family, by which he knew that not only his advancement was opposed, but that oftentimes, and particularly at the Massacre at *Paris*, his death was both propounded and perswaded. And because *Renato di Birago* the High-Chancellor at the recommendation of the King and Queen was by the Pope received into the number of Cardinals; that most important Office was conferred upon *Philip Hurault* Viscount of *Chiverny*, one of the Kings most trusty intimate Counsellours.

The High-Chancellor *Birago* being made Cardinal, *Philip Hurault* is chosen in his place.

In the mean time the year 1578 being begun, the Queen-Mother, after some delays, caused by the sharpness of the Winter, had with a noble train of principal Lords and Gentlemen, begun her journey toward the King of *Navarre*, taking with her the Lady *Margaret* her Daughter, to restore her to him, she having by his sudden departure been left behind him at the Court: being arrived at *Bordeaux*, she sent to treat with the Deputies of the Hugonots, who, as to their Head, were come unto the King of *Navarre*, who (in this weakness and slenderness of his party, mens bodies being wearied, their estates consumed, and the minds of the Protestant Princes alienated by reason of the small account that had been made of Prince *Casimir* and the Germans) was forced by cunning and dissimulation to supply the publick necessity, and his own private maintenance: Wherefore being reduced into a corner of that Province, Governour of *Guienne* only in title, deprived of a great part of his own revenues, and altogether excluded from the Kings favour and liberality, wherewith his Ancestors had born up their dignity after the loss of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, he was on the one

1578.

1579. side fain to imbrace Peace, because he had not forces to make War; and on the other he was necessitated secretly to suffer private discords to break forth into acts of hostility, thereby to maintain his credit and his followers, who had no other means to keep themselves; wherefore with politick deliberations, and with a certain lively promptitude which was natural to him, he made show exceedingly to reverence the Kings commands, and yet managed his own interests so dexterously, that in such an exigence of urgent affairs, his vivacity was much esteemed by men of understanding; though some blamed his resolution to live rather in that manner like a banished man, than to submit himself unto the Kings obedience, who by infinite signs was known to be more averse to the House of *Lorain* than to him.

1579. But though this variety of interests had prolonged the treaty of matters till the beginning of *February* 1579. yet could it not utterly disturb it, so that at last it was concluded at *Nerat*, where both parties were met; for the Hugonots not having strength sufficient to think of War, were content in the end (the obscurity of the *Edict* being taken away, from whence all those diffentions were thought to arise) that every particular should remain firmly established, and the Peace (as much as the secret designs of both parties did allow) perfectly settled.

In the mean time the King, constant to his own intentions, had begun to confirm the ground-work of his determination; for besides the two Marshals which were formerly chosen, he had given the Office of General of the Artillery (that for a long time had been held by Monsieur *de Byron*) to *Philibert* Sieur *de la Guiche*, and had declared *Laurence* Sieur *de Maugiron* Lieutenant-General in *Dauphine*, which place was vacant by the death of the Sieur *des Gordes*: and the Government of the City of *Paris*, formerly held by the chief Lords of the Kingdom, was given to *René* Sieur *de Ville-guier*, (then one of his two principal Favourites) and *Francis* Sieur *d' O* (the other) was Superintendent of the *Finances*, and almost at the same time *Jean* Sieur *d' Aumont*, a man of very noble birth, and not inferiour valour, but not favoured with the power or union of any of the Factions, was created Marechal in the place of *Francis de Momorancy*, who wasted by the tediousness of adverse fortune, was lately departed out of this life. The King bred up continually near his person (besides those who already sat at the Helm of Government) many young Lords and Gentlemen, of great hopes and expectations, to fill up the vacancy of those Offices that fell daily; among which the chief were *Anne* Son to the Viscount *de Joyeuse*, and *Jean Louis* the Son of Monsieur *de la Valette*, who by the vivacity of their wits did equal the nobleness of their extraction: for the Viscount *de Joyeuse*, Father of *Anne*, being honourably descended, had long been Governour of *Gascogne*, and amidst the greatest combustions had faithfully followed the Kings and Queens party, without meddling with either faction; and Monsieur *de la Valette* the Father of *Jean Louis*, being also a Gentleman of most noble blood, having commanded the Light-Horse in the course of all the Wars, had gained an extraordinary reputation of valour: Wherefore these young Lords bred up in the discipline of the Court, (where they had the example of their worthy Progenitors, and advanced into the Kings Chamber) were as Leaders to the rest, who were brought up in great number to the principal hopes of the Crown: and though Monsieur *de Quelus*, and *Francis* the Son of *Maugiron*, two of these young Favourites (falling into a quarrel with *Antraquet* and *Riberack*, Favourites of the House of *Guise*) were both slain in Duel, and *St. Megrin* (a third Companion of these two) was killed in a few days after by some that were unknown, as he came out of the Court late at night; yet the King, satisfying both his grief and anger by doing honours to the dead, (in so much that he caused their Statues in Marble to be erected in the Church of *St. Paul*) did still raise up others into his favour, who for birth and ingenuity were proper for the greatness of his designs: which things while they were ripening, the Kings life was very different from that education in which from his childhood he had been trained up generously in the midst of Arms; for having at first determined to feign a soft quiet course of life, very conformable to the inward inclination of his nature, and out of measure pleasing to him; he gave himself over wholly to his ease, frequented Sermons and Processions, conversed often with Capuchins and Jesuits, built Monasteries and Chappels, used to undergo penances and wear hair-shirts, wore his beads openly at his girdle, and was often present at the Schools of the Penitents, and at the Canonical hours of the Hieronomites, who were brought by him to live in his own Palace; by which actions he shewed a wonderful affection

Henry the III.
his manner of
life.

affection to Religion, and a most ardent desire to increase and propagate it. This manner of living did, in great part, produce the effect he desired; for many of the Catholics, lulled asleep, and weened from a Military life, by the example of their Prince, had turned themselves to quiet peaceful thoughts, and to the care of their domestick affaires; which, in the revolutions of so many Wars, had been long neglected and forgotten; and among the Hugonots, (part laying aside their stubbornness, since it was not provoked; and part seeing all gifts and favours were bestowed upon such as followed the Kings example, in reverencing Religion, and exercising Catholick duties) many, by little and little, withdrew themselves from that party, and either really, or in appearance, joyned with the Roman Church; so that a few moneths of peace were clearly seen to have converted more then twenty years of continual War had done before.

1579.

But, this deliberation of the Kings, which, if it had been prosecuted with the same severity it was begun, might perchance have happily effected his proposed end; being at length drawn aside by passion and inclination, began to pass from devotion to luxury, and from ease to dissoluteness; so that though he continued in the same spiritual exercises, yet his hours of recreation, and dayes of rest, were spent in delightful Pastimes, sumptuous Masques and Balls, Stately Marriages, and continual conversation with the Ladies of the Court, whereby, his design of a quiet and peaceful life, corrupted by little and little, was no longer art and dissimulation, but turned into custom, and abuse; and though on the one side the advantage of taking off mens minds from their wonted fierceness, did thereby continue; yet on the other it rendered the King very odious, and contemptible to a great part of the Kingdom: For the Nobility, (seeing their Prince's favour was totally ingrossed by a few men, and every one excluded from any advancement at Court, but by the means of those Favourites (commonly called *Minions*), who were not onely to be served, and waited on, above the condition of their birth, but oftentimes also to be corrupted with great Presents) were kindled with an infinite disdain, and, shunning and avoiding the very sight of the Court, awakened and stirred up the state of present affairs. The Common People intolerably burthened with new Taxations, and innumerable grievances, not onely thereby to heap up treasure sufficient to sustain that fabrick of the Kings designs, but much more to supply his superfluous expences both spiritual and temporal, and to feed the greedy covetousness of his Minions; seeing themselves in a much worse condition in Peace, then they were wont to be in War, hated the very name of the King, and murmured against his way of Government. The Clergy, no less burthened then the rest, did continually blame the Counsels of that Administration, which had made Peace with the Hugonots to follow the Luxuries, and Pleasures of the Court; and many of the Principal Hugonots themselves, though they peaceably enjoyed a liberty of Conscience, yet could they not settle their minds, nor free themselves from jealousies, whilst they saw the King publickly addicted to the severest exercises of the Catholick Religion, and continually incompassed by the Capuchins, Jesuites, Bernardines, Hieronimites, and other Religious Orders; so that in the midst of Peace, nothing but the Persecution of Heresie was daily threatened. Thus the King's secret designs, framed, and plotted with so long care and industry, (as is the custome of top subtil Counsels) did, at length, produce effects very different from the intent and aim of their contriver.

* Including the Gentry, who are alwayes meant by the French Nobles, as well as the Lords.

This occasion of the general hatred against the Kings Person, was not omitted by the Duke of Guise, nor by his brothers, and confederates, for doubting of his intentions in matter of Religion, whereof they had declared themselves defenders; and having already, by many conjectures, found out the end to which the action tended; they, being no less politick, and crafty then himself, did labour, by all means possible, not onely to increase the ill-will, which was in a manner generally borne him, and to bring him into the contempt of all his People, but also to gain themselves credit and reputation, and to win the love, and applause of every one; grave in their speech, affable in their conversation, ready to shew favour and assistance to those that needed, boasters of their own vertues, which were many, and (which among the common People, is alwayes very prevalent) of noble Presence, comely Person, and graceful behaviour. So, though the King diminished their Power, by bringing such into imployment as were aversé from them, and onely depending upon himself, yet they grew up another way, cunningly receiving, and assisting such as were injured, and drawing the

The Guise'soment the Peoples hatred against the King.

Male-

1579. Male-contents to joyn with them ; and, though the King had taken off much of that hatred, which formerly, in the common sort of Hugonots, was very great against him, by having granted them both an inward, and an outward Peace, yet did they stir up the hatred of the Catholicks, and particularly of the Parisians, imputing his favours towards the young Gentlemen that were about him, unto an unfitting irregular desire ; his Devotions and Penances to hypocrisie, and dissimulation ; the advancing of his dependents to offices and honours, to a tyrannical power, and a greedy appetite to devour all things ; which things, they themselves not naming, but speaking of the Kings actions with ambiguous words and reservations, caused them to be divulged by active eloquent men, sometimes figuratively in the Pulpit, sometimes openly in meetings and ordinary conversations, and many times, by little pamphlets, under divers Titles, made them be artificially described and published.

But the King trusting to the secret structure of his designs, which he thought to be in a very good forwardness, believed he should at last be easily able to overcome all oppositions ; and to level the line of them the more regularly, by joyning the Theorick to the Practick, he retired himself every day after dinner with *Baccio de Bene*, and *Giacopo Corbinelli*, both Florentines, men exceedingly learned in the Greek and Latine Studies, making them read unto him *Polybins* and *Cornelius Tacitus*, but much more often the discourses and Prince of *Machiavel* ; which readings stirring him up, he was so much the more transported with his own secret plots ; for the advancing whereof, that he might the better engage and oblige the principal persons more nearly and confidently to himself, under colour that the Order of the Knights of *St. Michael* was become mean and common, by having been too easily, and too indifferently conferred by his Predecessors, he instituted a new Order of Knighthood ; which with strict rules, and an assignment of certain Revenues, he called *l'Ordre du St. Esprit*, solemnizing the Ceremonies of it upon the first day of the year : But, as this Prince was most ingenious in laying his designs, and ardent in the beginning of them, but remiss in the prosecution, having found many difficulties at *Rome* in his purpose of assigning Church Lands to that Order of Knighthood, under title of *Commendams* ; so the profits of that Order were frustrated, though the Name and the Order it self being placed in persons of eminent quality, hath continued for many years in high esteem and veneration.

Whilest these things pass at the Court, the Queen Mother (having concluded the Treaty with the King of *Navarre*, and endeavoured to make him taste the delights and benefits of Peace) went to visit the Provinces of *Gascogne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, every one receiving her Answers as so many Oracles, since the King, shewing a desire to live quiet and retired, had remitted all the weight of Affairs unto her care ; and having left her Daughter with her Husband, she had conferred with the Viscount of *Turenne* in *Poitou*, and had composed differences with the Marschal d' *Anville* in *Languedoc*, who, having sued for pardon, (yet, without stirring from his Government) was returned (though but in appearance) unto the Kings obedience. Last of all, the Queen went to *Montmel*, a Town of the Duke of *Savoy*, not far from the Confines, to speak with the Marschal de *Bellegarde* ; who, during the Wars of *France*, had possessed himself of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*.

Bellegarde had, for many years, held the chief place in the Kings favour, and in the beginning of his Reign, was, by him, created Marschal ; but afterward, for some jealousies the King conceived of him, and by the instigation of his competitors *Chiverny* and *Villeguier*, he was fallen out of favour ; and, under pretence of sending him into *Poland*, to negotiate for the Duke of *Alancon*, he had cunningly sought to put him from Court : - But, being openly favoured by the Marschal d' *Anville*, and secretly by the Duke of *Savoy*, he went into the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, where, having found a light occasion of dispute with *Carlo de Birago*, the Kings Lieutenant, who held the principal places, he easily drove him away by force ; and having, without much difficulty, made himself Master of that State, he carried himself in imitation of d' *Anville*, obeying the King's orders onely so far forth as he himself thought fit. This action of his did not onely prove very prejudicial to the Affairs of *France*, but likewise wrought great suspicions in the Italian Princes, who, with reason, doubted, that *Bellegarde*, set on by the Catholick King, to deprive the French of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, might give the King occasion, for the recovery of his own, to bring the War into *Italy*, and put the affairs of that Province into confusion ; and that so much the rather, because they

Henry the 3d
institutes the
order of
Knighthood of
the Holy
Ghost.

Bellegarde, by
intelligence
with the Duke
of *Savoy*,
usurps the
Marquesate of
Saluzzo.

they saw *Bellegarde* heavy Soldiers, and fortific places, and yet knew not with whose money he could do those things: Wherefore the Pope being moved, had prayed the Venetian Senate, as Friends to the King, to interpose their wisdom, to take away the occasion of that fire, the preparations whereof were so near at hand: The Senate undertook the business very carefully, and having caused their Ambassador *Grimani* to treat with the King, and *Francesco Barbaro* Resident in Savoy, with the Marechal de *Bellegarde*, was the occasion that the King committed that affair unto the managing of his Mother. For this cause, the Queen, not being able to draw *Bellegarde* unto *Grenoble*, whither the Duke of Savoy, and the Venetian Ambassador, were come to meet her, was content to go to *Moutiers*, (according to her custom) making small account of Ceremonies (which use so much to trouble Princes) to the might obtain her ends in the substance of things. There, having wrought the Marechal to acknowledge the King, and receive the Patent of his Government from him, she dispatched it for him, with many demonstrations of honor; but, whatsoever the occasion were, the Marechal died suddenly as soon as he was returned unto *Saluzzo*; and before the Queen departed from those Provinces, the Governours and Guardians of his Son delivered up that State into the hands of the King of France.

The Queen being gotten out of that trouble, passing thorough *Bourgogne*, was returned unto her Son, to assist in the administration of the Government; whilst he, retired from the management of affairs, seemed onely to mind Feasts and Solemnities, leaving all businesses to her, and to his Council, though indeed every least particular passed thorow his own hands; by which arts he thought himself so secure of present, and certain of future matters, that he believed he had already fully executed all that he had secretly contrived in his mind. Onely he thought the course of his designs was stoppt by the Duke of *Alencon*, who, fickle and unconstant in his desires, sometimes retiring himself from Court, sometimes returning confidently again; now holding intelligence with the Male-contents, and within a while refusing to meddle with them, kept him still sollicitous with many jealousies and anxieties.

The Queen-Mother endeavoured principally to remedy that fear, as a thing so material, that the tranquillity or disturbance of the Government depended on it: Wherefore, the people of the Low-Countries being already withdrawn from the subjection of the Catholick King, having first besought the King of France to receive them into his protection; and after he refused it, having offered the Command of themselves to the Duke of *Alencon*, if with a powerful Army he would deliver them from fear of the Spanish Tyranny; the Queen, desirous to free one Son from his suspicions, and to provide a convenient State for the other, exhorted the King to let the Duke of *Alencon* accept of the protection of the States of *Flanders*, and to raise an Army, upon fained pretences, within the limits of France; alledging, that all unquiet factious spirits would go along with the Duke, and diminish that pestilent matter which maintained the discords and troubles of the Kingdom: and, the better to ground and settle that design, she tried to renew the so often rejected Treaty of Marriage, between the Duke and the Queen of England; which, though it could not be concluded, yet, at least, this consequence might result from it; That the Queen, by her Forces and Authority, would incline to favour the Duke in his new Command; wherefore, omitting nothing that could advance that end, after many Embassies on both sides, *Alencon* himself went this year personally into England, whete, being honourably and sumptuously received by the Queen, he stayed there a great while; and, though she abhorred to submit her self to the yoke of Matrimony, and that the State of England did likewise abhor the Government of a French King; yet, because the interest of State required to dissemble, as well to encrease the Dukes reputation, and by consequence the strength of the States of *Flanders*, as also to cause a jealousie in the Catholick King, who, at that time, was intent about many other designs, which were much suspected by all the Princes his Neighbours; the Queen fained to consent unto the match, and, amongst the pomps and delights of her Court, honoured and favoured the Duke of *Alencon* very familiarly; in whose behalf the King dispatched an honourable Embassie, the chief whereof was *Francis de Montpensier* Prince Dauphin, a Lord of winning carriage, and often employed, being known to be of a sincere minde, an honest (but not crafty) nature, and very far from meddling or consorting with factious minded men. At the arrival of this Embassie, which was received with great tokens of honour, the articles and conditions were treated of, which were

1579.

The Low-Countries being withdrawn from the King of Spain's Dominion, first seek protection from the King of France, and then put themselves under the Duke of *Alencon*.

* The Italians, under the name of *Flanders*, usually comprehend all the Low-Countries.

1579. to be observed by both parties; and the business went so far, that the Duke and Queen gave each other a Ring in token of future Marriage; though she nevertheless persevered constantly in her resolution of a free, single life, and therefore would by no means suffer it to go any further: But these things happened in the course of the year following.

In this year the King of *Navarre*, after the departure of the Queen-Mother, did assemble a Congregation of his Party at *Mazere* in the County of *Foix*, to deliberate in what manner they should behave themselves for the time to come; where (amongst the discourses of Peace, the spirits of many that desired War, shewed their inclinations) in the end it began to be debated, whether the Peace should be continued, or that they should return to the hazard of Arms. Nor was the King of *Navarre* himself much averse from active thoughts, knowing, by experience, that peace and idleness did ruine by little and little, and insensibly diminish the strength of his party; for many, weary of innovations, returned sincerely unto the Catholick Church, many seeing the Hugonots depressed, and excluded from Offices and Honours, did feign to return to it; and all of them (old business growing out of date, and the authority of Command languishing) did equally withdraw themselves from the cares and interests of the Faction: and he himself being reduced to a very low ebb of Fortune, not only foresaw his future ruine, but for the present had not wherewithall to maintain the honour of a King, nor of first Prince of the Blood. To which necessities, the instigations of the Prince of *Conde* being added (who was of a more fierce unquiet nature, unable to digest the affront of being excluded from the Government of *Picardy*; and the assent, or rather desire of many young men that ordered matters of Government concurring in the same) they concluded at last, that it was better to try the fortune of Arms, than to perish securely in the idleness of Peace; and they resolved to prepare themselves, and seek some occasion to begin the War, so much the rather, because the Kings manner of life, being already thought to proceed from dissoluteness of Customs, and weakness of spirit, it incited all to carry themselves without respect, according to their proper interests and inclinations. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* calling to him the Deputies of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, which were come to the Congregation; after a long discourse, wherein he exhorted them, on their parts, to lend what assistance they were able unto the Common Cause, he gave them pieces of a broken French Crown of Gold to carry to Monsieur de *Chaillon*, Son to the Admiral de *Coligny*, who was already gotten into *Languedoc*, and to Monsieur des *Dignieres*, who was in *Dauphine*, with direction, that they should give credit, in the matter and order of War, to those that should bring them the remaining pieces of the Crown, esteeming that a very secret Token, and not so easily to be counterfeited: with which determination, each retiring into his own Province, they began secretly to make themselves ready to take up Arms.

The Hugonots
stir up new
contentions.

But the King of *Navarre* seeking to put a gloss upon the business, with some specious reasonable colour, the time drawing on, that the Cautionary Towns were to be restored, though the King demanded them but coldly, rather out of compliance with the Catholick party, then a desire to have them; yet He made a mighty noise about it, and often calling Assemblies of the Hugonots (which they call *Synods*) endeavoured to shew them, that the time of restoring those places was not yet come, nor the execution of the Edict fully accomplished, since the free exercise of their Religion was neither permitted in *Champagne*, *Normandy*, *Bourgogne*, nor the Isle of *France*; whereupon, the Ministers growing hot, who were very much pleased with that pretence, their minds began to incline to War; for the beginning whereof, the King of *Navarre* was resolved to undertake some notable enterprize, the same whereof might quicken the slowness of all the rest of his party: wherefore he thought of beginning with an attempt upon *Cabors*, which Town having been promised by the King to the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, in Dowry, was never assigned unto her, it being kept by the Governour in the Kings Name: by that he obtained a reasonable pretence (so necessary in Civil Wars to feed the minds of the People, and to palliate the interests of the parties) and a great benefit resulted to him by the addition of a rich City, and neighbouring Territory, which was both very great, and wonderful commodious for his present affairs.

The Prince of *Conde* also, who could not blot the business of *Picardy* out of his memory, purposed to go unknown into that Province, and by the help of some adherents,

rents, to make himself Master of a place or two, by which he might get footing in that Country, and enlarge his State and Fortune beyond the narrow limits of *Xaintonge*; thinking, he might fairly cover his own ends, by making shew that he would live under the Kings obedience, and revenge himself of his enemies, by whose practices he had been excluded from the Government. The Prince of *Conde*, as of a more hasty impatient nature, began first; and, being come unknown to *Poitiers*, he passed from thence, with very great danger, through the other Cities and Provinces of *France*, into the heart of *Picardy*, where, after the space of a few moneths, having, with art, and the intelligence of his Friends, drawn together, from several parts, the number of 300 men, he entred *la Fere*, a strong place, and of great consequence, whence, driving away the Governour, and the small Garrison that was in it, he became Master of it the 12th day of *November*; and, having presently writ unto the King, that he kept that Fortref in his Name, as being by him elected Governour of the Province, from which he had been excluded by the malice of his enemies; he began, notwithstanding, to make preparations to defend himself as well as he could; not doubting, but the King would use all his force to chase him out of so convenient an harbour.

1579.

But, in the beginning of the year following 1580, the King of *Navarre* (after he had sent the remaining pieces of the broken Crown to the Lord of *Chastillon*, and Monsieur *des Dignieres*, in token that they should begin the War) began to settle himself in his intended enterprife of *Cabors*, which was, to surprize that City upon a sudden, and bring it into his own power.

1580.

The City of *Cabors* is seated upon the River *Lot*, which, environing it on three sides, leaves onely one passage free, called *la Port aux Barres*, and the other three sides are entred by three fair Bridges that cross the River. By one of these, called the New-bridge, the King of *Navarre* was resolved to attack the City secretly in the night, not having Forces to assault or besiege it by day: And, because the first entry of the Bridge was hindred by a Gate that was kept locked; after which, without any Draw-bridge, at the other end stood the Gate of the City, defended by two Ravelines, one on either hand: He purposed at each Gate to fasten a Petard (an Engine till then) little esteemed for the newness of it, but since, by often tryals, grown famous, for sudden enterprises in War) and the obstacles being broken, to come presently to handy-blowes with the defenders. For this purpose, besides the company who to fasten the Petard were necessarily to go before, he divided his Soldiers into four Squadrons; the first led by the Baron *de Salignac*; the second by the *Sieur de St. Martin*, Captain of his Guards; the third, wherein were the Gentry, and he himself in person, by *Antoyne Sieur de Rochelaure*; and the fourth by the Viscount *de Gourdon*, wherein were 1200 good Firelocks. The Petard being fastned to the first Gate of the Bridge by Captain *Jehan Robert*, wrought its effect according to expectation, and those few Soldiers that were in the Ravelines were cut in pieces without much difficulty; nor did the second Petard any less, having broken open the Gate of the City, so that they might easily have entered if there had been no further opposition; but, they of the Town, wakued with the noise of the first Petard, and the *Sieur de Vefins*, who was Governor, being run to the danger just as he was, not utterly without Arms, but almost without Cloaths; they stoutly opposed the entry of the Enemy, fresh men still running armed from all parts of the City to make resistance: There was a very hot service between the first Squadrons, not onely fighting at a distance continually with shot, but the boldest of them coming up with short weapons; and, by little and little, the second and third Squadrons being every where mingled with the first, the encounter became very fierce and bloody, wherein the Governor of the Town (who, though unarmed, was, of necessity, to be in the thickest of the Fight) was killed on that side; and, on the King of *Navarre*'s, the *Sieur de St. Martin*. The business continued for two long hours in equal ballance; but, the Baron *de Salignac* first, and then the *Sieur de Roche-Laure* being dangerously wounded, and carried out of the hurly-burly, the courage of the rest began to sink, in such manner, that the assailants gave ground apace; who, though at the first, they had entred as far as the Market-place, yet being now driven back almost to the very Gate, would certainly have been quite repulsed, and beaten out of the City, (for the Viscount *de Gourdon*, with his Firelocks that were in the Rere, advanced but very slowly) if the King of *Navarre* (much troubled for the loss of his Captains, highly incensed at the affront his men were like to

Cabors is taken and sacked by the Hugonots.

receive,

1580. receive, and despairing of his own affaires, if his first enterprize failed of a happy success, coming up to the head of his soldiers, in the very face of the Enemy, had not renewed the assault, by fighting gallantly and undauntedly with his own hand: For the Lords, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, hasting bravely after him, and striving to go beyond each other in following the steps of their Leader, who (doing incredible exploits) did fiercely quell the ardor of the defendants, advanced so far, that about break of day they had again recovered the chief Market-place of the City, the Townsmen having shut up and fortified themselves (as well as the shortness of the time would permit) in the publick Schools; from whence, though they gave fire on every side, to the great slaughter of the assailants, who fought without defence in the open streets; yet the King of Navarre never moved from the head of his men, though they that were next to him were often killed by his side. In this manner they fought all the day, and all the night following; except onely that now and then they took a little rest, which both sides were invited to by the darkness of the night. The next day about Sun-rising, news was brought to the King of Navarre, that Supplies were coming to the City from the Neighbouring Towns; wherefore he sent the *Sieur de Chouppes* to fight with them without *La Porte aux Barres*, and courageously redoubled the assault, to drive the defenders from their places of advantage; but he found so stout and valiant resistance, that though the supplies were defeated that came to assist the Town, and that they thereby received no relief, yet could not be in all that day, and the night following, force them to yield, till three Pieces of Cannon, which they found in the City Magazin, being fitted and brought forth, they shattered and broke down all the Barricadoes made up by the defendants; whence followed a bloody execution, and a wonderful slaughter of the People. Thus, after three dayes continual fighting, the City of *Cabots* was at last taken, and violently sacked; having not onely yielded very rich spoil and booty to the Soldiers, but wreaked the hatred which many of the Hugonots bore to the very name of a Catholick. In this enterprize, the fearless courage of the King of Navarre was much admired by every one; who, having in his other actions given proofs of a great and lively spirit, in this (to the terror of his enemies, and admiration of his friends) he shewed himself as gallant and as daring a Soldier, as the effects of his following exploits did compleatly witness him to be.

At the very same time, *Les Dignieres* in *Dauphine*, not being able to move the Nobility, which scorned to come under his Command, (who, though a Gentleman by birth, was yet neither favoured with the splendor of an antient Pedigree, nor Riches) had stirred up the Country People to take Armes against some of the chief of them, by whom they complained they had been very much oppressed; but, the War proceeding with very small success, because *Monsieur de Maugiron*, Lieutenant of that Province, and *Monsieur de Mandelot*, Governor of *Lyon*, often routed and defeated his peasants; he having attempted many enterprizes without effect, at last retired, and fortified himself in *la Muse*.

But, in *Languedoc*, whether it were, that the Lord of *Chastillon*'s authority was not yet very powerful with that People, or that men, being weary of civil broils, stood in awe of *Monsieur d'Anville*, who shewed himself very ready to suppress any Insurrection, there was not any stir or taking of Armes, as the King of Navarre expected, the *Maréchal* labouring very diligently to take away all occasions of discontent, by a full observation of the King's Edicts.

The King being informed of these new eruptions in so many several places, whilst he thought himself secure, and free from all troubles and dangers of War, resolved to shew his face once more to those that made Insurrection, to reduce them to obedience, and to the sincere obedience of the Peace; to which end, he raised three several Armies with infinite diligence: One for *Picardy*, to recover *la Fere*; another for *Guienne*, against the King of Navarre; and the third, to settle the Commotions in *Dauphine*; From which sudden resolution, and the readiness of levying and ordering those Forces, wise men drew more confident assurance that his quiet stilness was onely voluntary, and that under a shew of ease and carelessness, he nourished more deep important thoughts in his mind. To these Armies the King appointed Commanders suitable to the occasion, and his secret intentions: For, desiring that *la Fere* should presently be recovered, because it is so near the heart of the Kingdom, and the City of *Paris*, and easie to be relieved by the nearness of the States of *Flanders*, he sent thither *Jaques Ma-*
reschal

At the news
of these stirs,
the King sends
forth three
Armies.

teschal *de Matignon*, whom he was alwayes wont to make use of where there was need of doing something to the purpose, on the other side, desiring, that the King of *Navarre* should be repressed, but not utterly suppressed, because he would not cast the Scale so much on that side, and make the Faction of the *Guises* Superior, (which had no other counterpoise so proper as his party) he sent *Armand Marechal de Byron*, to the end, that by his old inclinations he might proceed very warily in opposing it. And being necessitated to employ some one of the *Lorain* Princes, by reason of the power of the House of *Guise*, to which it was requisite to bear a convenient respect; and because he would not utterly alienate those of the Catholick League, he made choice of *Charles Duke of Mayenne* for Dauphiné, as well because he esteemed him to be of a more settled nature than his Brother, as out of a belief the business of those parts was very easie, and of but small consequence.

1584.

Nor did the effect differ from the Kings expectation; for Monsieur *d' Matignon* having besieged *la Fere*, from whence the Prince of *Conde* was already departed, and gone into *England*, he, within a small time, recovered it, though not without some blood. The Duke of *Mayenne* having taken *la Mure*, and put the Hugonots of that Province in a very great terror, did not onely reduce the Gentry and Commons to obedience, but also the *Sieur des Diguieres* himself. And, the Marechal *de Byron* having about *Nerac* defeated some Companies of *Gens d'armes*, and taken many weak places in *Guienne*, at last his horse falling under him, and his thigh being hurt in two places, he drew his Army into Quarters, without any further progress. So that the King of *Navarre* not being able to keep the Field, nor undertake any design, by reason of the opposition of the King's Army; yet, shewing much more courage than strength, maintained himself still in Armes with actions of small importance.

La Fere recovered by Monsieur d' Matignon.

In this interim, the Duke of *Alencon* being returned out of *England*, full of hopes, by the Queens promises, but without any certainty of the future Match, and preparing for the journey of *Flanders*, interposed between the King his Brother, and the King of *Navarre* his Brother-in-law, to settle businesses in the former Concord; fearing, that if the War should break forth in good earnest in *France*, he should not then be able to draw those helps from thence which he expected for the accomplishment of his design: wherefore, being gone personally to *Libourne* and *la Freche*, Towns in the County of *Foix*, whither also came the King of *Navarre*, and on the Kings part the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Marechal *de Cossé*, and *Pompone Sieur de Bellicure*, he wrought so far, that he brought the business to a good conclusion: for, the King, by nature, was inclined to it, and the King of *Navarre*, besides the smallness of his Forces, and the ill success of his late enterprises, had no hopes at all of any assistance from abroad; the Prince of *Conde* who went into *England*, and thence into the Low-Countries, and after into *Germany*, found all their mindes intent upon the business of *Flanders*, weary of the instability of the French Hugonots, and unsatisfied at the taking up of Arms without any lawful occasion, whilst the King, living in peace, observed punctually the Conditions of the Agreement; wherefore, having no hope of aid, and not daring to set up his rest within the Kingdom, the former Articles were willingly accepted by him, and the Edict of the late Peace confirmed, as also the Conference held at *Nerac* with the Queen: and, in this manner, Armes were laid down again, and all things were composed in a peaceful way.

The Civil broils being quieted, two different enterprises kept all *France* in action: That of the Duke of *Alencon*, who, with the tacite permission of his Brother, prepared himself to go into the Low-Countries against the Catholick Kings Forces, under the Command of *Alessandro Fernelse*, Prince of *Parma*; And that of the Queen-mother, by occasion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the King *Sebastian* being dead in the War of *Africa*, and after him King *Henry Cardinal*, without sons; among many others who pretended to that Crown, the Queen-mother, as heir of the House of *Bologne*, and descended in a right line from *Robert* the son of *Alfonso* the third, and the Countess *Matilda* his first and lawful Wife, pretended also to that succession; alledging, that all the Kings who had reigned since *Alfonso* (being descended from *Beatrice*, which could not be the lawful Wife, but the Concubine of *Alfonso*, *Matilda* being yet alive) were illegitimate: and, because by reason of her being so far distant, and many other respects, she thought her self not so powerful in Forces as some of the other Competitors, she pretended, that the business was to be decided by the way of Justice, without coming to force of Arms. But the King of *Spain*, out of a confidence of his

1580. power and nearness, having in the mean time usurped that Kingdom with an Army, and causing himself, by the Governors thereof, to be proclaimed the lawful Successor; the Queen joyning Counsels with *Antonio* Prior of *Crato* (who pretended to the same Kingdom, but had been put beside it by the *Spaniards*) set forth a mighty Navy under the command of *Filippo Strozzi*, against King *Philip*, to relieve the * *Tercera's* Islands in the Ocean Sea, belonging to that Kingdom, which were yet held by *Antonio*; and, to make new acquisitions, if they could land upon the Coasts near the City of *Lisbon*. The death of *Strozzi*, the dispersing of that Navy, and other things that happened in that business, I leave to those Authors that shall write the History of *Portugal*, it not being necessary to enlarge this Narration, and make it more prolix, by the addition of forraign matters, that little or nothing concern the knowledge of the French affairs.

* Geographers call these Islands, the *Azores*, and only one of them the *Tercera*, as being third in the passage from *Spain* towards *Virginia*, *Florida*, and those parts.

1581. The same silence, and for the same reason, I observe in the business of *Flanders*, whither the Duke of *Alençon* (having, with the Kings tacite consent, levied a very great Army) went, the following year, being 1581, to relieve the City of *Cambray*, and after he had succoured it, and reduced it into his power, passed on with greater Force into the Low-Countries, to receive the Title and Possession of those States, which having withdrawn themselves from obedience to the Catholick King, had put themselves under him, with certain limited conditions. Nor did the King of *Spain* and the Pope fall, by means of their Ambassadors, to complain of the King of *France*, as well for what concerned the Duke of *Alençon*, as because *Antonio* of *Portugal* was received into *France*, and by the Queen-mothers attempts abetted in his pretensions to that Kingdom. But he answered the Ambassadors, and, by means of his Agents at *Rome* and in *Spain*, excused himself to both; That, *Antonio* had been received by his Mother, and assisted as her Vassal, she her self pretending to the Crown of *Portugal*; That the Fleet which had been set forth, was made ready at her own charges, without his knowledge or consent; and though it should be fought withal and beaten by the Catholick King, he would not at all think himself injured or ill dealt withal, it being a business apart, that concerned not his Interests, or the Crown of *France*: That for the Duke of *Alençon*, he had opposed him stiffly more then once; but that he was more apt to follow the suggestions of others, then to obey his commands: That he was sorry he had not been able to restrain those French that went with him; but that the disobedience of his Subjects was known to all the World, and also the quality of those persons that were gone thither, who, for so many years, had disturbed the Kingdom in his time, and in the Reigns of his Brothers and Predecessors: That he had given a sufficient testimony of himself, when the States of *Flanders*, desiring to put themselves under his Authority, he had refused them without any demur at all: So that he having no hand in those preparations made against *Flanders*, nor in the others against *Portugal*, he believed, that the Peace and Friendship which he held with the Catholick King, were neither violated nor disturbed; concluding, that to give a clear evidence of himself, and to conserve the Peace with the Crown of *Spain* (if the Catholick King should desire it) he would at any time send men into *Flanders*, to serve the Prince of *Parma*, with express order, not onely to fight against the States, and against the other Commanders, but also against his brother the Duke of *Alençon* himself.

1582. This was the substance of what the King said, adorning it with many particularities and circumstances; but, in effect, he endeavoured to make both businesses continue, being glad, not onely that the Duke of *Alençon* should go out of his Kingdom, but that with *Monfieur de la Noue*, the *Marschal de Byron*, and many other Commanders, the greatest part of that matter, which did molest and disquiet his State, should also be removed; which, when he saw effected in the year 1582, having settled himself in his former repose, he continued the prosecution of those designs, which, by long practise, were grown familiar to him: and, because cunning and dissimulation were already converted into nature, and he now did that by use and custom, which his humour inclining to, he was, from the beginning, resolved to bring to pass by art; he went on, exalting and giving power, onely to those, who, bred up by himself, were, beyond measure, esteemed, and most excessively favoured by him: amongst which, to *Anne de Joyeuse* (by him created Duke and Peer of *France*) he gave in Marriage his own Sister-in-law, sister to the Queen: and to *Jehan Louis de la Valette* (created also Duke of *Espenon* and Peer of *France*) he granted the most important Governments, and the

the greatest Offices that were daily vacant. Next to these, in his favour, were the Chancellor *Chiverny*, *Rene Sieur de Villequier*, *Francis Sieur d'O*, *Pompons de Belieure*, *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, and the Marshals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, who (no less mature in understanding than in age) cared not to be the first in the King's favour, lest they should also be first exposed to the blow and envy of Fortune; but, yielding the highest place to the vanity of young men, contented themselves with a more settled, and more moderate condition. The wisdom of the Marshal *de Retz* was particularly very remarkable; who, knowing himself to be an Italian, and therefore subject to the hatred and persecution of the French, though the King did, by the vastness of his Gifts, seek to exalt him to the highest pitch of greatness, yet did not onely put rubs and hinderances in the way of his own advancement, but afterward, when he saw that the King was resolved to make him great, he most discreetly endeavoured, that those things which he knew were destined to him, might be procured by the intercession of some one of the great Princes: A thing that succeeded so happily for him, that his greatness was established without envy, every one being either unwilling or ashamed to cross that fortune which he himself had favoured, and that man which he believed, he had made one of his obliged dependents. But *Joyeuse*, *Espernon*, and the other youths, whose age and experience had not taught them so much moderation; spreading all their Sails before the prosperous Wind of Fortune, laboured, by all possible means, to attain to the most eminent Dignities: Wherefore, the death of *Philippo Strozzi*, who was General of the French Infantry, hapning at the Tercera's, that that charge was given to the Duke *de Espernon*, but much more amplified in Command and Authority. And the Marshal *de Byron* having left the Office of Lieutenant of *Guienne*, to go into *Flanders* with the Duke of *Alencon*, it was conferred upon the Marshal *de Matignon*. And the Governments of *Orleans*, *Blois*, and *Chartres*, void, about that time, by the death of the Marshal *de Cosse*, were transferred upon the Chancellor. The same rule being observed in all things, that the most important Places and Governments, should still be bestowed upon Creatures of his own breeding.

But the year following 1583, the Duke of *Alencon* having attempted to bring his limited Command in *Flanders* to a free absolute Dominion, the success proving very contrary to his hopes; and therefore he being hated and opposed by those very men who had first called him thither, was driven from thence by the Forces of *Alessandro Farnese*, and (to the Kings great trouble) returned again into *France*, where it was feared he would contrive some new mischiefs, according to his rash inconsiderate nature, most ardent to leap headlong into any dangerous design: Wherefore, he being recalled into *Flanders* by his adherents, and by those who more abhorred the Tyranny of the Spaniard than his fickle instability, the King promised him very great Supplies of Men and Moneys, that returning to his former design, he might ease him of the jealousies and fears of new Commotions; and, without doubt, the effects would have made good his promises, if the Duke of *Alencon* (afflicted with the crossness of his late Fortune, and quite worn out with perpetual toil and trouble, or else (as some said) with those dissolute courses, to which he had wholly given himself over) had not died at *Chasteau-Thierry*, a Castle of his own, in the Month of *June*, 1584, leaving *Flanders* at liberty, and his Brother free from a most certain revolution of new troubles. After his death, the Signories of *Anjou*, *Angoulesme*, and *Berry*, which had been assigned for his Appennage, returned into the Kings power: But the City of *Cambray*, taken two years before, and put under the Government of the *Sieur de Balagny*, (the King not desiring to transfer it openly to himself, lest it should break the Peace with the Catholick King) fell in appearance, and as by inheritance, unto the Queen his Mother.

1582.

1583.

The Duke of Alencon rejected by those who had called him into Flanders, is driven thence by the Prince of Parma, returns into France, and a while after dies there.

1584.

The End of the Sixth BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The SEVENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

IN this Book are set down the causes, why the Duke of Guise and his adherents endeavour to renew the Catholick League, which before was almost laid aside: The Reasons they alledge for themselves: The quality of those persons that consented to, and concurred with the League: The design of drawing in the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his resolution to embrace it: Philip King of Spain takes the protection of it: The Conditions agreed to with his Agents at Jainville: The Popes doubtfulness in ratifying and approving the League, and his determination to delay the time. The King of France consults what is to be done for the opposing of that Union, and the opinions differ: He sends the Duke of Espernon to confer with the King of Navarre, to perswade him to embrace the Catholick Faith, and return to Court. The King of Navarre, at that Proposition, resolves to stand firm to his Party. The League takes occasion by that Treaty, and makes grievous complaints. They of the Low-Countries, alienated from the King of Spain, offer to put themselves under the Crown of France: The King is uncertain what to do in it, but at last remits them to another time. King Philip entering into suspicion of that business, sollicitates the Duke of Guise and the League to take up Arms: To that end, Forces are raised both within and without the Kingdom. The King tries to oppose them, but finds himself too weak. The Cardinal of Bourbon leaves the Court, retires to Peronne, and with the other Confederates publishes a Declaration. They draw an Army together in Champagne, seize upon Thoul and Verdun. The City of Marseilles riseth in favour of the League, but the Conspirators are suppressed by the rest of the Citizens; the same happens at Bourdeaux. Lyons, Bourges, and many other places in the Kingdom, side with the League. The King answers the Declaration of the League; he endeavours to disunite it, by drawing many particular men from that Party, as also the City of Lyons; but seeing his design succeedeth not to his mind, he resolves to treat an Agreement with the Confederates: The Queen-Mother

Mother goes into Champagne to confer about it with the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal of Bourbon: After many Negotiations, the Peace is concluded. The King of Navarre publisheth a Declaration against the League, and challengeth the Duke of Guise to a Duel: He passeth it over, and makes the Declaration be answered by others. The Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Chastillon go into Germany, to stir up the Protestant Princes in favour of the Hugonots. The King consults of the manner of effecting what he had promised in the Agreement with the League: The opinions differ, and there ariseth great discord about it among his Councillors. He resolves to make War against the Hugonots; and coming to the Parliament, forbids all other except the Roman Catholick Religion. He sends for the Heads of the Clergy, and the Magistrates of the City of Paris, and with words full of resentment, demands money of them for the War. He prepares divers Armies against the Hugonots. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth dies: Sixtus Quintus succeeds him, who at the instigation of the League, declares the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde to be Excommunicate, and incapable to succeed in the Crown. This Excommunication is diversly spoken of in France: Many write against it, and many in favour of it.



From the ashes of the Duke of *Alençon*, the half-extinguish'd sparks of the League began again to be kindled and burn afresh: for the King by his policy in the Assembly at *Blou*, and after by the delight and benefit every one received in Peace, and by keeping down the Heads of the Hugonots, and holding them at a distance, having taken away the opportunities and specious pretences of the Lords of *Guise*, it was of it self grown old, and in very great part decayed and dissolved. And though those Lords, being rung to the quick by the excessive greatness of the Kings Minions, and continually stirred up by the jealousy of his proceedings, had failed of no occasion that might conveniently blemish his actions, and bring themselves into reputation; yet matters had till then been rather in unsettled debates than certainly concluded, and had consisted more in words than in actions. But now by reason of the Duke of *Alençon's* death, and that the King, after having been ten years married, had no probable hope of issue, affairs began to be very much altered: For as the King of *Navarre's* being first Prince of the Blood, and so nearest the Succession of the Crown, did spur forward the readiness of the *Guises*, his old corrivals and natural enemies; so likewise it afforded them a fair occasion to renew the League, that they might take a course betimes to hinder the Kingdom from falling into the hands of the Hugonot Prince, to the universal ruine of the Catholicks, and the total overthrow of Religion: Wherefore, the disgusts they received at Court, and the suspicion which for many years they had conceived, concurring to sollicite them, and this emergent occasion offering a fit opportunity, they began again not only to repair the old structure, but also to contrive and build up new designs. The disasters which the Lords of *Guise* received at Court, were many: For besides seeing themselves excluded from the Kings favour, and from the administration of State-affairs, wherein they were wont to hold the first place, and whereof they now did not at all participate; as likewise being so little able to do any thing for their dependents and adherents, because the King reserved unto himself alone the disposing of all Gifts and Honours: they were also highly offended at the greatness of these new men, who not favoured by the lustre of ancient Families, nor raised by the merits of their own actions, but only by the liberality of their Prince, were advanced so high, that with a sudden splendour they eclipsed all those Honours which they with infinite pains and dangers had attained to in the course of so many years. And though the Duke of *Joyeuse*, by his Marriage with the Queens Sister, was affixed unto the House of *Lorraine*, and seemed in many things to be interested with them; yet they disdained to lie under the shadow of anothers protection, where they were wont to see an infinite number of persons shelter themselves under the favourable wing of their Power and Authority. To this was added, that the Duke of *Espernon*, either through his

*The Guises
foreseeing
their own
ruine, contrive
new designs.*

1584. his own natural instinct, or the hopes of raising himself upon the ruins of the Great Ones, or through the friendship which he had held from his youth with the King of Navarre, who was most averse from any familiarity with them, seemed to despise and undervalue the merits and power of so great a family, and failed not upon all occasions to sting and persecute them; on the other side obstinately favouring, and in all opportunities maintaining and assisting the Princes of *Bourbon*. Whertupon it was commonly believed, that he to abase the credit and lessen the reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, had perswaded the King to determine a matter never clearly decided by his Predecessors; That in the Ceremonies of the Kings Coronation, and other occurrences, the Peers should not have precedency according to their Age and Seniority; but that those Peers which were Princes of the Blood, should absolutely take place of all the rest, by Prerogative of the Royal Family; which much incensed the Princes of *Lorraine*: But it toucht them a great deal more nearly to see that the King was wholly intent to deprive them of their Offices and Governments, to bestow and heap them upon his Minions: For *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* having been first declared Admiral, (a place held by his Father-in-law the Marquess de *Villars*, after the death of the Admiral *Chastillon*) was after forced, by the Kings violent perswasions, to take eighty thousand Crowns in recompence, and to resign his Office, which presently was settled upon the Duke of *Joyeuse*: And because the Duke of *Espernon* complained that his place was not so eminent, the King desirous to satisfie him, or at least feigning to be so, for the compassing of his designs, had often moved the Duke of *Guise* to give up his Office of * *Grand Maître*; and when he saw that, being displeased with the overture, he resolved not to part with it, by little and little he took away all the Authority and Priviledges which were wont to belong unto that Office, leaving him only the empty name; and, in stead of it, conferred upon the Duke of *Espernon* the charge of Colonel General of the Infantry; which having been formerly promised to *Timoleon de Cossé* for his exceeding great deserts, and he being by death prevented, the enjoyment seemed in reason most due to his Son *Charles* Count of *Brissac*, who was a fast friend to the Lords of *Guise*, as his Father and Grandfather had been before him. The Duke of *Anmale* complained likewise, that he being elected to the Government of *Picardy* (for which he had been in competition with the Prince of *Conde*) to keep him as it were in an uncertainty of the possession, the entry of many chief places was denied him; among which, *Bologne*, *Calais*, and *la Fere*, kept by persons depending upon the King, in the name of the Duke d' *Espernon*. And finally, all that bore the character of dependents of the House of *Guise*, were either by money or other means divested of their Offices and Governments, or at least deprived of the Authority and execution of them, which by oblique ways were reserved for, and transferred upon the Kings favourites and confidants.

* Lord High Steward of the Kings Household, heretofore called *Le Comte du Palais*, & *le Senechal de France*.

These were then all, or part of the discontents that troubled the Lords of *Guise*, wherein (being well versed in affairs of State, and mindful of what had happened five and twenty years before) they admired the revolutions of this world, and the effects of Divine Justice, seeing themselves handled in the same manner by the Dukes of *Joyeuse* and *Espernon*, as they (governing in the Reign of *Henry* the Second) had used the Houses of *Montmancy* and *Bourbon*; concluding, that though God for the most part reserves his punishment and vengeance till the everlasting pains of the world to come, yet is he sometimes pleased, by those glances of his power, to shew us a glimpse of that Justice wherewith he governs the course of mortal things. But besides the disgusts which these Princes pretended to receive, they were much more sharply pricked with the sting of that jealousy which by many conjectures, and by things daily put in practice, they had conceived: for seeing that the King balanced the Forces very carefully with those of the Hugonot Lords, and that he would not suppress that party, which (as they believed) he easily might have done; that under several pretences he divested all the dependents of both Factions of their Places and Honours, to bestow them upon such as should acknowledge them meerly from himself; and that where other pretences failed, he bought those Offices which they possessed with great sums of money, to ingross them all into his own disposing; that he admitted no intercession for any body, thereby to take away the bait that drew so many followers and dependents to the Princes of both parties; that he spent great store of money to bring those things about, and also gathered great store together in *Metz*, *Bologne* and *Angoulême*, though in the name of the Duke d' *Espernon*; they judged that all these things tended

tended to their ruine and destruction. Nor could it satisfie them to see the King taken up with religious thoughts, and addicted to a quiet unactive life: for, they knowing his nature, wherewith they had been conversant from his very childhood, interpreted that course of life to subtil deep dissimulation. Wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, a man of a wonderful quick insight, discerning judgment, and high thoughts, laying all these things together, determined with himself to prevent, and not stay to be prevented: in which resolution he was boldly seconded by his Brother *Loyse* the Cardinal, a man of a high spirit, and an understanding no less ingenious than his; as also by *Henry of Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, and *Charles* Marquess of *San-Sorlin*, (both Sons of *Anna d'Este*, and therefore his Brothers by the Mother) *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Aumale*, and *Claude* his Brother a Knight of *Jerusalem*, *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Emanuel* Duke of *Mercur*, and his Brothers; who though allied unto the King yet in respect of the common Family, were nearly united unto him both in opinion and interests. Only *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* concurred more slowly than the rest, who with more settled thoughts considering the course of worldly affairs, thought it as difficult and dangerous for the League to pull down the King, protected by the Majesty of a Royal Name, and the natural obligations of his Subjects, as he believed it impossible for the King himself to destroy and ruine their Family, protected by the favour of the Catholicks, and by the merit and innocence of their persons: Wherefore thinking it superfluous to put themselves into that fear, and for that cause to hazard their safety by rash uncertain resolutions, he counselled them to proceed with more patience and more respect toward the lawful Possessor of the Crown. But the Duke of *Guise*, resolute in his thoughts, and by the authority of his Person, the vivacity of his Courage, the eloquence of his Language, and the excellency of his Wit, able to persuade and draw all the rest to his opinion, excluding his Brothers advice, had settled all his thoughts upon the machinations of the League; for the enlargement and establishment whereof, dissembling his discontents no less than his jealousies and private interests, he made shew of stirring only for the respects of Religion, and the general good, making an ill interpretation of all the Kings actions, and with many arts and circumstances aggravating that danger, which he pretended hung over the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom.

He grounded his fears upon the death of the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Queens barrenness, which in the space of ten years had had no Son, whereby, the King dying without Heirs of the House of *Valois*, the Crown fell to the Princes of *Bourbon*, and in the first place to the King of *Navarre*, a relapsed Heretick, and an open Enemy to the Roman Religion. He urged, that his coming to the Crown would be the universal ruine of Religion, and the total conversion of all *France* to the Rites and Opinions of *Calvin*; and therefore shewed how all good Catholicks were obliged to look to it in time, and to prevent the terrible blow of that imminent subversion; and if they had gathered themselves together ten years before, to hinder the Prince of *Conde* from entering upon the Government of *Picardy*, much more ought they now to assemble and combine themselves, to keep the King of *Navarre* from entering, not into a City or Province alone, but into the possession of the whole Kingdom. He endeavoured to prove that his Introduction to the Crown would be very easie; for the King, persuaded by the Duke of *Epernon* and his other favourites, (by whom he was wholly governed) and induced by them to favour advance the party of the Princes of *Bourbon*, would in his own life-time bring him in by little and little, without resistance: That therefore he had granted peace to the Hugonots, while in that low condition and extraordinary weakness, their extirpation was evident to all the world: That therefore he deluded the constant and general resolution of the States at *Blots*, by his arts unfinewing, and by his delays untwisting the joint will and consent of all the French Nation: That therefore when sometimes he had been constrained to make War against the King of *Navarre*, he employed the Marechal de *Byron*, who though a Catholick in outward appearance, was yet by many former proofs known to be a favourer of the Hugonots, and interested in their Faction: That therefore he had lately taken *Geneva* into his Protection, shewing clearly to all the World how little he esteemed the Catholick Religion, and how much he was inclined to the Enemies of the holy See, and of the great Bishop of *Rome*: That therefore he had excluded all the Catholick Lords from any access to the Court, or administration in the Government; particularly, those who had spilt so much blood for the preservation of the Kingdom and Religion, and

1584. had brought in a new people that were privy to his designs, and friends to the House of Bourbon: That therefore he deprived all the old servants of the Crown of all their Offices and Honours, of the most principal Governments, and most suspected Fortresses, to put them into the hands of men that were Catholicks in shew, but really partial to Hereticks, and inwardly adherents to the King of Navarre: That therefore without remorse or compassion, he daily oppressed this poor Subject with new Taxes and intolerable Grievances, lest when occasion served they should be able to make resistance, and oppose his pleasure and their own slavery: And though the King made an outward shew to do otherwise, and to be of another mind: yet, that men of understanding ought not to let themselves be deceived by his dissimulation, who did but feign himself to be wholly addicted to a spiritual life, and altogether taken up with the zeal of Religion: For they that had penetrated to the depth of those businesses, knew certainly that they were but a cloak and mask which which under colour of devotion contained abominable hypocrisis: and that appearing full of mortification, clothed in a penitent Frock, with a Crucifix in his hand in the streets, in his private lodgings he gave himself over to the unbridled lusts of the flesh, and to the perverse satisfying of his loose depraved appetite. From which things, set forth with many specious reasons, and adorned with many, and those most particular circumstances, he concluded it was necessary to provide against that mischief betimes, to underprop the house before it fell upon their heads, wisely to unite themselves for their own defence, and to pull down and destroy those designs, before they were brought unto perfection.

Henry the III. takes upon him the protection of Geneva.

These were the reasons of the Lords of Guise; among which, that they mentioned about the protection of Geneva, was, that the King having been desirous to renew that Confederacy with the Swisses which they for many years have held with the Crown of France, the Protestant Cantons had refused to accept it, unless the King would take Geneva into his protection: who considering (the affairs of the Marquisate of Saluzza being then in disorder, and the friendship of the Duke of Savoy suspected and uncertain, because he was nearly allied unto the King of Spain, having taken to Wife his Daughter the Infanta Katherine) that if he should have a passage in his power, whereby without setting foot in another mans house he might make use of the Swisses assistance, it was necessary for him to embrace the protection of that City, from the Territories whereof the passage is free to those places upon the confines of France, he resolved at last to consent unto it, forced by necessity, but against his will, and with much suspension of mind, being both by nature and custom most averse from having to do with the Hugonots. But that which was spoken concerning the Kings secret dissoluteness, though it were not altogether without ground, by reason of his amorous inclination to the Ladies of the Court: yet was it by the reports of his Enemies amplified and enlarged to such vices and debauches as were very far both from his nature and custom: and among the common people there went such extravagant tales of his licentiousness, as caused at the same time both laughter and bathing in those that were acquainted with his most secret hidden practices.

The Duke of Guise by means of the Preachers and Priests, in Pulpits and other places of Devotion, labours to insinuate the Catholick League into the people.

Now the Duke of Guise, either really moved with a zeal to Religion, or drawn by the interests of his own greatness, or else perswaded by both respects jointly united, having framed his design, and ordered his reasons with so fair an appearance, made use of popular eloquent men to divulge them from their Pulpits, and insuse them in private discourses among the people, thereby to win their affections, and procure the enlargement and spreading abroad of the League. Among these, the chief were Guillaume de la Rose, a man of powerful eloquence, who came afterward to be Bishop of Senlis; Jehan Proust chief Priest of St. Severins, a man of rare learning and copious eloquence; Jehan Boucher, by birth a Parisian, a man in the same City Curate of St. Benets Parish; one Poncet, a Fryar in the Abbey of St. Patrick at Melan, Dom Christin of Nizza in Provence; and Jehan Vincestre, all famous Preachers; and finally, most part of the Jesuits, displeased perhaps that the King having at the first used them very familiarly, was afterwards turned away from them to the Order of the Feuillants and Hieronimites. And as these prosecuted the business of the League in Paris, the same was done at Lyons by Claude Maitoi a Priest of the same Society at Soissons, by Matthieu de Launoy Canon of that Cathedral; at Rouen, by Father Egidio Blauin of the Order of Minims; at Orleans, by Bourlao a very noted Divine; at Toul, by Francois de Rosier Archdeacon of that Church; and an infinite number of others dispersed thorow

thorow the several parts of *France*, who by their credit and plausible popular eloquence, sometimes in their Pulpits, sometimes in the Congregations of the Penitents, sometimes in their secret Conferences at Confessions, did allure the people, and entice them to enter into that Combination, which it is likely very many did, out of a respect to Religion, believing that thereby the Calvinists would be utterly rooted out, and the authority of the Church restored to its pristine greatness. But many entred into that Covenant invited by other ends, and drawn to it by different hopes, or else necessitated by their particular interests, though all shrowded themselves under the same cloke of the preservation and maintenance of Religion. Thus was the League composed of two different kinds of persons.

The first sort for the most part of such as were noble eminent persons, who ill satisfied with the power of the Kings Minions, and not enduring to be banished from all Offices and favours of the Court, went that way partly out of anger, partly out of hope of change, believing, by the subversion of the present state of affairs, they should rise to a greater height of fortune, and in the end compass the height of their designs. The chief of these was *Ludovico Gonzaga Duke of Nevers*; who after he had refused the Government of the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and other places beyond the *Alps*, when the King resolved to restore those Towns which had been withheld from the Duke of *Savoy*, thinking himself partly hated, and partly despised, could never any more attain to any other Government, as his great services to the Crown made him hope he should. In this number was also *Guy Sieur de Lansac*, and *Francois Sieur de S. Luc*, who having seen some beams of the Kings favour, and entertained hopes of being received amongst his Minions, were afterwards thrust out by their Competitors, and falling from so great expectations, had for anger taken the contrary side; likewise among these was *Monlieur de Vins*, a man more fit to be the Head of a Party, both for his readines of his wit, and for the nobleness of his Family, which was the chief in *Provence*, he having at the siege of *Rochelle* saved the Kings life, and interposing his own body to defend him from the Bullets which were aimed at him, received a Musquet-shot in the right side, did afterwards neither obtain his favour, nor those rewards and advancements which the merit of that service had caused him to expect: with those also was *Jehan de Hemery Sieur de Villers*, to whom in recompence of his many services, especially for taking the Count *Montgomery* prisoner, the Government of the City and Castle of *Caen* in *Normandy* having been promised, the King without giving him any thing in exchange, disposed of it presently to *Monlieur d' O* his favourite. The like was the condition of *Monlieur de la Chastre* Governour of *Berry*; who after many great services performed in the time of *Charles* the Ninth, was not only unrewarded for his valour and fidelity, but also denied the Government of *Blois* and that of *Chartres*, one of which he very much desired, because they lay so commodiously near *Berry*. The *Sieur de Mandelot* Governour of *Lions* consented likewise to it, who having received intimation that his Government should be taken from him, and in favour to *Bernard Sieur de la Valet* Brother to the Duke of *Espenon*, joined to that of *Dauphine*, and to the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*; and *Monlieur de la Mante*, first, and then the *Sieur de Passage*, both Creatures of the Family of *la Valet*, having been put into the Cittadel, which is the bridle of the City of *Lions*, took that party to secure his own affairs, *Monlieur d' Entraques* Governour of *Orleans* was another of them, who having formerly been favoured, and gratified by the King, being afterwards discontented that he himself, and his Government should be subject to the High Chancellor, Governour of that Province, with whom he had no good correspondence, and moved by his hatred to the Duke of *Espenon*, who both in words and actions had abused a Son of his; joined himself also with the Lords of the House of *Guise*. The same resolution was followed by the Count of *Saux*, whose Father and he himself having at first (but with ill fortune) held of the Hugonot Party, had left it by reason of many enmities, wherewith he was sharply persecuted, and for his own safety retired under the protection and shelter of the League. *Guillaume Sieur de Fervagues* was also joined in that confederacy, who of subtil wit, but voluble nature, and ready without respect to lay hold of any thing, by which he could hope for profit and advancement, after he left the King of *Navarre*, had followed the fortune of the Duke of *Alencon*, and now wanting a support, and not being well looked on by the King, sought new protection, and new matter for his vivacity to work on. But the Archbishop of *Lions*, a man of contrary nature, to whose extraordinary Learning was joined a wonderful gravity, and great care not

1548.

The Catholick League composed of men disaffected to the present Government, and Zealots in Religion.

The *Sieur de Vins* at *Rochelle* receives a Musquet shot to save Hen. 3.

1584. to erre from those ends which were suitable to his vocation, beside the interests of Religion, and his long dependance upon the House of Guise, was driven into the League by the Duke d'Espernons hatred, who slighting and despising him as a person not well affected, thrust him out of the Kings favour, and almost out of the Court, where his worth had held one of the chiefest places. But amongst them all the most principal was the Count de Brissac, who took that resolution for anger, that the Office of General of the Infantry, (promised to his Father, and pretended to by himself in recompence of the great labours he underwent in the Portugal Fleet, for the service of the Queen-Mother) was disposed from him without so much as making shew to reward him any other way. For these and such like occasions, the Sieurs de la Roche Breauze, de la Baulme, de Sourdeac, de Couriers, de la Brosse, de Beauvais, de Forane, and an infinite many more Gentlemen were perswaded to follow that resolution, either for discontent of things past, or hopes conceived of the future.

The other kind of persons whereof the League was composed seemed much inferior in quality to the first, but was not so at all in the advantage and benefit of the cause; for by means of them whole Towns and Cities were won, and the common people, and men of many several professions were brought over in all parts of the Kingdom. These were for the most part honest well-meaning men, of simple nature, affectionate to the Catholick Religion, and bitter Enemies to the Hugonots, whereof some really believing (as was pretended) that the total ruine of the Roman Religion was at hand; and some desiring the destruction of Heresie, did not only promote the League ardently in their own persons, but used all their endeavours to lead on the people, and increase the Adherents of that Faction; to these were joined also certain

* Dr Robe
Longue.

* Gown-men, who under the colour of Religion, covered both unquiet thoughts, and ambitious, covetous desires of working their own greatness. Among these was Jehan Maître President in the great Chamber of the Parliament of Paris, a man of great honesty and sincerity, Estienne de Nully President of the same Court, Honorat de Laurent Councillor in the Parliament of Provence; Jehan Quieré afterward called Sieur de Bussy, then Attorney in the Court of Parliament of Paris, a man wonderfully followed, and of great authority among the people, Louys d'Orleans, a principal Advocate in the same Court, and a man of singular learning. Charles Hauteman an Agent of the Bishop of Paris, and a man of very great riches, la Chappelle Marvel Son-in-law to the President de Nully, Estienne Bernard an Advocate in the Parliament of Dijon, Rolland one of the Treasurers of the Finances; Druart an Advocate in the Court of the Chastellet; Crues a Proctor of the same Court, Compans and Louchart Commissaries in the Court of Paris, and many other men of the Long Robe, who were in very great credit and reputation among the common people.

This body so composed of two so different qualities of persons, the Sword concurring with the Nobility and Gentry, and the Gown with Clergy-men and Lawyers, was strengthened and knit together as with Nerves and Bones, by the Adherents and Dependents of the House of Guise, who insinuating themselves into every place, did effectually stir up mens minds to enter into that League; for besides the Lords of the House of Lorain, there were likewise joined in it the Cardinal de Pellevé, the Commandatory Dignitary a Knight of Jerusalem, Claude Baron de Senefay, the Sieur de Bassompierre, Pierre Jamin President in the Parliament of Dijon, the Baron de Medanin, the Chevalier Bortone, the Sieur de Antraquet, de Riberac, de Rony, de Nissy, de la Barge, de Bois Dauphin, de Chamois, de Beauregard, de Menetille, Monsieur de St. Paul, and Sacromoro Birago, both Colonels of Foot, and an infinite number of others, both Prelates, Barons and Commanders, who acknowledged the rise of their fortunes to proceed from the favour and power of the House of Lorain.

But because the Duke of Guise having learned by the experience of all former times, and by the examples of the late actions of the Hugonots, that through the natural inclination of the French, those commotions could have but a weak foundation, which had not the protection of a Prince of the Blood, he began to seek about to pick out and perswade one of them, who furnishing him with the authority and right of the Royal Family, should be of such a nature and condition, as to let himself be wholly governed by him. There was none more proper for his designs, nor more ready to receive that impression than Charles Cardinal of Bourbon, the third Brother of Anthony King of Navarre, and Louys Prince of Conde deceased; for having been always most observant of the Catholick Religion, and an open Enemy to the Hugonots, it was

Charles Cardinal of Bourbon, Uncle to the King of Navarre, is desired for head of the Catholics.

was easie to draw him, by the respect of Religion, to consent unto that Union, and make himself Head of the League; but he was also of so mean a Capacity, and of so meek, gentle a disposition, that the Duke of *Guise* might, without difficulty, turn and winde him at his pleasure; and, that which was more important than all the rest, being the eldest Prince of the blood, and Uncle to the King of *Navarre*, he might bring the inheritance of the Crown in question, and pretend, that the King dying without Heirs, the succession, of right, belonged to him; and therefore he was very fit and proper to foment the pretensions of the League, which principally did profess to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the other Princes that were Favourers, or Followers of Heresie, from the succession of the Kingdom. Nor did fortune fail to offer the Duke of *Guise* his industry a convenient meanes of obtaining his desires with much facility. *Andre Sieur de Rubempre*, a man of swolne thoughts, and of a vain nature, but one, who by his industry, and politick way of living, and clothing himself after a fashion, that was conformable to the Cardinals humour, was become very gracious with him, and reckoned among his chief servants and favourites. The Duke of *Guise*, (by means of the Advocate *Louys de Orleans*, and of the Abbot of *S. Oryn*, brother to *Pellicart* his Secretary) caused those reasons to be infused into this man, for which his Patron might pretend to the Crown of *France*, urging, that the Representation (so the Lawyers call it) is of no validity in collateral degrees, and that therefore the King of *Navarre* could not represent the person of *Anthony* his Father, the eldest Son, and heir to the Kingdom of *France*, but that without doubt it belonged unto the Cardinal yet alive, and not to his elder Brother, who was dead so many years before. Besides, that the King of *Navarre* being a relapsed Heretick, and by the Canon-Laws incapable of inheriting the most Christian Crown of *France*; and the other Princes of the Blood being likewise followers and favourers of Heresie, and therefore incurred the same incapacity of the Succession, it was not to be endured that the vain, cautious respect, of not doing injury to the right of his Nephew, should suffer it to fall into other hands; and therefore his succession was not onely just, because the Laws had so disposed it, but also pious and honest, because necessity so required, not to exclude the Royal Family, and at the same time to preserve the Catholick Religion. To this they added, that though the Cardinal was nearer to decrepidness then old age, and that the King of *France* was yet in the flower of his youth, yet, in respect of the short lives of his Brothers, the weakness of his own constitution, and the continual debauches, by which he was half wasted and consumed, the Cardinal was likely to out-live him, and come to the possession of the Crown before his Nephew, and might transfer it upon the Cardinal *de Vendosme*, who also was his Nephew, bred up by him in the Catholick Religion, and that with so much integrity and sincerity of life, that among so many Hereticks, and Favourers of Hereticks, he alone shewed himself worthy to attain to the rule of so Christian a Kingdom as that of *France*. Which things, alledged by them, not onely in words, but in their Writings, folded up among a number of examples, and amplified with the ornaments of their wonted eloquence, did easily make impression in *Rubempre*, desiring rather to be the Minion of a King, then the Favourite of a Cardinal: Nor found they it more difficult to insil them into the mind of the Cardinal himself, who, to the aforesaid reasons, and the near hopes of the Succession, added the honest intentions of propagating the Catholick Faith, whereof he had ever been a zealous promoter; whereas his Nephew coming to the Crown, it was to be doubted he would subvert Religion, and spread the Poison of Heresie through the whole Kingdom. This seed being cunningly scattered long before-hand, had brought over the Cardinal to the Duke of *Guises* party, in such manner, that when it was needful to make such a resolution, he easily was perswaded to make himself Head of the League, and became a Cloke and Buckler to them that sought the ruine and extirpation of his Family; bearing willingly the weight and burden of that Enterprize upon his own shoulders: for, being overcome by the subtil practises and skilful flatteries of the Duke of *Guise*, he gave himself wholly over to the opinions and government, esteeming and honouring him exceedingly, as a Lord of invincible courage, and wonderful zeal to the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they that then discoursed of present affairs, with the ordinary French liberty, were wont to compare the Cardinal to a Camel, that kneels down before his Enemies, to take up a Load, that may endanger the breaking of his own Back.

1584.

The Cardinal
of *Bourbon* his
pretensions to
the Succession
of the Crown.

But,

1584.

But, the League being established, and confirmed with these Forces, and with the colour of Religion, and of the Blood Royal; that it might also be furnished with money necessary to maintain it, and those outward helps, that might bring it either favour or authority, to the end it might not want any of those things that ordinarily seem requisite for the effecting of so great an Enterprize, the Duke of Guise began again to quicken the negotiations with *Spain* and *Rome*, which, for some few years past, had, with all those other matters, been coldly prosecuted, and deferred. Nor did they find the Catholick King very doubtful or backward in the business; for, desiring to free himself from his suspicion, that the French might further endamage him in the Low-Country Wars; and being offended at the late attempts and troubles in *Flanders* and *Portugal*, could not but be very well pleased that they should be busied in their own affairs, and not have leisure to meddle with those of their Neighbours: and it making for his purpose, that the Hugonots should be suppressed, who bitterly hated his very Name, and that the King of *Navarre* should be kept from the Crown of *France*, who had still his wonted pretensions of recovering his Kingdom of *Navarre*, already united to the Crown of *Spain*, he earnestly desired an opportunity, to crush them both together; wherefore, without difficulty, he not only condescended to concur with his consent, but also to furnish Moneys, believing, that the greatness of his designs would be effected in all parts of the World; if *France*, which could, onely ballance and withhold his Forces, being divided in its own dissensions, did but afford him convenient means of attaining to that Greatness, which mighty Princes are wont to aspire to in their mindes. Neither did he think it any violation of the Peace, which was still reciprocally continued with the King of *France*: for, if the Duke of *Alencon* had been openly assisted by the most Christian King, whilst to obtain the dominion of that People that had cast off the yoke of his obedience, he made War against his Armies in *Flanders*; and, if the Queen-Mother, with the Forces of the Crown, had opposed his succession to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he believed it much more lawful to preserve the Catholicks of *France* from being oppressed by the Hugonots, and hinder the King of *Navarre* his known enemy, from coming to the Crown: And if the King had denied, that he fomented either the business of *Flanders*, or that of *Portugal*, whilst the Wars were manifestly made with the Men and Moneys of his Kingdom, he thought it not unfit for him, concealing that assistance which he purposed to lend unto the League, and conveying it by secret and hidden means, to deny in appearance, that he either broke or violated the Peace: Wherefore *Juan Baptista Tassi*, a Knight of the order of *S. Jago*, and *Don Juan Morreo*, the Catholick King's Commissioners, being come to *Jainville*, a place of the Duke of *Guise*, in the Confines of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, and being met there by the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, and *Francois* Sieur de *Meneville*, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Attorney for those of the League in *France*, both Parties agreed to these Conditions the second day of the year, 1585.

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Conditions agreed upon between the Deputies of the King of *Spain*, and the Heads of the Catholick League.

That, in case the present King of *France* should die, without a Son lawfully begotten, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* should be declared King, as first Prince of the Blood, and so true Heir to the Crown, universally excluding from the succession of the Kingdom all those, who being Hereticks, Revolters, or followers and favourers of Hereticks, had made themselves incapable of it: And that during the life of the present King, to prevent those Hereticks, left by the means which they were still attempting, they should open and facilitate their way to the attainment of the Crown, the Confederate Princes should raise Armies, gather Forces, make War against the Hugonots, and do all other things which should be thought fit and necessary. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, coming to the succession, should ratifie the Peace already concluded at *Cumbresis*, between the Crown of *France* and *Spain*, and observe it punctually, prohibiting any other Religion in the Kingdom, except the Roman Catholick, and rooting out all Hereticks by force, till they were utterly destroyed, should settle the Decrees and Constitutions of the Council of *Trent*. That he should promise for himself, his Heirs and Successors, to renounce all friendship and confederacy with the Turk, and not consent to any thing that he should manage or contrive, in any place, against the Common-weal of Christians. That he should forbid all Pyracie, whereby the Subjects of the Crown of *France* disturbed the *Spaniards* Traffick and Navigation to the *Indies*. That he should restore unto the Catholick King all that had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and namely the City and Jurisdiction of *Cambray*; and that he should

should assist him with convenient Forces, for the recovery of that, which those that were up in Armes had taken from him in the Low-Countryes. And, on the other side. That King *Philip* should be bound to contribute Fifty thousand Crowns effectively every Moneth, towards the maintenance of the League, and of his Forces; and moreover, should assist with what number of men should be thought necessary, in the progress of the Forces of the League, as well during the life of the present King, as after his death, for the utter extirpation of Heresie. That he should receive into his protection the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Lords of the House of *Guise*, the Dukes of *Mercure* and *Nevers*, and all those other Lords and Gentlemen that should subscribe unto the League, promising to assist them against the Hugonots and their adherents, so that they should be kept safe and harmless. That no Treaty or Agreement whatsoever should be made with the King of *France*, without the mutual consent of both Parties; and, that the Articles of this Union, should, for many convenient respects, be kept secret, till a more sitting opportunity.

This was the substance of the Capitulation made with King *Philip*, who, besides the aforesaid things, promised secretly to the Duke of *Guise*, the assignment of Two hundred thousand Crowns *per annum*, for his own particular, to be employed in the advancement, and for the benefit of the League.

But, the Treaty was not so easie, nor so speedily dispatched at *Rome*, where the same interests of State did not perswade: For, though Father *Mattei* riding Post with admirable celerity, sometimes to this place, sometimes to that, did take great pains to contract this Union; and, though Cardinal *Pellene* staying at *Rome*, did use all possible means to make it be received into the Pope's protection; yet *Gregory*, a wonderful good man, and not of too violent a nature, counselled moreover by *Tolomeo Gallo* Cardinal of *Como*, his Secretary, a man of very great experience in matters of Government, finding, that he could not see clear into the designs of that League, and thinking it unfit for him to consent to the taking up of Armes against a King that was manifestly a Catholick, and an infinite honourer of the Roman Religion, under pretence of hidden secret things, and such as were onely to be left to mens consciences, whereof he thought he could not easily judge, went still putting off and deferring his resolutions, that time might bring to light the bottom of those thoughts, which to him seemed yet very obscure, and much entangled. Wherefore, having made choice of certain Cardinals, and other wise men, who were to meet, and consult upon the Propositions of the League, and those Deputies still answering conditionally with the clause (*If it be so*,) whereby they shewed their doubt of those Propositions which were made by *Pellene* and *Mattei*, the Pope still giving the Agents of the Confederates good hopes, and exhorting them to be watchful for the good of the true Religion, and the extirpation of Heresie: For the rest, he held them on with continual delays; nor could they ever, with all the diligence they could use, get any Writing out of his hand, whereby they might securely affirm, he had approved the League, or taken it into his Protection.

Whilst the confederate Lords are thus busie in strengthening the Body of their Union, the King of *France* particularly advertised of all these things, consulted with himself, and with his most intimate Confidants, what resolution he ought to take, to oppose or divert the violence of those proceedings. The Duke of *Espernon*, the high Chancellor *Chiverny*, Monsieur *d'Or*, and *Albano Gondi*, Marechal de *Retz*, were of opinion, that the King, shewing his face boldly, and uniting himself presently with the Hugonots and the King of *Navarre*, should prevent the *Guises*; and finding them in disorder, and unprovided (as the motions of Leagues (where the concurrence of many is requisite) use to be unready and disagreeing) he should endeavour to pull up the first sprouts of that scandalous seed; alledging, that they being yet unarmed, and disunited, might be put into confusion, and suppressed, before they could have time either to draw any Forces together, and to get assistance and supplies from *Spain*: That it was not good to stay till that great Fabrick, being brought to perfection, should unite all the members of its Body: and that it was no sound Counsel to give time, till the great abundance of humours, which daily grew more malignant and pernicious, had seized upon some vital parts of the Kingdom; for, as while dispersed, they might easily be purged away in their beginnings, so it would be very hard and dangerous to provide against them, when being grown to a mass of corruption, they should stifle and suffocate the natural vigour: That they knew, neither the Duke of *Guise*, nor any

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of his Faction, had an Army yet united together, but onely the consent of some Churchmen, and the concurrence of the common people, with the adherence of some few of the Nobility of the Kingdom, Forces weak and uncertain of themselves, the greatest part whereof, as soon as they should see any considerable strength, would fall asunder of their own accord: That the Catholick King was so taken up with the Affairs of *Flanders*, that he could not, without much difficulty, and many delays, perform so much as part of those things which now he so largely promised, to raise the turbulent Spirits of the French: and that the Pope, a Prince far remote, and not very strong, who seldom used other then Spiritual Weapons, was not yet well resolved, either to protect or assist the League: On the contrary, the major part of the Nobility (always prepared with Arms, and ready for the War) would presently meet together, wheresoever the King, in case of so great necessity, should call them: That the Swisses, who had lately renewed their Confederacy with the Crown, would, for money, supply them with any number of Soldiers their need required: That the King of *Navarre*, and the Hugonots, who still continued in Arms for their own defence, would thank God for so happy an occasion, and readily submit themselves to the King's obedience, to oppose their natural enemies: That in the course of so many Civil Wars, experience had taught them, the neglect of beginnings made the disease mortal and incurable; and that the vivacity and boldness of noble sprightly revolutions, was always wont to bring forth fortunate proceedings, and glorious conclusions.

But, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, *René* Sieur de *Villequier*, *Pomponne* Sieur de *Bellevue*, and *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, were of contrary opinions; urging, that the King, intending to make War against the House of *Lorraine*, and against all the other Confederate Lords, he must necessarily either do it of himself alone, or being united with the Hugonots: That if he stirred alone, his Forces would be very weak and slender; for, all the Kingdom being divided into Catholicks and Hugonots, he being an Enemy to both, would have no other Party but some few servants and dependents, against two powerful, antient, and inveterate Factions, which possessing all the greatest and most considerable Provinces of *France*, viz. the Hugonots, *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Gascogne*, and great part of *Dauphine*; and the *Guises*, *Champagne*, *Bourgogne*, *Picardy*, *Lyonois*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*, besides, the City of *Paris*, very much inclined to favour them; the King would certainly remain without Revenue, without fortified places, without Subjects, without *Militia*, and without Money, by making a War so ruinous to himself, and so ridiculous to the whole World. But, to unite himself with the Hugonots, besides the unworthiness of the action, so contrary to the customs and ancient purposes of His Majesty, and so unbecoming the piety of the most Christian King, and the eldest Son of the Holy Church, would draw on consequences of greatest moment, the alienation of all the remaining part of the Catholicks, and the revolt of the City of *Paris*, so constant to the true Religion, and so natural an enemy to the Hugonots; the addition of greater Forces to the League, which could receive no better news, nor greater nourishment; the making authentick all those lies and scandals, which, till then, had been spread abroad against the King's designs, and real intentions: That it would colour and justify the Spaniard's Protection of the League, necessitate the Pope to declare himself in favour of it, as soon as the Enemies of the Apostolick See should be united with the King: That the most important, near, and inland Provinces of *France* would be lost, by staying for the supplies and assistance of those that were far remote, at the utmost confines of the Kingdom: Now was the strength of the Hugonots great, or their aid secure, who, on the one side, were exhausted, and unable to go forth of their Native Provinces, where they could hardly subsist of themselves; and, on the other side, they could not easily in so short a time unite themselves with the King faithfully and sincerely, who had ever been their bitter enemy, and their fatal terrible persecutor: That the fresh memory of the bloody Massacre at *Paris*, whereof he was esteemed the chief author, and, as it were, the sole executor, would be more prevalent with them, then the present demonstrations, which, by many suspicious men, would be interpreted cunning, and dissimulation, to catch them that were unwary again suddenly in the net: And finally, that the Proverb was true, *Different natures never sate well together*. Wherefore they judged it to be a much better resolution, to give satisfaction to all in general, and to the Lords of the League in particular, the major part whereof they knew had, for private disgusts, consented to that publick Commotion: for, the Lords of *Guise* being quieted, and the other principal men

men of the Kingdom satisfied, the colour of Religion vanishing and growing stale, the League would of it self be broken and dissolved: insisting, that the causes being taken away, the effects would cease of themselves; and shewing by many particulars, that it was in the Kings power to disunite the League, by giving and granting to the Heads and other Confederates, of his own accord, those things which they strove for, but were uncertain to obtain by War. 1585.

The Queen-Mother consented to this advice, as the most secure, of less noise, and less scandal; and being experienced in the several revolutions of so many years, thought it no less destructive than opprobrious, to forsake the more favourable, more certain, more powerful, and more constant Party of the Catholicks, to follow the almost desperate fortune of the Hugonots. And this was the common vote and general opinion of the ordinary sort of Courtiers, who are wont every where (but most especially in France) to discourse very freely of the highest deliberations of their Masters.

But the Authority of the Duke d'Espernon, and of the other Minions, was very great; and they foresaw their own assured ruine in that satisfaction which was motioned to be granted unto the Lords of the League, because it could not be given them without divesting the Favourites of that greatness and authority, and of those Offices which they enjoyed: so that of them all only the Duke of Joyeuse consented to an Agreement with the Catholick League, partly through the hatred which he bore to the Duke d'Espernon, who was infinitely before him in the Kings favour; partly because being nearly allied unto the House of Lorain, he thought at the fall of all the rest, he alone should be able to hold his place, and keep upon his feet. Besides, this advice was very contrary to the deliguns and inclinations of the King himself, being thereby obliged to throw down, at one instant, all that he had been so many years in building up: for by consenting to the satisfaction of the Guises and their Confederates, he must be brought to put that authority, those Fortresses and Offices into their hands, from whence he had so long been disengaging but a part of them, by little and little, with infinite cost and industry, and so by consequence must himself destroy his first resolution of the total ruine and extirpation of both Factions. Therefore he would more willingly have concurred to oppose the League, and unite himself to the Hugonots, if the sting of his own conscience, the unseemliness of the thing, and the resistance of the Queen-Mother, had not made him absolutely abhor it: Wherefore, his mind remaining yet doubtful, and his determination suspended, he resolved in the mean time to sound the King of Navarre more perfectly, and find out the strength of the Hugonots, endeavouring to perswade him to reconcile himself to the Church, with the other Princes of Bourbon: which if he could compass, he thought he should destroy the foundation of the League, and reduce the Guises into a very hard and dangerous condition: For the principal point of the Succession of the Crown failing, which gave colour and credit to the affairs of the League, and he uniting the Forces of the House of Bourbon sincerely to himself, should remove the obstacle of Rome, the concurrence of the foolish multitude, who believed the business only to concern the defence of the Catholick Religion, the abetting of Religious Orders, and so compose all those stirs. He hoped also that many particular men, and perhaps the very Heads of that Party, would be drawn by respect and shame, from those practices which then would have no other foundation left, but the ambition and unjust desires of the Great Ones; and that by taking away the fuel, the flame which then blazed so high, and spread so far, would in a moment be extinguished.

To this end he dispatched the Duke of Espernon (under colour of going to see his Mother, who being old, lived in Gasconne) to confer with the King of Navarre, believing that for his own interest he would effectually labour to convert him to the Catholick Religion; for if he did not, he saw the King inevitably necessitated to satisfy the Lords of the League, and abase the greatness of his Favourites, among which he held the chiefest place. But the Duke of Espernon being come into Gasconne to the King of Navarre, and proposing very large Conditions in the Kings Name, if he would resolve to turn Catholick, and come to Court, the doubts and consultations were no less there than they had been before in the Court of France: for Monsieur de Salignan and Monsieur de Roche-Laure, Confidants to the King of Navarre, perswaded him earnestly to trust the King, to reconcile himself to the Catholick Church, and return to Court, as first Prince of the Blood, alledging that that was the way to conquer his Enemies without

A meeting between the King of Navarre and the Duke d'Espernon sent from Henry the Third.

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Arms or Dispute, to recover the Place due to him in right of his Birth, to get possession of the Inheritance of the Crown, to which the King, seeing himself without Sons, would open and facilitate his passage, and to settle his own fortune in quietness and tranquillity, as also the whole Kingdom of *France*. And though to attain those ends, he must be fain to suffer much, and to dissemble and bear with many things, yet it was wisdom to bar himself of his own ease, and deny his own will, for the obtaining of so high, so eminent a design: That many men endured very much for the getting of a private Inheritance, though but a mean one; how much more was to be done and suffered to compass the Succession of the Crown of *France*? That they clearly saw the Kings aim, and the express will of his Councillours and Favourites: nor could he ever desire a more ready way to subvert and dissipate the power of his old Enemies and Persecutors.

On the other side, *Arnauld Sieur de Ferrier* his Chanceller, argued the contrary, a man of subtil wit and excellent learning, (who after his Embassie to *Venice*, where he had been Lieger many years, being returned into *France*, and little accounted of at Court, had retired himself to the King of *Navarre*) he fearing, if his Master came to an agreement, and into the Kings obedience, that he should remain abject and forsaken, was, though a Catholick, of the same opinion with *Philip de Moray Sieur de Plessis*, with the *Sieur d'Aubigny*, (a trusty servant of the King of *Navarre's*) and with the other Hugonots, who obstinate in their Faith, laboured to shew that temporal hopes were not to be preferred before a good Conscience and the safety of the Soul, which is eternal. Nor was it fit for the King of *Navarre*, by so often changing his Belief, to get the manifest scandalous opinion rather of an Atheist than of a fickle inconstant man: nor yet were the present hopes that were offered him so surely grounded; for the King of *France* in the vigour of his youth, and the Queen in the flower of her age, might yet possibly have a Son, whereby the old intentions being renewed, he would remain (as formerly) despised and undervalued at the Court. That the hope of succeeding a young King of but two and thirty years old, was very remote and uncertain, the King of *Navarre* himself being but little younger; so that according to nature it was hard to judge which of them would live the longer. That in the mean time, for things so remote and uncertain, he must put himself into a present certain servitude, lay down the command and dependance of his followers, deprive himself of the power and foundation of his Party, and submit himself to the pleasure and discretion of his Enemies. That all the world knew the Kings nature and inclinations, who desiring for his own interests to make use of the King of *Navarre* in the present conjuncture, would, as soon as that occasion was past, reassume his old hatred, and his intent (derived from the firm resolution of his Ancestors) to abase, persecute, and finally destroy the House of *Bourbon*. And with what heart, with what courage could he return to imprison himself in the *Louvre*, where with his own eyes he had seen that bloody slaughter of all his friends, and the safety of his own life held uncertain for so many hours, that he ought rather to acknowledge it to the Divine Goodness, and the chance of Fortune, than to the modesty and clemency of his Enemies? That Gods Justice was not to be distrusted, for the setting him in the rightful possession of the Crown, in case the King should die without a Son. That it was much more easie to attain it, being strengthened by powerful Forces, and the adherence of an armed Party that had so often resisted the pride of their Persecutors, and the Power of so many Princes joined together against them, then being left naked, deprived of assistance, slighted, and put in Prison at the Court. That therefore he ought not to expose himself to the certainty of those dangers, treacheries, poisons and murders whereby he had seen his Mother taken away, and so many of his Friends and Servants; but sustaining himself with the greatness of his courage, to remit the event of things so far distant and so obscure unto the Divine Providence.

There was no doubt among the wisest men, but that the first advice of reconciling himself to the King and Church, and returning to the Court, was the most secure and expedient: but he could not clear his mind of the suspicion of being deceived again, and circumvented by the practises of his Enemies; and his *Genius* could hardly be reduced to forsake his liberty and authority, for almost a certain imprisonment, or at least a very private condition in the Court. He considered that he could not commit an error in that resolution that would not cost him his life; for if the Kings proceedings were not real and sincere, or if he should suffer himself again to be ruled by the powerful

powerful perswasions and contrivances of the *Guise*, he saw he must of necessity, either by sword or person, incur the infallible danger of being murdered! He was also very much moved with the consideration of the Lady *Margaret* his Wife: for having in a manner repudiated her, by reason of the report of her unchastity; and she being gone to certain Castles of hers in *Auvergne*, where she lived with a very licentious freedom, he saw that necessarily he must either receive her again to his bed, or else he could never continue in sincere friendship and perfect confidence with his Mother and Brother-in-law, but that daily new discords and dissensions would arise, to the total ruine of his Fortune. These considerations joined to the power of *Ferrier*, and to the spur and perswasions of the Ministers, made him at last resolve, neither to turn Catholick, nor return to Court; but only with a great deal of modesty he offered the Assistance and Forces of his whole Party to serve the King, whensoever he pleased, to tame those, who, with the Forces of the League, disturbed the State and quiet of the Kingdom.

In this Conference was treated likewise (as had been many times before) the restitution of those places granted to the Hugonots by the Edict of Pacification: for the limited time being expired, the King moved to have them restored according to the Agreement. But the King of *Navarre* being determined not to forsake his Party, made excuses for not delivering them up, shewing that the times to come were like to be such as made him rather desire to have yet others for his security, than to restore those which he already possessed; beseeching the King to bear with the urgent necessity, and to ascribe the fault to the imminent attempts and obstinate persecutions of his Enemies. But this point being only treated of in formality, there was neither long nor difficult debate about it; and the answer was easily received and approved, by reason of that colour which the course of present affairs afforded it.

With these Answers the Duke *d'Espernon* returned to Court; from whose Conference they of the League taking occasion, divulged every where that it had been to treat an Union between the King and the Faction of the Hugonots, for the establishment of Heresie, and the introducing of the King of *Navarre* (an Enemy to the Catholick Church) unto the Succession of the Kingdom; for which purpose the King had also sent him two hundred thousand Ducats. Which things being thundred out of the Pulpits by their Preachers, filled the people with vain pretended fears, and with a most bitter hatred against the Person of their Prince, and against all his Favourites and Councillours. But the curiosity and itch of the Hugonots, did in great part cut up the roots of these lying slanders: for the *Sieur du Plessis*, burning with an ambition to be known the Author of the King of *Navarre's* determinations, and to get himself credit and esteem amongst those of his own Party, published a little Book in print of the whole Treaty that had passed with the Duke *d'Espernon*, with the reasons alledged by the King of *Navarre's* Councillours, and his last answer and resolution: whereby it appeared, that the King sought not to unite himself with the Hugonots, to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion; as was divulged by those of the League; but by endeavouring to bring home the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes of the Blood into the bosom of the Church: As also, that it was not true that the King voluntarily consented that the Hugonots should keep the possession of those places, but that they refusing for apparent reasons, to restore them, he made shew to bear with their denial, rather than in so unseasonable a time to put Arms into the hands of that other Faction also.

The Duke *d'Espernon* at his return found new matter of doubts and consultations: For the Low-Country-men (the Duke of *Alencon* being dead) were left without any foreign assistance, and being as it were abandoned of all, thought to put themselves under the Crown of *France*, and by that means to gain the Kings Protection against the Spaniards: wherefore they sent an honourable Embassie about that time to the King of *France*, to intreat him to take the Protection and Dominion of all their Countries; and making War with the King of *Spain*, to deliver them with a powerful Army from that Tyranny from which they had already for many years withdrawn themselves. This Embassie at first kept secret by the King, lest it might exasperate King *Philip*, was afterward publicly received and admitted, when he saw the Spanish Agents continued to foment the League.

There were many, and those the same that had counselled him to unite himself with the Hugonots, who exhorted him to accept of that so ample Dominion, and so noble occasion to raise and increase his own estate; urging, that since the Spaniards thought

The Low-Country-men send Ambassadors to the King of France intreating him to take the Protection and Dominion of their States.

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it lawful by secret practices and suggestions to disturb the peace and quiet of his Kingdom, it was much more lawful for him to undertake the defence of that oppressed people, retorting the injury which he received, and bringing those to a necessity of looking to their own, who now craftily sought to put the affairs of others in disorder and confusion: That this was the way to digest and expel the hurtful humours of his Kingdom, which could never enjoy Peace at home, but by the help of War abroad; to take up the minds and employ the active Forces of his Subjects: They said, This was a most powerful means to abate the League; whilst being deprived of the money and assistance of the Spaniard, would fall of its own accord, not having any strength or ability to maintain it self: That finally it was time to ease themselves of so many miseries as were every where about them, to give vent to the French fury, and rather employ their Arms to the destruction of the old Enormies of the Kingdom, than use them to tear in pieces the body of their common Mother.

But as these probable apparent reasons were very noble and generous, so were they likewise difficult, and little less than impossible to be effected: For with what Armies, with what Forces could the King (his Kingdom being torn and divided, and he himself suspected by both Factions) undertake and manage a War of so great importance? He could settle no foundation in the Catholick Party; for most of them were united by secret intelligence with the Catholick King: and to join himself with the Hugonots, produced the same difficulties and the same oppositions that were before considered: Wherefore the King perswaded by the evidence of Reason, and counselled by the Queen his Mother, answered the Ambassadors with kind words, expressing his grief for the oppression they complained of, excusing himself by the present divisions, and intestine discords of his Kingdom, and shewing how ready he should be to succour and protect them at another time: With which answer, and all demonstrations of honour, they were at last dismissed: And yet Don Bernardino Mendonça the Catholick Kings Ambassador grievously complaining that the Embassy was admitted, and that the Ambassadors of those that rebelled against his Master had been so much honoured, the King either highly exasperated against the Spaniards, or not willing to shew fear and poverty of spirit, answered boldly, that the common sight of Countries and the neighbourhood of so near a people, derived from the French Nation and Empire, did perswade him to take them into his protection: yet because of his own interests, he had not consented to do any thing at all in the business; and that he would not break the peace in publick, though he knew it had been violated by the King of Spain in private: but that in his own time he would signify his pleasure, not fearing the forces or threatnings of any one, and knowing himself to be a free King, Master of his own Will, and one that might make War or Peace wheresoever it pleased himself. By which answer the King thinking to bridle the Spaniards with a jealousy of the affairs of *Flanders*, he on the contrary hastened their practices, and made them labour to kindle the fire in his Kingdom, that he might not be at leisure to do so to his neighbours: Wherefore Don Bernardino departing with that answer, began to sollicite the Guise and the Cardinal of Bourbon, that taking Arms, with the assistance and with the money of Spain, they should begin to execute the designs of the League; and presently disbursed two hundred thousand Ducats to the Duke of Guise, for his first years pension; disposing three months pay in Germany for the raising of Souldiers in that Country: For Lodovick Fifer the chief Commander of the Swisses, being corrupted with great bribes, had yielded to receive a stipend from the League; and Christopher Sieur de Bassompierre was gone into Germany to levy * *Katzen*: nor did they omit in those Provinces which were held by the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, to raise both Foot and Horse in all diligence, that with such mighty Forces they might give a beginning to their intended designs.

But the King, who could neither frame his mind to join with the Hugonots, nor to give satisfaction to the confederate Lords, expecting counsel from the benefit of time, went on with slow preparations, rather setting a gloss upon his cause, and justifying himself, than hindring the progress of the League: For besides the publick Prayers and Processions continually made, to beseech God to grant him a Son, being advertised from many several places at the same time, of their so frequent raising and drawing armed men together, he thought it sufficient to send forth a Decree (published the 28 of March) to all the Governours of Provinces; wherein, after having with his wonted pompousness testified that all his actions were led by a desire of the publick peace and

Bernardino de Mendonça the Spanish Ambassador, having received a sharp answer from Henry, begins openly to set forward the League.

* German Hosts.

The Kings Edict forbidding the raising or gathering of Souldiers together.

and tranquillity, and that he had begun to provide for the ease of all his people by fitting remedies, which some Enemies of quiet laboured to oppose and hinder. He did expressly forbid all raising and gathering together of Souldiers, commanding that the Leaders of them should be rigorously chastised; and that at the ringing of the *Tocsain*, the Gentry and Commons should rise, to defeat, prosecute, and cut them in pieces, delivering as many of them as they could into the hands of Justice, to receive the condign punishment of their insolency and insurrection: which Edict only caused those that drew Forces together to be acknowledged his Enemies, but neither hindered nor stopped the proceedings of the Confederates. But in the end, it being necessary to make other provisions, more fit for the quality of the present times, after long doubt and uncertainty, he resolved to oppose the designs and attempts of the League by himself alone, without any intelligence with the Hugonots, hoping to have so much strength as would be sufficient to restrain them; and thinking that the Hugonots would not only be natural indifferent spectators of the event, without troubling or molesting him; but that without other union or confederacy, they would give both heat and life unto his enterprises. But he scarce began to put this resolution in practice, when the deceit of that expectation appeared in the weakness of his Forces; for though the *Sieur de Fleury*, Brother-in-law to Secretary *Villeroy*, who was then the Kings Ambassador in *Switzerland*, had in a short time raised ten thousand Foot of that Nation for his Majesties service, yet they being to march thorow the Provinces of *Burgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Lyonnois*, which were possessed by the Heads of the League, their passage was very uncertain and difficult: and *Gasper Count of Schomberg*, who was sent to raise some German Cavalry, being forced to pass thorow the same Provinces, was by Commission from the Duke of *Lorraine* taken prisoner: for the Duke being spurred on by the hopes of getting *Metz*, *Troul*, and *Verdun*, Cities upon the confines of his State, and long ago taken away by the Kings of *France* from the Dukes his Predecessors, had at last changed the determination of standing Neuter, which he had observed in all the late combustions, and consented to the League of the Lords of his own Family. Nor were matters any more successful within than without the Kingdom; for the Nobility divided by the respect of Religion, and their old sittings not yet forgotten, but revived by these new Commotions, came in very unwillingly and in small numbers unto the Kings party; the people affected to his name, did not administer any help unto his necessity; and the Kings Revenues not only interrupted by the rumour of Armies, but purposely intercepted by the Heads of the Faction, were in great part diminished: so that he was every way destitute of the sinews of the War.

The Heads of the League taking courage from these difficulties of the Kings, began boldly to gather Forces, and to give a beginning to the execution of their intended purposes. The first breaking forth, was the departure of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* from the Court; who under colour of keeping Lent at his Bishoprick of *Rouen*, went to *Gallion*, a fair house four leagues from the City, where he was received by a great number of the Gentry of *Picardy*, and for his security conducted to *Prouille*, the womb that gave birth unto the League; where the Duke of *Guise* being come to meet him, with the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, as also the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Elbeuf*, they published a Declaration, which though it spoke in general under the Name of Catholick Peers, Prelates, Princes, Lords, Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom of *France*, was yet subscribed by the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* alone. The Declaration contained precisely these words.

IN the Name of God Almighty, the King of Kings. Be it manifest unto all men, That the Kingdom of *France* having for fourteen years last past been tormented with a pestiferous Sedition, raised to subvert the ancient Religion of our Fathers, which is the strong bond of the State; such remedies have been applied, as * have proved more fit to nourish than cure the disease; such as have only had the name of Peace, but have not established it to any, except those that had molested it, leaving honest men scandalized in their Consciences, and engaged in their Fortunes. And in stead of a remedy for these mischiefs, which in time might have been hoped for, God hath permitted that the late Kings have died young, not leaving as yet any Children able to inherit the Crown, and (to the grief of all good men) hath not yet been pleased to give any to the King that now reigneth, although his good Subjects have not, and will

A Declaration published by the Heads of the Catholick League. * (Contrary to their Majesties hopes.) Note, that this addition, and all the other alterations and additions in the following Declaration, standing in the margin, are according to the French Book, inserted in the *Memories de la Ligue*.

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will not cease their most earnest Prayers, to beseech God of his mercy to send him some; so that his Majesty being the only Son remaining of all those which his Divine Goodness gave unto *Henry* the Second of famous memory, it is too much to be feared (which God forbid) that his House, to our great misfortune, will be extinct, without hope of Issue; and that about the establishing a Successor in the Throne, great tumults will arise thorow all Christendom, and perhaps the total subversion of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion in this most Christian Kingdom, where it would never be endured that an Heretick should Reign, for as much as the Subjects are not bound to acknowledge or submit themselves to the Dominion of a Prince fallen from the Christian Catholick Faith; the first Oath which our Kings do take when the Crown is set upon their heads, being to maintain the Roman Catholick and Apostolick Religion: by which Oath, and not otherwise, they afterwards receive that of their Subjects Loyalty: Yet since the death of my Lord the Duke of *Alencon* the Kings Brother, the pretensions of those who by publick profession have ever shewed themselves Persecutors of the Catholick Church, have been so favoured and upheld, that it is exceeding necessary to make some wise and speedy provision against them; for the avoiding of those very apparent inconveniencies, the calamities whereof are already known unto all, the remedies to few, and the manner of applying them almost to none: and so much the rather, because one may easily judge, by the great preparations and practices every where, the raising of Souldiers as well without as within the Kingdom, the withholding of Towns and strong places which long ago should have been delivered up into his Majesties hand, that we are very near the effects of their evil intentions; being sufficiently informed, that not long since they have sent to treat with the Protestant Princes of *Germany* for the procuring of Forces, to the end that they may more easily oppress all good men, as their designs aim at no other end, but to secure and possess themselves of necessary means to destroy the Catholick Religion, which is the common interest of all, especially of the Great Ones, who have the honour to hold the first and chiefest Offices and Dignities of this Kingdom, and whom they labour to ruine in the Kings life-time, nay more, by his authority; to the end that there being no body left who for the time to come can be able to oppose their desires, they may more easily work that change of the Catholick Religion, which they endeavour to enrich themselves with the Patrimony of the Church, following the example of what hath been done in *England*. Moreover, all the world knows very well, and plainly sees the actions and deportments of some, who having insinuated themselves into the favour of the King our Sovereign, (whose Majesty hath ever been and shall be to us most holy and sacred) have in a manner totally possessed themselves of his authority, to maintain that greatness which they have usurped, favouring and advancing by all means possible the effects of those afore said changes and pretensions, and have had both the boldness and the power to remove from the private conversation of his Majesty not only the Princes and Nobility, but all that naturally are most near unto him, not admitting any but such as are their own dependents; wherein they have advanced so far, that none of them now have any part in the Government and Administration of the State, nor the whole power belonging to their places; some having been deprived of the Titles of their Dignities, and others of the Authority, though the empty imaginary names be still left unto them. The same likewise hath been done to many Governours of Provinces, Commanders of strong Holds, and other Officers, who have been forced to leave and resign their places in consideration of certain sums of money, which they have received against their wills and desires, because they durst not contradict those that had the power to constrain them to it. A new example, and never before practised in this Kingdom, to get Offices by money from them to whom they had been given for a reward of their Loyalty and faithful service; and by this means they have made themselves Masters of all Forces both by Sea and Land. Nor do they cease to endeavour the like daily to others that are in possession; so that there is not one of them, who is not in fear, or who can assure himself that his place shall not be taken from him; notwithstanding that having been bestowed upon them for their deserts, they cannot nor ought not to be deprived of them by the Laws of the Kingdom, unless for some just and reasonable consideration, or that they have failed in something that depends upon them, and that such their fault be proved by the means of Justice. Moreover, these men have drawn into their own hands all the Gold and Silver out of the Kings Coffers, into which they put only the smaller sums of the

the general receipts, for their particular profits, keeping all the Great Ones at their own devotion, as also all those that have the management of them; which are the true ways to dispose of this Crown, and set it upon whose head they please. And by their avarice it is come to pass, that abusing the easiness of the Subjects, they have exceeded all bounds, laying still heavy Taxes upon the poor common people, not only equal to those the calamities of War had introduced, which have not at all been lessened since the Peace, but much more grievous ones, by infinite other Impositions growing daily from the greedy appetite of their unbridled wills. Indeed some glimpse of hope appeared, when upon the frequent cries and complaints of the whole Kingdom, the Convention of the States General was appointed at *Blois*, which is the ancient remedy of home-bred evils, and as it were a Conference between the Prince and People, meeting together upon the terms of their due obedience on the one side, and of the due protection on the other; both sworn, both born at the same time with the Royal Name and Fundamental Rules of the State of *France*: but this dear and laborious enterprise produced nothing, saving the authorizing of the evil counsel of some, who feigning themselves to be good Politicians, were indeed wonderfully ill-affected to the service of God, and the good of the Kingdom; who not being contented to turn the King (by nature most inclined to piety) from the holy and profitable resolution which he had made at the most humble request of all his States, to unite his Subjects in one only Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, to the end they might live in that ancient piety, wherein this Kingdom had been established, preserved, and afterwards increased, to become the most powerful of all Christendom; which then might have been effected without danger, and almost without resistance; they perswaded him quite contrary, that it was necessary for his Majesties service, to weaken and diminish the authority of the Catholick Princes and Lords, who with exceeding zeal had infinitely hazarded their lives, in fighting under his Banners, for the Defence of the said Catholick Religion; as if the reputation which they had gained by their vertue and loyalty, had been a means to render them suspected, in stead of being honoured and esteemed. Thus the abuse which began to swell by little and little, is since fallen like a torrent from so violent a precipice, that the poor Kingdom is even upon the point of being overwhelmed by it, having but very slender hopes of safety: for the Order of the Clergy, notwithstanding all the Assemblies and just Remonstrances which they could make, is now oppressed by extraordinary Tenths and Impositions, besides the contempt of the sacred things of the Holy Church of God, wherein now all things are taken away and polluted; the Nobility brought to nothing, enslaved, and unnobled, and every day miserably burthened with infinite payments and unjust exactions, which they must pay to their exceeding damage, if they will sustain their lives; that is to say, eat, drink, and clothe themselves: the Cities, the Kings Officers, and the common people so heavily laden with the weight of frequent new Impositions, which they call * *Inventions*, that there is now no other way to be found, save the means of

* Projects.

For these just causes and considerations, We *Charles of Bourbon*, first Prince of the Blood, Cardinal of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, as he whom it most concerns to take into his safeguard and protection the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and the conservation of the good and loyal Servants of his Majesty and of the State with the assistance of many Princes of the Blood, Cardinals, and other Princes, Peers, Prelates and Officers of the Crown, Governours of Provinces, chief Lords and Gentlemen of many Cities and Corporations, and of a great number of good and faithful Subjects, which make the best and soundest part of this Kingdom, after having prudently weighed the motive of this enterprise, and having taken the advice as well of our good Friends who are most affectionate to the good and quiet of this Kingdom, as of discreet understanding persons, and such as fear God (whom we would not offend in this, for any thing in the world) do declare, That we have all sworn and holily promised to use strong hand, and take up arms, to the end that the holy Church of God may be restored unto its dignity, and unto the true and holy Catholick Religion; and the Nobility (as they ought) may enjoy their perfect freedom; and that the people may be eased, the new Imposition abolished, and all additions since the Reign of *Charles the Ninth* (whom God absolve) absolutely taken away; that the Parliaments may be left to the freedom of their Consciences, and in entire liberty of their judgments; and all the Subjects of the Kingdom maintained in their Governments, Places,

1585. Places, and Offices, so that they may not be taken from them, save only in the three cases of the ancient Constitutions, and by the sentence of the ordinary Judges of the Parliaments. That all moneys that shall be raised upon the people shall be employed in the defence of the Kingdom, and to the end for which they are appointed; and that henceforward the General Assembly of the States may be held freely without any practices every three years at least, with perfect liberty for every one to complain of those grievances, against which there is no due provision made. These things and others which shall be more amply and particularly set down, are the subject and argument of the raising Arms, which are now taken up for the restoration of *France*, the maintenance of the good, the punishment of the bad, and the security of our persons, which some have often, and that not many days since, laboured to oppress, and utterly ruine by secret conspiracies, as if the security of the State depended upon the destruction of good men, and of those that so often have hazarded their lives to preserve it: We having no other means left to save us from that mischief, and to divert the knife that already is at our very throats, but to have recourse to those remedies which we have always abhorred; which yet are excusable, and ought to be accounted just, when they are necessary, and applied by principal authority, and with which we would not yet help our selves at this present, for the danger of our estates, if the ruine of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and of the State, were not inseparably joined unto it: for whose preservation we shall never fear any danger, believing we cannot chuse a more honourable Funeral, than to die in so holy and just a Quarrel, and to acquit our selves of the debt and obligation which as good Christians we owe to the service of God; and as good and faithful Subjects to hinder the subversion of the State, which would certainly follow the said alterations. Protesting that we do not take up Arms against our Sovereign Lord the King, but for the guard and just defence of his Person, Life and State, for which we all swear and promise to expose our fortunes and lives to the last drop of our blood, with the same fidelity as we have done in times past; and to lay down our Arms immediately, when it shall please his Majesty to take away the danger that threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and so many good men; which we humbly beseech him speedily to do, giving testimony to all men by good and true effects, that he is indeed a most Christian King, indued with the fear of God, and hath ingraven in his heart the zeal of the Catholick Religion, as we have always known him, and as it befits a good Father, and a King that is most affectionate to the preservation of his Subjects; which his Majesty performing, he shall be so much the more obeyed, acknowledged and honoured by us, and by all his other Subjects with most obsequious reverence, which we desire more than any thing in the world. And though it would not be very far from reason, that the King should be requested by an open Declaration to provide a Successor, that during his life, and after his death the people committed to him may not be divided into sides and factions by the differences about Succession; yet are we so little moved with any such consideration, that the calumny of those that upbraid us with it, will prove to have no ground at all; for besides that the Laws of the Kingdom are known, and clear enough, the hazard also into which We the Cardinal of *BOURBON* do put our self in our old age and latter days, doth give sufficient assurance, that we are not swelled with such hope and vanity, but only spurred on by true zeal of Religion, which makes us pretend to a part in a more secure Kingdom, the enjoyment whereof is more lasting and more desirable. Wherefore our intention being such, we do all of us together humbly beseech the Queen, Mother to the King, our most honoured Lady, (without whose wisdom and prudence the Kingdom would long ago have been lost and destroyed) by the faithful testimony which she can, will, and ought to give of our great services, but in particular, of Us the Cardinal of *BOURBON*, who have always honoured, served and assisted her in her most important affairs, without sparing our Estate, Life, Friends or Kindred, to strengthen with her the Kings party, and the Catholick Religion, that she will not forsake us now at this time; but to imploy all that credit with the King her Son, which her pains and troublefom labours ought justly to deserve, and which her Enemies disloyally would have robb'd her of. We also earnestly intreat all the Princes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of what quality soever they be, who are not yet joined with us, that they would favour and assist us with all their power, toward the execution of so good and so holy a work: And we exhort all Towns and Corporations, if they love

love their own preservation, to consider briefly of our intentions, and to acknowledge the ease and quiet which may thereby redound to them, as well in publick as domestical affairs; and so doing, to lay hand to this good work, which cannot but prosper, with the grace of God, to whom we remit all things; or at least, if their opinions and resolutions cannot so soon be united (their Councils being composed of many) we admonish them to open their eyes, and look to their own affairs, and in the mean time not to let themselves be tempted by any body, nor seduced by them, who, out of some sinister interpretation of our intentions, would possess themselves of their aforesaid Cities, and putting Garrisons of Soldiers into them, would reduce them to the same servitude which those other places feel that are already in their hands. We further declare unto all, That we will not use any act of hostility, save against those that shall oppose us with Arms, and by other unfitting means favour our Adversaries, who seek to ruin the Church, and subvert the State: And we assure every one, That our just and holy Armies shall not injure nor oppress any body, either in passing through, or staying in any place; but shall live in good discipline, and not take any thing but what they pay for. We will also receive unto our selves all those good men which have zeal to the honor of God, and of the Holy Church, and of the good and reputation of the French most Christian Religion; with protestation notwithstanding never to lay down our Armes till the aforesaid things be fully performed; and rather all willingly to die in that cause, with a desire to be heaped up together in one Sepulchre, consecrated to the last Frenchmen who died fighting for the service of God and of their Country. Finally, since all our help must come from God, we pray all true Catholicks to put themselves with us in a good condition, to reconcile themselves to his Divine Majesty, by a thorough reformation of their lives, to appease his wrath, and to call upon him with purity of Conscience, as well in publick Prayers and holy Processions, as private and particular devotions, to the end that all our actions may tend to the honor and glory of him who is the Lord of Hosts, from whom we expect all our force, and our inviolable support.

To these words the Heads of the League adding deeds no less effectual, began to make themselves Masters of many Cities and Fortresses, some by secret practices, some by open force of Armes; for, being drawn with an Army that already mustered 12000 fighting men, to *Verdun*, a City upon the Confines of the Duke of *Lorain*, though the Governor behaving himself gallantly, laboured to defend it, yet one *Gnittald*, a man of great authority with the Citizens, being secretly got into the Town, made them, the next day after the siege was laid, to take Armes, to possess themselves of the Gates, and to bring in the Army of the Confederates, which uprore the Governor courageously opposed; but having very small Forces, was easily overcome: for the Duke of *Guise* himself being entred the City, drove him out with all those that followed him; and having put *Gnittald* in his place, the City remained absolutely at the devotion of the League. The City of *Thoul* followed the example of *Verdun*; for, rising in Arms, and driving out the Kings Officers, it gave it self up voluntarily into the hands of the League. The same would perchance have happened at *Metz*, a Fortress and City of great consequence, if the Duke of *Espernon*, who had the Government of it, foreseeing the danger, had not in time put in Gentlemen and Soldiers from several places, by which relief the Garrison being confirmed, which of it self was wont to be very strong, as a place of importance upon the Frontiers, the Duke of *Guise* thought not fit to make any attempt, either not having sufficient Forces to besiege it, or doubting he should spend so much time about it, as would prejudice his main design.

At the same time happened a Commotion in the City of *Marseilles*, the chief Port of *Provence*, and a place infinitely desired by those of the League, that they might more easily, and by a shorter cut, receive supplies from *Spain*: They had drawn to their party *Louis Davies* Consul of the City, and *Claude Boniface*, called *Chabanes*, one of the City Captains, whereof the first being a man of a tyrannical nature, desired to attain to the absolute Government; the other aspiring to the inheritance of his Brother, who was one of the Kings Treasurers (a rich, but a very covetous man) had wickedly conspired to kill him, and therefore desired that tumult and insurrection of the people, that he might the more conveniently execute his design. These having gained a rabble of followers, made up of all sorts and qualities of people, went by night to the Treasurers house, and calling him to the door, under pretence of delivering him certain Letters, slew him treacherously, and after ran armed through the whole Town,

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Verdun, the first City taken by the Army of the League.

The Insurrection at *Marseilles*.

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The like success had the designs upon the City of *Bordeaux* in *Guienne*; for the Confederates attempting to make themselves Masters of it by means of the Castle, commonly called *Chasteau de la Trompette*, whereof the Governor was the *Sieur de Valliac*, one of those that had signed to the League, the *Marescal de Matignon* (Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre* in the Government of that Province, but a Catholick, depending upon the King, and residing in the Town) having had notice of all that was plotted, made show of holding a general Council in the Palace, to communicate unto all some Orders received from the Court, and, among the rest, drew thither also the *Sieur de Valliac*, who did not yet so much as dream himself to be at all suspected: There, having made them that were met together, acquainted with the revolt that was contriving, he imprisoned *Valliac*, and at the same instant caused Artillery to be planted against the Castle, threatening to put the Governor of it to death, if they within should dare to shoot against the Town; by which threats, and the resolute nature of *Matignon*, *Valliac* being terrified, commanded his men presently to deliver up the Fortress; which, with new Fortifications, and a strong Garrison, was ever after kept at the Kings devotion, under the command of *Matignon*.

But these successes were little considerable, in comparison of the frequent revolts which followed in other parts of the Kingdom; for those of the League beginning freely to declare themselves, the *Sieur de Mandelott* Governor of *Lyons* had taken and demolished the Cittadel there; the *Sieur de la Chastre* had put *Bourges* into the power of the League; the *Sieur d'Entraques*, having driven those of the Kings party out of *Orleans*, had made himself absolutely Master of it; the Count *de Brissac* with the City of *Angiers*, and others of his Government, had manifestly united himself with the Confederates; the Duke of *Guise*, in person, had possessed himself of *Mezieres*, a City of importance in the Confines of *Champagne*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the Castle and City of *Dijon* in *Bourgogne*; and, at length, with a strong Army they were come to *Chalons* in *Champagne*, the place appointed for their Magazine of Armes, and for the basis and foundation of the War. There they determined to expect the Forces, both Horse and Foot, which had been leaved in *Germany*, with Spanish money, and which they had intelligence began to move towards *Lorraine*: and whilst they advanced, the Duke of *Guise* leaving the Duke of *Mayenne* to Command the Army, with the Dukes of *Anmale* and *Elbeuf*; himself, with a select number of Horse, was gone to *Peronne*, from whence, with infinite demonstrations of honour, he conducted the Cardinal of *B O U R B O N* to *Chalons*,

sons, to give reputation with his Name and Presence, to the proceedings of the League, to show him in the Army, and to make use of him as of a shield and bulwark in the future War.

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Against these so powerful, and so near preparations of the League, the King made opposition both by words and actions, as much as he was able; and first of all he answered their Declaration with another of the following tenure.

Although the King hath by Letters and Commands already many times admonished his Subjects, not to let themselves be perswaded, nor counselled, by some who endeavour to stir them up, and intice them into their Association, and, by so doing, to lead them astray from their own repose; and hath likewise offered and promised Pardon to those, who, being already engaged, should withdraw themselves, as soon as they were informed of his intentions: yet his Majesty having, to his great discontent, understood, that notwithstanding his said Commands and favourable advertisements, some of his Subjects do not cease to enter into the said Associations, induced thereto by divers interests, but the most part dazled and deceived by the fair specious colours, which the Authors of those Insurrections give to their designs: His Majesty hath thought fit, for the universal good of all his Subjects, and for the discharge of his own Conscience towards God, and of his reputation toward the World, against those artifices, to set forth the light of Truth (the true consolation of the good, and capital enemy of the bad) to the end that his Subjects, being guided by the cleanness of it, may know, and discern, in time, and without impediment, the Original and end of such Commotions, and by that means may come to avoid those miseries and calamities, both publick and private, which are like to arise from them.

The Kings answer to the Declaration published by the Catholick League.

The Pretences which the Authors of these stirs do take, are principally grounded upon the Restauration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion in this Kingdom; upon the disposing of the Dignities and Offices thereof to those to whom they are justly due, and upon the good, honour, and disburthening of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons: All which things are by real, not disguised effects, known to every one to be so dear and precious to his Majesty, that none can truly doubt of his intentions therein, so that it doth not appear, it was necessary to stir up his Subjects, to put them in arms, and raise forreign Forces to make him consent to the Articles which they shall propose, in case they be just, possible, and profitable for his People. For, as concerning Religion, His Majesty, before he came to the Crown, hath too often exposed his own life, fighting happily for the propagation of it; and since it pleased God to call him to the Government of this Kingdom, hath too often hazarded his State unto the same end, and used his best means, with the lives and fortunes of his good Subjects and Servants, to perswade them at this present, and to gain their belief, that no man whosoever in this Kingdom or elsewhere, of what profession soever he be, hath more Piety and Religion in his heart, than he hath alwayes had, and by the Grace of God ever will have. And if according to the example of the King his Brother of famous memory, and of many other Princes of Christendom (whose Kingdomes and States have been troubled with different opinions in Religion) his Majesty, with the prudent advice of the Queen his Mother, of my Lord the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Lords of his Council, who then were near about him, pacified the Tumults that were amongst his Subjects about matter of Faith, waiting, till it should please God to unite them all in the bosome of the Holy Church; it doth not therefore follow, that his fervour and devotion, in what concerns the glory of God, and the perfect restauration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, should since be changed, or less at this present, than he shewed it to be during the said troubles. But, so far is it from being so, that his Majesty desires every one may know, that he made the said Peace purposely to try, if by means of it, he could reunite his Subjects in the Church of God, which the malice and licentiousness of the times had separated from it; having so long proved, with the hazard of his Person and State, and with the price of the blood of a great number of Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of his Subjects, who lost their lives in those broils, that the discord raised about Religion, and that took root in this Kingdom, during the minority of the late King his brother, and of himself, to the great grief of the Queen their Mother, could not be settled by the way of Armes, without destroying his said Subjects, and putting his Kingdom into evident danger. Wherefore his Majesty resolved for Peace, when once he found that

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[* Which would not have come to pass, if in the Assembly of the States General held at Blois, when the Deputies (induced thereunto by his Majesty's fervent affection to the Catholick Religion) had requested him utterly to prohibit the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdome, (whereupon followed the determination which was there taken and sworn, which his Majesty hath since laboured to execute) they had at the same time provided a certain stock of Money to prosecute that War unto the end, as it was necessary to do, and as it was motioned by His Majesty.]
* And they would now have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheless publish, &c. *Mem. de la Ligue.*

all sorts of Persons were tyred and afflicted by the too long continuance of those said Tumults, and that he wanted the means of supplying any longer the expences of so destructive a War. [* Which would not have come to pass, if in the Assembly of the States General of this Kingdom; held at *Blois*, the Deputies who were there, had made request unto His Majesty, to prohibit absolutely the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdom; for then that course would not have been decreed which was there taken and Sworn to, and which his Majesty laboured to put in execution, with those conditions which are clearly expressed in it: For, if it had been concluded in good earnest to prosecute the War, care would likewise have been taken to provide a certain stock of money from time to time, to maintain it till the end, as it was necessary to do, and as his Majesty insisted that they would;] * and they should then have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheless publish, That every one was quickly deprived of that glympse of good hope which appeared to them at the resolution taken by the States; though it be neither decent nor lawful for a Subject to judge of the actions of his King, if for no other reason, but because he is often ignorant of the secret causes that are the motives of his commands, which sometimes are more pregnant then those that are apparent, and known to every one; it not belonging to any one to do so, save onely to God the Searcher and Judge of all hearts, and of the actions of Princes, who knowes the causes that then forced his Majesty to conclude Peace before any thing else; being certain, that if he had deferred so to do, this Kingdom would, in a moment, have been filled with Forraign Forces, and with diverse Factions, and new divisions, which would have been wonderfully prejudicial to the State. His Majesty therefore, to prevent all the aforesaid inconveniences, to hinder the effects of them, and to try the best remedies, condescended to the aforesaid Peace; and not to settle and establish Heresie in this Kingdom (as is published abroad,) for such a thought never entred into the mind of so good, and so Christian a Prince, as is his Majesty; who, having foreseen, felt and proved the difficulties of War, thought fit so much the sooner to consent unto the aforesaid Peace, to the end, that by means thereof, he might at least satisfie his good Subjects, with that ease, which they expected from those other points propounded and required in the Assembly of the said States General, for the publick good of the Kingdom; Peace and concord being the principal necessary foundation for the establishing of good Laws, and the reformation of manners; which busineses His Majesty hath since continually prosecuted, as appears by the Edicts and Constitutions made for that purpose, which he hath laboured to cause to be observed and put in execution; and if his intention hath not been fulfilled according to his desire, it hath been very much to his grief, and it may be also as well through the negligence of some of his Officers, and through the cunning of his evil-willers; as by reason of the advantage and footing, which wickedness, corruption, and disobedience had taken in this Kingdom, during the said War. By that Peace many Cities full of Citizens and Catholick inhabitants, were freed from Soldiers that had seized upon them; and the exercise of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion was restored to its being, as by the diligence and care of his Majesty, it is brought to pass in almost all the Towns of this Kingdom, wherein nevertheless those that make profession of the said pretended reformed Religion, have, since those Com-motions been, and at this present are still the strongest, and by whom the said exercise had till then been banished, both before and since he came unto the Crown. Likewise the face of Justice hath appeared in them, and if not so fully and perfectly as might have been desired; yet so, that sometimes it hath had sufficient strength to relieve the good, and terrifie the bad. The Prelates and Clergy-men are settled again in their Churches, and in the possession of those goods that were taken from them. The Nobility hath been able to live securely in their own houses, without being liable to those expences they were wont to make during the War, to keep themselves from being suddenly surpris'd. The Citizen, deprived of his possession, and wandering about the Country with his Family, is also entred again into his own house, by means of the said Peace. The Merchant hath likewise wholly betaken himself again unto his Traffick, which was interrupted by occasion of the said Tumults. And the poor Peasant, pressed down under the weight of intolerable burthen, proceeding from the unbridled liberty of the Soldier, hath had means to breathe, and have recourse unto his ordinary labour, to sustain the poverty of his life. Briefly, there is no kind of Estate or Person, that hath not effectually shared in the fruit and benefit of that Peace.

And,

And, as his Majesty hath alwayes been most jealous of Gods honour, and as solicitous of the publick good of his Subjects, as a most Christian and truly good Prince ought to be; knowing, that the evils and calamities of a State do spring chiefly from the want of true Piety and Justice, he hath, since the said Peace, continually laboured to set those two Pillars up again, which the violence of the said Tumults, had, as it were, overturned, and thrown to the ground: and that he might so do, had begun to nominate such persons to Ecclesiastical dignities that have cure of Souls, as were fit and capable, and such as are ordained by the holy Decrees. He hath also invited his Subjects, by his example, to reform their manners, and to fly unto the Grace and Mercy of God by Prayer and Austerity of life, which hath confirmed the Catholicks in the duty towards the Divine Majesty, and moved some of those, that were separated from the Church of God, to reunite themselves unto it. He hath also graciously taken time to hear the discourses and complaints of the Clergy (after having given them leave to meet together for that purpose) and provided amply and favourably for them, having since rather eased then burthened them with new extraordinary Tenths, without having any respect to the necessity of his own affairs, * being very sorry, that he could not also free them from the payment of the ordinary ones, having, when he came to the Crown, found them engaged for the payment of the rent of the Townhouse of *Paris*. The said Prelates and Clergy-men have likewise had conveniency by His Majesties permission, to call and hold their Provincial Councils, by means whereof, they have consulted and provided for the reformation of abuses, introduced into the Church during the said Tumults; and have made many very good and holy Ordinances for the Government of it, which have been commended and approved by his Majesty. These are the fruits, and publick general advantages, which the Church of God, and the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion have reaped from the aforesaid Peace, besides infinite other private and particular ones, which it would be too long to recount.

1583

[* Whatsoever is published to the contrary] *Mem. de la Ligue.*

Then, as concerning Justice; every one knowes the pains his Majesty hath taken in drawing it out of the darkness where those troubles had buried it, to set up the light thereof again in its first force and ancient splendor: having, by death, disannulled those Offices that were supernumerary, and moreover prohibited the sale of the said Offices, which the necessity of money had forced his Predecessors to introduce, without having any regard of his own wants, though they were no less then those of his Predecessors. Besides that, his Majesty hath excluded all Pardons and * *evocations* which in times past were wont to be dispatched by his own will and pleasure, knowing, that the hope of the one gives encouragement to wickedness, and the too much easiness of granting the other, brought a confusion in matters of Justice. Moreover, His Majesty, since the said Peace, hath had opportunity, to send Courts, composed of the Officers of the Parliament of *Paris*, into divers Provinces of this Kingdom, to do Justice to his Subjects upon the place, from whence that fruit hath been gathered, which every one hath tasted, and which yet would have been greater, to the great contentment of good men, if his good intentions had been better assisted by those who naturally, and by the particular obligation of their Offices, were bound to do so. But, as the misfortune of the times hath made some so bold, as to attribute the faults of others to his Majesty; so the corruption and malignity of them hath been filled with so much impudence and indiscretion, that many have also taken pleasure to defame his most holy and best actions, and in that manner gain themselves credit at the cost of his reputation: and have had so high a degree of boldness, as to interpret too too much rigour and severity, that laudable resolution he had taken, to make the Sentences and Decrees of the said Courts be executed against Malefactors. Thus his Majesty, having by these means begun to provide for the setting up again of these two Pillars, the true and onely foundations * of all Monarchy, had promised himself, that he should settle and restore them absolutely by the continuation of Peace, if God had been so merciful to him, as to make his Kingdom and Subjects worthy of it. Which, it appears, having been as soon feared, as foreseen by those, who at this present would stir up his Subjects to take Arms, but under colour of providing for both their points: They do also publish, that they have taken Armes to prevent those troubles, which they say they fear will happen after the death of his Majesty, about the establishment of a Successor, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion: being perswaded (or at least publishing that they are so) that

* *Evocation* is a transferring of causes from one Court to another.

* (Add pre-servers.) *Mem. de la Ligue.*

1585. that his Majesty, or they that are near him, do favour the pretensions of those, who have alwayes shewed themselves persecutors of the said Religion; a thing which his Majesty prays and admonishes his Subjects to believe he never so much as thought; for being yet (God be thanked) in the force and flower of his age, and in perfect health, as also the Queen his Wife, he hopes that God will give him issue, to the universal contentment of his good and loyal Subjects. And it seems unto his Majesty to be too great a forcing of time and nature, and too great a distrust of the mercy and goodness of God, of the health and life of his Majesty, and of the fruitfulness of the Queen his Wife, to move such a question at this present, and after to go about to decide it by force of Arms. For, in stead of freeing, and curing, this Kingdome of the evil, which they pretend to fear may one day come to pass; for that cause, they go directly about to hasten the paines and mortal effects of it, by beginning a War now upon that occasion: it being certain, that by means thereof, the Kingdom will be quickly filled with Forreign Forces, with Factions and endless discords, with blood, slaughter, and infinite murthers and robberies. And see now how the Catholick Religion will be established, how the Clergy-man will be disburthened of Tenths, how the Gentleman will live in quiet and security in his own house, and how he will enjoy his Rights and Priviledges, how Cities, and the inhabitants in them will be exempt from Garrisons, and how the poor people will be free from the Taxes and Impositions that lie upon them. His Majesty exhorts and admonishes his Subjects to open their eyes here, and not to perswade themselves that this War will end so easily as they give out; but to comprehend, and maturely consider the inevitable consequences of it, and not to suffer their reputation to be blemished, and their Armes to serve for instruments of their Countries ruine, and the greatness of those that are enemies of it*. For, whilst blinded to our own good we shall fight against one another, succoured in appearance, but in effect fomented by their assistance, they will reign happily, and establish their own power. They complain also of the distribution of Offices and Honors in this Kingdom: saying, that those are deprived of them, who have deserved best in his Majesties service: a weak and dishonourable foundation to build the ruine and subversion of so flourishing a Kingdom, whose Kings were never constrained to make use of one more then of another, for there is no Law obliges them to do so, save that of the good of their own service. Yet hath his Majesty alwayes honoured and favoured the Princes of his Blood, as much as any of his Predecessors, and hath shewed a desire to advance others in credit, honor, and reputation, by employing them in his service: for every time his Majesty hath raised Armies, or drawn Forces together, he hath committed the charge and conduct unto them, preferring them before all others; and if it be considered, who those are that even now hold the greatest and most honourable Offices in the Kingdom, it will be found, that they, who are said to be the Authors of those complaints, have more cause to acknowledge the goodness and favour of his Majesty, than to murmur against him, and depart from him. But they say, they have onely the name of them, and that in effect they are deprived of the priviledges which belong unto their said Offices, which are usurped by others. Now, before we judge of the justness of such a complaint, it would be necessary to see and touch the ground of the rights and preeminences attributed to every Office, and to consider how, and by what persons they have been used in the times of the Kings his Predecessors; a thing often propounded by His Majesty, desirous to regulate the Offices of every one, and which long ago would have been cleered and decided, if his good intention had been seconded and assisted, as it ought to have been, by those very men, that have interests in them. But, shall it be said at this present, and left unto posterity, that private interests and discontents were the occasions of overturning a whole State, and of filling it with blood and desolation? This is not the way that ought to be taken for the regulating of those abuses whereof they so much complain, having to deal with a most pious Prince, who will ever oppose that mischief, and readily embrace those fitting convenient remedies which shall be proposed unto him to provide against them.

[* Who onely will triumph, and make advantage of the publick miseries and calamities.] *M. m de la Ligue.*

Wherefore, let Armes be laid down, let forreign Forces be sent home to their own Countries, and let this Kingdom be free from that danger that it incurreth by this Insurrection and taking up of Armes; and, in stead of following that way, full of difficulties, and both publick and private miseries and calamities, let that of reason and duty be sought out, laid hold on, and followed; by means whereof the holy Church of God, an Enemy to all violence, will be more easily restored to its vigour and splendor,

dor, and the Nobility satisfied and contented as it ought to be. For which of the King's, His Majesties Predecessors, hath shewed more love and favour to that Order then his Majesty hath done? not having been contented to prefer it to the ancient and principal honours and dignities of the Kingdom; but hath also purposely erected and founded new ones, which he hath dedicated to the honour of the true Nobility, having excluded all other kinds of persons from them. His Majesty will also, at the same time, provide for the ease of his People, as he hath already very well begun to do, and desireth to continue to the uttermost of his power. And although the Heads of this War do promise, that their Forces shall live in so good discipline, that every one shall commend them for it; and do also admonish the Inhabitants of Cities not to receive any Garrisons into them; yet it is already seen, how the Soldiers, which they have gathered together, do commit infinite outrages and villanies, and that they themselves have put Forces into those Cities and Places which they have taken, to govern and keep them at their own devotion. Besides that, it is most certain, that many Vagabonds, which can do nothing but mischief, will rise up, as the custome is, who, under the name and protection of either side, will commit infinite Robberies, Murthers and Sacriledges: so that in stead of putting an end to that danger, which threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and of good men, as they promise to do by this War, it will fill this Kingdom with all impiety and *dissoluteness. They also publish, that their persons and lives are in danger of Treachery, and that that is one of the causes that moves them to take up armes. None can believe such an imputation can at all concern his Majesty *by nature so far from any kind of Revenge, that the man is yet unborn, who can, with reason, make any such complaint against him, notwithstanding any offence whatsoever he hath received: There may easily be many found of this kind, who have proved the gentleness of his nature, and will serve for memorials of it to posterity. Wherefore his Majesty prays, and exhorts the Heads of the said Tumults and Commotions, presently to disband their Forces, to send back strangers, to separate themselves from all Leagues, and laying aside all enterprises, as his Kinsmen and Servants, to take a perfect assurance of his friendship and good-will; which if they shall so do, he offers to continue to them, honouring them with his favour, and making them partakers of those dignities which he was wont to confer upon those of their quality; to reconcile and reunite themselves with him, to provide duely and effectually for the restauration of Gods Service, and the publick good of his Subjects, by those means which shall be thought most proper and convenient, which his Majesty hath an infinite desire to put in practice. He doth likewise admonish the Clergy and Gentry, his Subjects, maturely to weigh the consequence of these commotions, sincerely to embrace his intention, and to believe that his chief aim hath ever been, and ever shall be, to do good to all, but neither harm nor displeasure to any; commanding them most strictly, as also all his other Subjects, to separate and withdraw themselves from all Leagues and Affociations, and to reunite themselves with him, as nature, their duty, and their own good and safety doth oblige them; to the end, that if these civil broils must pass further (which he beseeches Gods divine Goodness not to permit) he may be accompanied and supplied with their Counsel, Arms, and Assistance, for the preservation of the Kingdom, to which is joyned that of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church; of their honour and Reputation, as likewise of their Persons, Families and Estates: offering and promising them, if they shall so do, both the continuation of his favour, and reward of his service and fidelity.

1584.

* Desolation.
Mem. de la
Ligue.

* (As well by
reason of the
good and gra-
cious usage
which they
have ever re-
ceived from
him, as be-
cause His said
Majesty is.)
Sec. Mem. de
la Ligue.

This was the Kings Declaration, published to answer that of the League; wherein he thinking it convenient, for the gravity of his Person, to sum up busineses in a few words, without descending to more particulars, endeavoured afterward to have the reasons of the *Guises* punctually answered by persons of great wisdom, and no less eloquence, who having replied largely in writing, kindled matters in such sort, that it was much more necessary to come at last to action, then to multiply words any longer. The King endeavoured therefore, not onely to draw his Forces together in all parts, to resist the attempts, and oppose the Army of the League that was so near; but also to disunité, and fetch over some of those which he thought most fit from the body of that Union: and because the City of *Lions* was wonderfully necessary for his designs, that he might bring his Swisses in that way, who were excluded from *Bourgogne* and *Champagne*, Provinces held by the League, he began

1585. to tempt the *Sieur de Mandelot*, to draw him over to his party, and had nearly engaged Secretary *Villeroy* in the business; for *Mandelot* having a Daughter both noble and very rich, there was a Treaty of Marriage begun between her and *Charles* Lord of *Alincourt*, Son to *Villeroy*, the King promising *Mandelot* the power of putting his Son-in-law into the Government of the City of *Lyons* after him; by which alliance he being freed from the suspicion of being put out of his place by the Duke of *Espernon* to bring his Brother into it, and the demolishing of the Cittadel already destroyed being authorised and approved by the King, *Mandelot* seemed not to have any more occasion to adhere unto the League, being removed from those jealousies which had made him consent unto it: nor was this Treaty vain; for *Mandelot*, a man of a mild nature, and very desirous to have the alliance of one so powerful, consented to the match, and promised to give free passage to the *Swisses*, who were raised by the *Sieur de Fleury*, Uncle to the new Bride. The Kings perswasions prevailed also with *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who failing of his hopes of the Government of *Provence* by the unsuccessful event of the business of *Marsilles*, but (as he said himself) seeing the Pope did not conclude to approve and protect the League, began to lend an ear to the perswasions of *Franisio Navo-loni* a Mantuan very conversant with him, who by *Pietro Abbot del Bene* (one very much trusted by the King) being moved with reason, and filled by his Patron with plentiful hopes, at last he resolved to write to the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to renounce and take his leave of the League, alledging that he never saw the express consent and approbation of the Pope, and for all the treating that had been at *Rome* by means of Father *Mattei*, he had never been cleared in that scruple, that it was lawful in this business to take Arms against the King, who was a Catholick, legitimate and natural: by whose example many others being moved began to fall away, and particularly the *Sieur de Villers*, who having consented to the League chiefly for the veneration which he had ever born to the Catholick Religion, was unsatisfied to see that the principal aim of the Confederates was at the Kings own person; wherefore laying aside his distaste about the Castle of *Caen*, and being made amends by the Kings pardon, which he granted to him for the death of *Monsieur de Lixores*, slain by him in a single duel, he returned to the Kings obedience, and served him afterward constantly as long as he lived: but this was no more than the taking of a drop of water from the Sea; for the fury of the people was so headlong, and the concurrence of the Clergy so great in favour of the League, that by continual proceedings it was more strengthened every hour. Nor were the Kings preparations of Arms very fortunate; for the Catholick Cantons of the *Swisses*, though at first they had consented to those Levies which were made there in the Kings Name, yet some of their Burgo-masters being corrupted with money by the League, and the rest being perswaded by the authority of *Spain*, had refused that the Levies should go forward: nay more, they had given leave to the Duke of *Guise* to raise six thousand Foot amongst them: and though the other Cantons had promised the *Sieur de Fleury* to make up the number of the ten thousand which were raising for the King, yet they desired to add this express condition, That they should only serve in their own defence, and not offend any body, being so perswaded by the rest that favoured the party of the Confederates, whereby the King foresaw, that with great expence and many difficulties he should receive but small fruit from the Levies of the *Swisses*, because they were restrained by those Commissions, and fought against others of the same Nation, which by so many proofs of former times he knew was always hazardous, and many times ruinous. The Forces also of the Kingdom that took his part, were very weak, because he had not that time that was requisite to effect his designs by leisure and dissimulation, and had been prevented by the sagacity and quickness of the *Guises*, wherefore, except his own dependents, and those of his Minions, all the rest were joined some to one Faction, some to the other, and those that did follow the Royal Authority, shewed themselves very slow and cold, their minds being amazed and affrighted by the bold attempt of the Confederates: nay, even some of those in whom the King confided, and that had been favoured and advanced by him, were (as we have already noted) revolted to the League, as the *Sieur de Entraques*, *St. Luc*, young *Lansac*, and many others; every one being displeased at the eminent favour and singular authority of *Espernon*. But that which more than any thing held him in suspense and trouble, was the fear of the City of *Paris*, the Head indeed of the Kingdom, but so great and so powerful an one, that which way soever it inclined, it had always pulled down the scale.

scale. This City was not only united with the Confederates, but in it there was also a particular League practised by the *Sieur de Meneville*, President *Nully*, *la Chapelle Martell*, the *Sieur de Buffy*, *Hauteman*, and other Heads of the Citizens, whereby they had secretly armed the people, buying up Arms with great diligence from all parts, at any price, that the City might be able to revolt upon any occasion; and moreover, if it were necessary, to take or stay the Kings own Person till the coming of the Army of the Confederates; toward the raising and maintaining whereof, particular men of the City contributed three hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of *Guise*. These things being told the King by *Nicholas Poulain*, Lieutenant to the Provost of the Isle of *France*, one of the Confederates, had put the King in very great perplexity of mind; for staying in *Paris*, he was in great danger of receiving some affront by the inconsiderate rashness of the people, who were possessed with a belief that he favoured and protected the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonots; and on the other side, going away from the City, he was certain of the revolt of it, which was hindred only by his presence, and by the remedies which he applied every hour; wherefore though he had called all the Souldiers of his Guards unto their colours, and chosen five and forty trusty Gentlemen, to each of which he allowed an hundred Crowns by the month, and their diet in the Court, who were always to be about his Person, yet lived he in very great doubt, fear and trouble, seeing himself upon such an unbridled horse as could not possibly be governed.

These so weighty difficulties which on all sides seemed impossible to be overcome; and the hope of drawing over many to the League in time unto his party, and of loosening by his wonted arts that bond which then seemed invincible by strength, made the King resolve to take the counsel of the Queen his Mother, and of *Belieure*, and *Villeroy*, which was to procure delays as much as possibly he could; and in the end to give the League such satisfaction as was necessary to divert the violence and force of the Confederates, and to endeavour by art and time to disunite their Combination; experience having so often given certain proofs, that by fighting and resistance, the forces and dangers both at home and abroad were increased; but that by yielding and complying those hazards might be deferred, and those imminent calamities and miseries avoided. To this end the Queen undertook the charge of treating with the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Princes of the League; and being attended by the *Mareschal de Retz*, *Monfieur de Brulart* Secretary of State, and *Monfieur de Lansac*, she went to *Espernay* in *Champagne*, ten Leagues from *Chalons*, to confer with the Lords of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. Thither also came the Confederate Lords, and without further delay they began to treat of the means of an Accommodation. But the intentions of the parties were so different, that they could hardly come to any conclusion; for the Queen minded only the gaining of time, as well to give the King leisure to arm and prepare himself, and the Swisses to draw near to *Paris*, as to give opportunity to those engines which were secretly set on work to disunite the League; whereas on the other side, the *Guises* taking very good heed to each of those particulars, pressed for speedy expedition, either of an advantageous Agreement, or of a resolute War: Wherefore though the Queen laboured very much both by her authority and persuasions, yet could she obtain no more but a truce for four days, in which space she dispatcht *Monfieur Myron* her chief Physitian to the King, to bring back his resolution touching the Accommodation. The time of truce being expired, the Queen drew nearer, and advanced as far as *Charry*, a place belonging to the Bishop of *Chalons*, whither the Confederate Lords came also to meet her: she let them know, that the King by *Myron* the Physitian, had sent her Order to assure them, that in matters of Religion he was of the same mind with them, and that he desired the security of the Catholick Faith, the extirpation of Heresie, and one only Religion and Belief in his Kingdom no less than they; but that to attain unto that end, he neither had sufficient Forces, nor money enough to maintain the War in so many places; and that therefore they that shewed themselves so zealous of it, ought to propound the means of gathering Armies together, and of providing for their pay and maintenance. The King hoped by this proposition to put the Confederates in as great confusion as he had done the Deputies at *Blois* in the same manner; for there was no doubt but the charges would necessarily fall on the Clergy, and upon the Commons, a thing contrary to the Proposition of the League, which was to ease the grievances of the Kingdom; and in these Armies that were to be raised in several parts, it was necessary to employ all the

N n

Nobility,

1585.

*Luigi Davila the Authors elder Brother, was favoured by the Queen-Mother, and esteemed by the King, who made use of him in the managing of affairs, and of the War in these times.

Nobility, to the burthen and obligation as well of their Estates as Persons : wherefore it was not very easie for the Duke of *Guise* and the other Lords to resolve this doubt, and thereupon to the great contentment of the Queen they took three days time to give their answer. After many consultations, they determined at last to shup the encounter of those means and advertisements which the King required, lest they should discover expresse falshood in those promises which they made at the propounding of the League, and draw upon themselves the hatred of those burthens and grievances which at that present lay upon the Kings own person ; and therefore making use of both Force and Authority, they answered the Queen resolutely, that it concerned not them to provide those means ; but that the King, who was conscious to himself of his own Forces, ought to find them, and that without further delay they would presently have a Declaration and an Edict against the Hugonots, security for themselves, and a certainty that the War should not be deferred ; towards which they proffered those Forces they had then in readines ; or else they would make their Army to march whither they thought most convenient for the end of their enterprize : and indeed they dispatched the Duke of *Mayenne* at that very instant with part of their Forces, and with Commission to meet the Kings Swisses, and if he thought fit, to fight with them presently. At this resolute determination the Queen demanded eight days time to give the King notice of it, and to know his pleasure ; and the Duke of *Guise*, who had need to meet his German Souldiers, which (as he was informed) were near to *Verdun*, was easily perswaded to consent unto it. But whilst he goes to meet them, and to take order for their coming in, the Queen watching all opportunities, imployed * *Luigi Davila* a Cyprian, who was a near attendent of hers, to work with *Francisco Cincarsfi* a Gentleman of the same Country, belonging to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to try if he could by that means remove and separate him from the combination of the Lords of *Guise*, which business being followed and redoubled many times whilst the Treaty lasted, the old *Sieur de Lansac* chief of the Queens Gentlemen was cunningly engaged in it ; and on the Cardinals part, the *Sieur de Rubempre* himself, who being of a haughty mind, and not having that authority in the League which he thought he deserved, began to apply his mind to a reconciliation with the King and his Party ; and in the end *Monsieur de Lansac* conferred with the Cardinal himself, under colour of a complemental visit. They urged many reasons to him ; in substance, that he might take notice that he was not Head of the League, as befitted the quality of his Person, and the honour of his Blood, but a Subject and Vassal to the passions and affections of the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Lords of his Family : that the business was not any interest at all of Religion, since the King having offered to give them all manner of satisfaction in matters of Faith, his offer was not accepted ; but that it was now manifest and publick to all the World, that under colour of Religion they prosecuted their private ends and interests : that it was not fit for a man of so great zeal and integrity, and one that was placed in the most eminent dignities of the holy Church, to serve for a stale to the pretensions of the Lords of *Lorain*, and to give colour to a most open Rebellion, against the Person of a King that was as well a Catholick, as legitimate and natural : But that it was much more unfit for him, being first Prince of the Blood, to be the instrument whereby the ancient Enemies of his House should extinguish the remainders of the Royal Family : That he should consider that he being old, and of an age not likely to have children, the House of *Bourbon* would be quite extinct by the suppression of his Nephews ; that it seemed very strange to every good man, that he who all the rest of his life-time had been an Author of peace and concord, how having as it were one foot in the grave, should make himself the Author of War, Blood, Discord and Insurrection : That it would be much more acceptable to God, and much more commendable among men, that he being united with the King to the same holy end, should endeavour to withdraw his Nephews from the way of perdition, and rather to reconcile them peaceably to the Church, than to suppress and bury them in the total ruine and destruction of the Kingdom : That he should not doubt nor suspect the reality of the Kings intentions, who both openly and privately was always a Catholick, and affectionate unto Religion ; for as concerning the Hugonots, he would send him a blank to write what he would ; so for his own particular, he would always honour and respect him as a Father, being wont to say, that amongst all that great multitude of the Confederates, there was not one honest man but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. These Reasons alledged and revolved in a mind full of
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right intentions, and uncorrupted ends, were not far from effecting what they aimed at, nor from bringing him to a thought of re-uniting and reconciling himself to the King; by means of the Queen, whom he held in the highest veneration: but while he was in doubt, having as a man of no great reach nor policy, given some suspicion of it to the Cardinal of *Guise*, in the discourses and consultations that passed, the Duke of *Guise* was presently recalled, whose spirit did animate the whole body, and move every member of that Union: and though by his authority he settled the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* resolution; yet seeing that the *Swisses* advanced daily, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had but small Forces to oppose them, and considering that to make up the Pay of his German Souldiers great store of money was necessary, to the furnishing whereof, the Spaniards concurred not with that readiness that he imagined; for being involved in the War of *Flanders*, they could hardly supply so vast an expence; and having found at last, that the disuniting of the League was attempted by secret practices, the members whereof were already wavering, he judged that delay was his mortal Enemy as he had ever thought, and therefore desiring to put a fair gloss upon his taking up of Arms to justify his ends, and to take away those scruples which had been sowed in the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* mind, and which already were not only divulged, but also had taken deep impression in many others, he took a resolution to propound a very plausible offer, That he desired nothing but an Edict against the Hugonots, that no other Religion but the Catholick should be permitted in the Kingdom, that they should be incapable of all Offices and Dignities of what kind soever; and that there might be an assurance they should be persecuted with Arms, renouncing all other security and conditions; and offering also himself to lay down all Offices and Governments possessed by him or any of his, to take away all suspicion of cavilous interests. This Proposition wrought two wonderful effects to his advantage; one that it confirm'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whose loss would have taken away the greatest foundation of the League; the other, that it brought the King to a necessity of accepting the Proposition, lest he should manifestly put himself on the wrong side, and absolutely alienate also the remaining part of the Catholicks, who were already something mistrustful of him; and as concerning other securities and advantages of his Family, he knew very well, if the King made War with the Hugonots, he must of necessity re-unite himself with the Catholicks, and with the House of *Guise*, that had all the Forces in their hands; and that he must be so far from consenting, that they should lay down their Offices and Governments, that he should be forced to give them, yet others, and confer the chief Commands of the Armies upon them; and in conclusion, he saw that the whole perfection of his designs would necessarily follow upon the War with the Hugonots; and it was so true, that the War with the Hugonots and his Greatness were firmly linked together, that he was always able with marvellous opportunities to advance his own Enterprizes, in such manner as no other interest should appear outwardly, save that of Religion. So this last determination being set down in writing, they presented it to the Queen the ninth day of *June*, subscribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Guise*: the Queen was not much astonished at it, having long ago foreseen that the Heads of the League could not take a more expedient resolution: but she dispatched away the aforesaid *Myron* to the King with the same Declaration, giving him to understand, that it was necessary for him to consent unto it in matter of Religion, to avoid the present danger, and to disunite the Forces of the Confederates; for that in the execution there would afterwards be so many difficulties interposed, that time it self would bring sufficient opposition; but that by not consenting to it, he should assure himself, besides the universal hatred and detestation, to be quickly oppressed and forced to harder conditions, since that the Duke of *Mayenne* was already gone to hinder the entry of the *Swisses*, and while they were retarded, the Duke of *Guise* making haste to join with his Germans, would be upon his march towards *Paris* with thirty thousand fighting men, where nothing else was to be expected, but the manifest Rebellion of the City, and the general Revolt of the whole Kingdom, which would constrain him to flee to those places that were possessed by the Hugonots, of whose good will and Forces he could not assure himself. Thus the doubt of retarding the *Swisses* troubled both Parties; for on the one side the Queen feared the Duke of *Mayenne* would be able to stop them; and on the other, the Duke of *Guise* feared lest he should not be strong enough to oppose them; which reciprocal fears perswaded both Parties to consent unto a Peace. The King having received the Decla-

Whilst the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Head of the League, stands wavering to reconcile himself to the King, the Duke of *Guise* makes a specious Proposition of Agreement.

1585. ration, and the Council of the Queen, sent Secretary *Villeroy* presently unto her, and a little while after the Duke *d'Espernon*, to the end that the Agreement might be received and established with the best conditions that could be. Wherefore the Queen being come to *Nemours* with the Princes of the League, they concluded upon these Conditions the seventh day of *July*.

*These which the Author calls Harquebuziers on horseback, differed from our Dragoons, in that they did serve both on foot and on horseback; and it is conceived by men experienced in War, that they were the same with those which they call Arquebuziers.

That the King should prohibit any other Religion in his Kingdom, except the Roman Catholick: That he should banish all the Heretick Preachers out of his Confinnes: That he should ordain that Hugonots should be punished with confiscation of their Estates during life: That he should with all speed denounce a War against them, wherein such men should be made Commanders as the League could confide in: That he should abolish those Courts instituted in the Parliaments, and established in favour of the Hugonots; and should not permit that any should be capable of any Place or publick Office, till he had first made profession of his Faith, conformable to the Roman Religion: That the Duke of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Anmale*, *Mercure*, and *Elbeuf*, besides their ordinary Government, should keep the Cities of *Chalons*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, *St. Desire*, *Reims*, *Soissons*, *Dijon*, *Beaume*, *Rue* in *Picardy*, *Dinan*, and *Coneg* in *Bretagne*. That a certain number of *Harquebuzers on horseback should be paid, to be Guards for the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guise*, and for the Dukes of *Guise*, *Mercure*, *Mayenne*, *Anmale*, and *Elbeuf*: That the Duke of *Guise* should have a hundred thousand Crowns paid unto him, to build a Cittadel in *Verdun*; and that two Regiments of Infantry should be paid which belonged to the League, under the commands of *Sacramento Bivago* and *St. Paul*: That two hundred thousand Crowns should be disbursed to pay the German Forces raised by the League, with which they should presently be sent away; and that they should be forgiven and remitted one hundred and ten thousand Ducats which they had taken of the Kings Revenue, and spent for the advancement of the Union. By which Capitulations it appeared plainly to those that had any knowledge of the affairs that passed, that not compassion of the people to ease them of their Grievances had contracted the League, but the care the Great Ones had of their own security, and their desire to see the party of their Enemies suppressed and extinguished; though the respect and colour of Religion was always strictly joined with them; for that number of Cities and strong places obtained for the security of the *Guises*, shewed plainly they had discovered the Kings secret intentions; and seeing that the Hugonots had their places of security, which hindered their destruction, they thought to obtain the like for their Party, to the end that it might be no less difficult to abase and suppress them, than it proved to be to bring the King of *Navarre* and the rest of his party into subjection; and the War which they made to be resolved on against the Hugonots, though it were chiefly procured to root out the Divisions in Religion, did nevertheless contain also at the same time the ruine of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and of their friends and adherents.

The Agreement being concluded and established, the Duke of *Guise*, with the Cardinal his Brother, and with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* went to the King to *S. More* near *Paris*; and the Conditions being confirmed, the Duke of *Guise*, after many demonstrations of confidence, returned to his Governments.

Whilst the Peace was negotiating between the King and the League, the King of *Navarre* was brought into a great perplexity, foreseeing the certainty of that Accommodation, and that all the Forces of the Catholicks would be united together against him, to suppress and destroy his Party: He had from the first by means of the *Sieurs de Gléroult* and *Chastin-court* his Agents at the Court, proffered his Forces to assist the King, exhorting him to join himself sincerely with him, and to try the fidelity and readiness of the Hugonots; and in the end had protested, that he could not stand lingering on that manner, to expect that thunderbolt of ruine which he foresaw was provided against him: But the King by Letters under his own hand, and by many very effectual perswasions used to his Agents, had exhorted him to continue quiet, and not to make a greater disturbance, assuring him, that he would never consent to any thing that should violate that Peace, or that could cause his ruine: and indeed, such was the Kings intention at the first; but after necessity had brought him to seek for Peace with the Confederates, the King of *Navarre*, who was no unskillful Judge of busineses, easily perceived that all that storm would fall upon his Person and upon his Party: wherefore desiring to make his cause plausible, and his reasons known for the furthering his other designs, he published a Declaration at *Bergerac* upon the tenth of *June*, wherein

The King of Navarre's Declaration.

wherein bitterly complaining that he was called a relapsed Heretick, a Persecutor of the Church, a Disturber of the State, and a Capital Enemy of the Catholicks, to exclude him by those names from the succession of the Kingdom, he shewed he was constrained to satisfy the world, and particularly the Princes of Christendom, but above all the King his Sovereign, and the people of *France*, that these were calumnies thrown upon him by his Enemies, who out of an ambition to exalt themselves, had under pretence of taking Arms against him and the rest of the Reformed Religion, prosecuted the way of bringing the State to miserable confusion, having in effect taken Arms against the King himself, and against the Crown, and contrary to the order of nature, and the Laws of the Kingdom of *France*, declared one to be first Prince of the Blood, and Successor to the Crown, arrogating that authority to themselves, which belonged to the States General of the Kingdom. That he could be no ways accounted a Relapser, having never changed his opinion; for although out of a just fear, (which may fall into the breast of the stoutest man) and being forced by manifest violence, he had sent an Ambassador to the Pope; yet as soon as ever he recovered his liberty, he had also declared that he had not changed his Religion; neither could he be called an Heretick, holding (by the example of many others) opinions not yet decided, and having ever offered, as he did likewise at the present, to submit himself to the instructions of learned men, and to the determination of a Council lawfully assembled; that he was falsely slandered to have persecuted the Catholicks, having always cherished many of them; not only keeping them near his own Person, but making use of them in the principal Offices of his Estate and Family, and that he had left the Clergy-men in his own State; and in every other place where he commanded, in the peaceable enjoyment of their Revenues, and exercise of the Roman Religion. That if at several times he had taken Arms, he had done it without intention to disturb the State, and always in a defensive way, which Nature teacheth every body to do, having seen how inhumanely they were handled who had imbraced the Reformed Religion. That to oppose the persecutions which were continually made ready against him, and not to treat a League against the King, he had sent into *England*, *Denmark*, and *Germany*, with no other aim, but to draw from thence some relief for the preservation of his own liberty. That the resolution not to give up the Fortresses (as they had lately been denied to the Duke of *Espenon*) was taken with the universal consent of all his Party, because not only those suspicions for which they were granted, were not taken away, but were at that time much increased, as well by the great preparations for War which were made by those of the League, as by their particular earnestness wherewith they demanded other strong places of the King, besides those which they already held; not as they alledged to secure themselves against those of the contrary Religion, who would never have offended nor injured them, and could scarce defend themselves from their evil usage, not having so many places in their hands as those of the House of *Guise* had Provinces under their Government, who sharing all the Kings favours and graces among themselves, had commanded Armies, besieged Cities, given Battel, distributed Offices at their pleasure, and by that means had gained followers, revenged their own injuries, and managed their own interest at the charges of the Crown, and not with a pretext of Religion would attempt against the Kings Person, and govern the State; That every one might plainly know how unfitly they demanded new Fortresses for their security; yet to take away that pretence also from them, he and the Prince of *Conde* his Cousen, though they ought rather to endeavour to strengthen, than go about to weaken themselves, did both offer at that present to leave those that were in their hands, as likewise the Governments which either of them held; provided the Lords of *Guise* would do the like by those that they had taken, and also by their Governments, whereby he said the opinion of that danger would be taken away, which his Enemies scattered abroad, that he with those of the Religion would disturb the State: But every one might easily judge whether it were more likely that Servants of the Family, or those of the Blood should have ends to disturb it; and which of them were like to be more affectionate to their Prince; and whether Strangers could be better affected to the Kingdom of *France* than natural French-men; that whosoever would know the difference which had ever been between his Family and that of *Guise*, touching the general good of the people, should call to memory the things which each of them had done, and he should find those of the House of *Bourbon* had never been Inventers of new *Gabelles*, had never injured the Nobility, nor wrested and violated Justice,

1581.

1585. Justice, as the Predecessors of the Heads of the League had continually done, and with new taxes, with the sale of Places, and with the confusion of Offices, many whereof had been transferred into their own House, others sold in the time of *Henry* the Second, and *Francis* the Second; and with bringing in the alienation of the Temporal Revenues of Churches, had laboured to fulfil their own desires under colour of making War for Religion. That he had never stirred up Wars as his Enemies had done; but had barely defended himself, and upon all occasions had accepted such conditions of Peace as the King had been pleased to give him; but that it was a thing worthy of more consideration, that he had offered himself to follow the King in his important affairs, and particularly when he had been called to the Dominion of the States of *Flanders*; whereas the Heads of the League quite contrary had opposed the business, and had made an occasion of so great glory be overslipped, and an acquisition of so great consequence to be neglected. That though he could not with reason think of the Succession of the Crown, because of the Kings youth, to whom he wished issue; yet could he not chuse but be much troubled to see himself so unworthily dealt withal by his Enemies, who having molested him in his Governments, and seized upon Cities and Fortresses in the midst of them, now turning themselves against his Life and Honour, ceased not to persecute him with malicious practises, to make an impression in the minds of those that were unexperienced, that he was unworthy and incapable to succeed in the Crown; and to draw their designs to a conclusion, would (without taking any notice of the Kings youth) make unseasonable provision against those accidents which they imagined might come to pass after his death. At last he demanded leave of the King with all respect and submission, to give the *Lye* (as he did) to all those that had injured and slandered him in their Declarations, excepting the Cardinal his Uncle, and offered himself to decide the quarrel with the Duke of *Guise*, he being the Head of that Party, by fighting with him single, or two, ten, or twenty of a side, with more or less number, as the Duke of *Guise* himself pleased, offering, if they were to be more than one, that his Cousin the Prince of *Conde* should be with him, not desiring in that case to stand upon any disproportion between their qualities, since they were neither moved to that resolution by ambition nor hatred, but only for the service of God, to free their Lord the King and the people of *France* from those miseries which War doth necessarily produce, and by deciding that difference at once, to leave the Kingdom in peace, and the Kings mind in quiet, without disturbing it any further. Wherefore he beseeched the King to name the Field in any part of his Kingdom; and if the Duke of *Guise* should think all the Kingdom suspected, he offered to go out of it into any place that might be secure to both parties, which the Duke himself might make choice of, and to end that controversy with those Weapons that were commonly used among Gentlemen of honour.

The King of *Navarre* endeavoured by this Declaration not only to justify his Cause, and to blemish that of the Confederates; but also finding himself inferiour in strength, though not at all in courage, he sought to reduce the War to a private Duel; which if it took effect, he was ready to put himself upon the encounter, thereby reducing his fortune now half desperate, by the opposition of so mighty Adversaries, unto some equality: and if the offer was not accepted, he knew it would be but small reputation for the Duke of *Guise* and the Forces of the League, and a means to draw the peoples inclination very much to him, who would praise his Generosity in exposing his own life to danger, to divert the general distractions of a War. But the Duke of *Guise* knowing the art of his Enemies, and aspiring to destroy him by so much advantage of strength, without being obliged to endanger his own life, would not answer the Declaration, lest he should be fain to accept or refuse the Duel, but made some third persons answer in many little Pamphlets, that no Lord of the Catholick party did profess enmity to the King of *Navarre* for private occasions; but that what they did was for the safety of Religion, and their own Consciences; wherefore it was not fit to reduce the publick Cause to a particular Duel, an effect very contrary to the end they had propounded to themselves; and with other such like reasons they opposed those allegations by the King of *Navarre*; who being advertised of the conclusion of peace between the King and the Lords of the League, writ Letters to the King, which were published in print, grievously complaining, that whilst he to obey his Majesties command, laid upon him by Letters under his own hand, had forbore to take Arms, or to undertake any new enterprise, an Agreement was established with his Enemies,

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with condition to break the Edicts of Peace already published, and (contrary to promise already made) again to begin the War against the Reformed Religion. That he earnestly exhorted and besought the King to consider, that to comply with the passions of those that rebelled against him, he took Arms against his good and faithful Subjects and Vassals, and that he should foresee how the destruction of his whole Kingdom was contained in that War which was preparing against him: but that if he did persist to contrive his ruine, he could do no less by the Law of Nature than defend himself, and he hoped that God for the justness of his Cause would deliver and preserve him from the persecutions of men, and one day make his innocence manifest to the whole World. Besides this, he writ other Letters to the Nobility, others to the People, and others to the Parliaments, excusing himself, blaming the League, and labouring to make appear, that he having punctually observed the conditions of Peace, was now contrary to them unjustly assaulted. After which Declarations, having called unto him the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marshal d' *Anville*, whom he knew to be no less persecuted than the Hugonots, they established with common consent all that was to be done for their own defence, and the maintenance of those places which they held of their party; and because they already knew by so many proofs, that nothing was more available for their defence, than the supplies of men out of *Germany*, which diverted the power and forces of their Enemies into very remote places; they presently made a dispatch to the Protestant Princes, to treat and conclude a strong Levy; and that charge was undertaken by the Duke of *Bouillon*, (who as in his own inheritance derived from his Ancestors, had settled himself in *Sedan*, an exceeding strong place upon the Confines of *Champagne* and *Lorain*) and by Monsieur de *Chautil- lon*, Son to the Admiral de *Coligny*, who was Governour of *Mompellier* for the Hugonots, and was now secretly gone out of *Languedoc* disguised unto *Geneva*.

In the mean time the King, in private with his Mother and the Cabinet-Council, consulted about the manner of executing the Agreement with the League; Secretary *Villeroy*, with whom *Bellicure* and *Villequier* concurred, was of opinion that the King had no better nor surer way to extinguish the combustions of his Kingdom, and frustrate the designs of the *Guises*, than sincerely to imbrace the War with the Hugonots, to manifest to all the World his zeal toward the Catholick Religion, and the ill will he bore to the Calvinists; to put Offices into the hands of the most flourishing Nobility of his Kingdom; to settle the form of Petitions, of granting favours, and of the disposal of moneys after the old way observed by his Predecessors; and to satisfy their designs in particular, who were alienated from him out of discontent, because they were not able to do any thing at Court: they shewed, that this was the way to disfigure the League of all pretences, to draw the applause and love of the people to himself; who because they saw him averse from those ends, did now adore and follow the Lords of *Guise* as Defenders of Religion, and Restorers of an indifferent equality, and of the general quietness; that it was necessary at last to take away that worst Schism of discords, sowed first and principally by the Hugonots, and to re-unite unto himself all his Subjects and Vassals in the same charity, in the same Religion, for the same unanimous universal end; and in conclusion, that he could neither more honourably, nor more easily ruine the League, than by doing well, carrying himself sincerely, and shewing himself altogether contrary to what the Heads thereof had divulged of him: for by that upright manner of proceeding he might cross more designs, and take away more followers from the *Guises* in one day, than he could do by cunning dissimulation and politick inventions in the whole course of his life, though it should last a hundred years. The Queen-Mother inclined, though warily, to this advice; for knowing her self to be already reported a favourer of the *Guises*, and a persecuter of the King of *Navarre*, for her Daughters sake, she would not shew her self partial on the Catholick side; and being angry, though secretly, that the King, as it were not trusting her absolutely, had sent the Duke of *Espenon* to *Nemours*, for the conclusion of the business negotiated with the League, she was very reserved in shewing her opinion, perhaps doubting she should lose her authority with her Son, or as some said, desiring to see him intangled in those troubles, that he might once again acknowledge the helpful hand, wherewith she assisted in the Government with prudence and moderation; had so often withheld the imminent ruine of the Crown.

But the King was otherwise inclined, and utterly averse from the opinion of his Counsellors. The reasons that perswaded him to the contrary were two; one, that being

1585. being to make War in good earnest against the Hugonots, it could not chuse but be both long and difficult, it was necessary to put Offices into the hands of the *Guises*, which would increase their power, and gather them Dependents; besides the glory of the Victory would be attributed to them, it being evident that they had constrained him by force to consent unto the War; the other, that the Hugonot party being destroyed, which bridled their power, and hindred the excessive strength of the *Guises*, he should be left a prey unto their Force, which would then have no restraint; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up Arms, though that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that such ready wits, and such daring spirits should want other inventions. These were the reasons alledged by the King; but to them were secretly joined his most bitter hatred, nourished a long time, and now much more incensed against the House of *Guise*, his inclination to his *Minions*, whose grace and power his heart would not suffer him to abase; his covetous desire of disposing the wealth and revenues of the Kingdom his own way, to satisfy the prodigality of his mind; and the continuation of his old resolution to destroy both Factions in the end, by keeping them up against one another. Nor, to say the truth, was he much to be blamed; for having seen the boldness of the *Guises*, and of so many others their Abettors and Followers, he could not bring his mind to increase their Authority, and augment their Power again: and on the other side, to deprive himself of the use of those he had bred up for his purpose, and of the assistance of his greatest Confidants, with evident danger to be exposed to their discretion, since they might easily find out other occasions to prosecute the course of their designs already begun. Wherefore after some uncertainty, he leaned to the opinion of the Duke d' *Espernon*, the Marshal de *Retz*, and the Abbot del Bene, (who being a Florentine by extraction, and Son to the Nurse of Charles the Ninth, was by the quickness of his wit risen to very great trust and favour) resolved in appearance to satisfy the Capitulations made with the League, but cunningly to interrupt and hinder the execution of them; for though he had formerly endeavoured to suppress the Hugonots, nor could their preservation please him; yet now he would not seem to make War against them at the request of others, and constrained by his own Vassals; nor suffer the honour and glory thereof to redound wholly to the Lords of *Guise*.

There ariseth such a discord between the Duke d' *Espernon* and Secretary *Villeroy*, as in process of time produced many evil effects.

This Counsel had not only an unfortunate event, (as for the most part those actions use to have, which go in the new deceitful paths of subtil inventions out of the beaten road) but it had also a difficult and unlucky beginning; for from it there presently arose a difference and distrust even amongst the Kings Counsellours themselves; the Duke of *Espernon* jealous of his Masters favours, and desirous to hold fast his own greatness, beginning to hate and persecute Monsieur de *Villeroy*, by whom he had his first beginnings and instructions in the Court, and with whom he had till then lived in very great friendship; taxing him to have been corrupted with money and promises by the Duke of *Guise*, and that he held secret intelligence with him, and therefore was author of that advice, which perswaded the King to extirpate the Hugonots, to reduce matters of Government to their ancient form, and to re-unite himself sincerely with the Catholics of the League; which signified nothing else but the abasing of the Greatness and Authority of the Favourites. And that distaste indeed took birth from the time that the Duke had hindred the marriage of *Alincourt*, *Villeroy's* Son, to *Madameiselle de Maure*, a very rich Heir of that Family, to match her with a Kinsman of his own called Monsieur de *Bellegarde*, Son to Monsieur de *Termes*; for which cause *Alincourt* being offended, sided with the Duke de *Joyeuse*, and by him was made Cornet of his Company of *Gens d'Arms*; and afterwards that discontent was continued in the Duke of *Espernon*, by having seen the King approve of the demolishing of the Citadel at *Lions*, at the perswasions of *Villeroy*, (as he said) though indeed it was to draw the *Sieur de Mandelot* to his Party: Yet these reciprocal distastes had been but secret, and some hope there was they might wear away, till upon occasion of this advice they began to discover themselves, and it passed so far, that the Duke of *Espernon* not only began to hate the High Chancellour *Chyverny*, and the *Sieur de Villequier*, the Kings old Favourites, and well-deserving Servants; but he began also to sow suspicions of the Queen-Mother, as though by ancient inclination she were affectionate to the Lords of the House of *Guise*, and sought by fomenting the Commotions of Civil War, to keep the liberty of her Son in a perpetual Wardship, that being forced by such streights and difficulties, he might make use of her for the Govern-

Government and maintenance of his Kingdom. These jealousies and that discord breaking forth in that conjuncture, which required union and concord, in process of time made the King lose a great part of his best and wisest Servants, and necessitated a great many others to incline to favour the Duke of *Guise*, by reason of their hatred to *Espernon*, and their desire to see him abased; and which imported most of all, they were the cause that the King gave not so much credit as he was wont to the Counsels of his Mother; and that made her often to hold her peace, and often to comply against her own opinion, lest she should alienate her Son utterly from her.

1583.

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1585. being to make War in good earnest against the Hugonots, it could not chuse but be both long and difficult, it was necessary to put Offices into the hands of the *Guises*, which would increase their power, and gather them Dependents; besides the glory of the Victory would be attributed to them, it being evident that they had constrained him by force to consent unto the War; the other, that the Hugonot party being destroyed, which bridled their power, and hindred the excessive strength of the *Guises*, he should be left a prey unto their Force, which would then have no restraint; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up Arms, though that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that such ready wits, and such daring spirits should want other inventions. These were the reasons alledged by the King; but to them were secretly joined his most bitter hatred, nourished a long time, and now much more incensed against the House of *Guise*, his inclination to his *Minions*, whose grace and power his heart would not suffer him to abase; his covetous desire of disposing the wealth and revenues of the Kingdom his own way, to satisfy the prodigality of his mind; and the continuation of his old resolution to destroy both Factions in the end, by keeping them up against one another. Nor, to say the truth, was he much to be blamed; for having seen the boldness of the *Guises*, and of so many others their Abettors and Followers, he could not bring his mind to increase their Authority, and augment their Power again: and on the other side, to deprive himself of the use of those he had bred up for his purpose, and of the assistance of his greatest Confidants, with evident danger to be exposed to their discretion, since they might easily find out other occasions to prosecute the course of their designs already begun. Wherefore after some uncertainty, he leaned to the opinion of the Duke d' *Espernon*, the Marechal de *Retz*, and the Abbot *del Bene*, (who being a Florentine by extraction, and Son to the Nurse of *Charles* the Ninth, was by the quickness of his wit risen to very great trust and favour) resolved in appearance to satisfy the Capitulations made with the League, but cunningly to interrupt and hinder the execution of them; for though he had formerly endeavoured to suppress the Hugonots, nor could their preservation please him; yet now he would not seem to make War against them at the request of others, and constrained by his own Vassals; nor suffer the honour and glory thereof to redound wholly to the Lords of *Guise*.

There arises such a discord between the Duke d' *Espernon* and Secretary *Villeroy*, as in process of time produced many evil effects.

This Counsel had not only an unfortunate event, (as for the most part those actions use to have, which go in the new deceitful paths of subtil inventions out of the beaten road) but it had also a difficult and unlucky beginning; for from it there presently arose a difference and distrust even amongst the Kings Counsellours themselves; the Duke of *Espernon* jealous of his Masters favours, and desirous to hold fast his own greatness, beginning to hate and persecute Monsieur de *Villeroy*, by whom he had his first beginnings and instructions in the Court, and with whom he had till then lived in very great friendship; taxing him to have been corrupted with money and promises by the Duke of *Guise*, and that he held secret intelligence with him, and therefore was author of that advice, which perswaded the King to extirpate the Hugonots, to reduce matters of Government to their ancient form, and to re-unite himself sincerely with the Catholics of the League; which signified nothing else but the abasing of the Greatness and Authority of the Favourites. And that distaste indeed took birth from the time that the Duke had hindred the marriage of *Alincourt*, *Villeroy's* Son, to *Madameiselle de Maure*, a very rich Heir of that Family, to match her with a Kinsman of his own called Monsieur de *Bellegarde*, Son to Monsieur de *Termes*; for which cause *Alincourt* being offended, sided with the Duke de *Joyeuse*, and by him was made Cornet of his Company of *Gens d'Arms*; and afterwards that discontent was continued in the Duke of *Espernon*, by having seen the King approve of the demolishing of the Citadel at *Lions*, at the perswasions of *Villeroy*, (as he said) though indeed it was to draw the *Sieur de Mandelot* to his Party: Yet these reciprocal distastes had been but secret, and some hope there was they might wear away, till upon occasion of this advice they began to discover themselves, and it passed so far, that the Duke of *Espernon* not only began to hate the High Chancellour *Cbyverny*, and the *Sieur de Villequier*, the Kings old Favourites, and well-deserving Servants; but he began also to sow suspicions of the Queen-Mother, as though by ancient inclination she were affectionate to the Lords of the House of *Guise*, and sought by fomenting the Commotions of Civil War, to keep the liberty of her Son in a perpetual Wardship, that being forced by such streights and difficulties, he might make use of her for the Govern-

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culpable

1584.

cusable in the League, by how much they were wont, more then all others, to exclaim and make a noise about the Insurrections and Conspiracies of the Hugonots: and, if they deserved to be blamed, for having contracted a League with the English, the perpetual Enemies of France; the Catholicks did not deserve to be praised for having made a Confederacy with the Spaniards: That the King of Navarre was a better Penman then was necessary for a Soldier; but, that if to his present reasons, he had added the declaring of himself a Catholick, he would have made the League be utterly condemned as rebellious and seditious.

The King calling the Heads of the City of Paris together, demands monies for the War, which the Catholicks labour'd for against the Hugonots.

But neither the King of Navarre's Reasons, nor the opinions of the wisest men, did cool the universal ardor of the People, and particularly of the Parisians, who were set upon the ruine of the Hugonots: rather they began to blame the King, saying, that the term of six months was too long and favourable, desiring to see the War kindled, and begun without delay; which being known unto the King, who was desirous to put them out of that fantastical humour, and make them see they labour'd for their own disadvantage; upon the eleventh day of August he sent for the *Prevost des Merchands*, the two first Presidents of the Parliament, and the Dean of the Cathedral of Paris unto the Louvre, and particularly desired the Cardinal of Guise to be there present. As soon as they were come together, he began openly to express great joy and satisfaction, that he was so well advised; and that after having had patience so long time, at last, moved by the counsel of his servants, especially of those that were there present, he had recalled the Edict of Peace formerly established with the Hugonots: but if he had been a great while resolving, it had not been for want of affection toward the Catholick Religion; but because having so often proved the difficulties of War, he could not, at the very first imagine, that this last resolution could be more easily executed then the rest; that that consideration had so long withheld him, and did so still, foreseeing the great inconveniences this War would bring to the State in general, and to every one in particular: yet nevertheless seeing himself favoured and accompanied by so many persons, of whose fidelity he was assured; and knowing they persevered so cheerfully to the execution of that work, he rejoiced at it, and also gave them thanks, praying them to examine with him the best means of bringing that advice, which they themselves had given him unto a happy issue; that therefore he represented unto them, what Forces he did intend to raise, and with what foundation that War ought to be begun; that he would have three Armies, one in Guienne, another near his own Person, and the third to hinder forreign Forces from entering into the Kingdom, which (whatsoever some would perswade him) he knew certainly were already prepared to march: that it would not be time to think of the War, when the enemies were upon them, nor to make peace when they had made themselves the strongest; that he had alwayes had great difficulties in breaking the Edicts of Peace, but he found greater difficulties in beginning the War; and therefore, that every one should think well what they had to do, and that it would be too late to cry out for Peace, when the Mills of Paris were on fire; that for his own part, though he had received the counsel of others, against his own opinion, yet was he resolved to spare nothing that belonged to him, and that he was ready to strip himself to the very shirt, for the maintenance of that War; that since they were not content with the Agreement of Peace, it was needful they should assist him in the expences of the War; that he would not ruine himself alone, and that it was fit every private person should bear his part of those incommodities, which before he had felt alone; and turning toward the first President, he commended him very much for his great affection toward the Catholick Religion, which he had well observed in a long eloquent Speech he made when the Edict was revoked, but that it was reasonable, he and all his Company should consider the necessity of Affairs, which were such, as being forced to extraordinary courses, he must be fain to leave the ordinary ones; and therefore intreated them, there might be no more mention made to him of their pensions, which he should not be able to pay as long as the War continued: then turning towards the *Prevost des Merchands*, he told him, that the people of his City of Paris had shewed him great demonstrations of joy for the breaking of the Edict of Peace, that therefore it was fit they should assist him in the execution of that, which they had made him to approve of; and commanded him to call a Council of the Citizens the next day after, and there to tell the people, that they were not to expect the *Revenues of the Town should be paid any more whilst the War lasted, (that was a kind of Bank

* This particular is not in the French Original of the Kings Speech, which is in a Book called *Memoires de la Ligue*.

Bank which had been erected by the King in the late occurrences, to have money at the rate of ten in the Hundred ;) and more, that he should lay an imposition upon the City of Two hundred thousand Crowns, which he said he stood in need of to begin the first Month ; for the maintenance of the War would amount to Four hundred thousand Crowns a month. In the end, he turned toward the Cardinal of Guise, saying, with something an angry countenance, that for the first moneth he hoped he should be able to do well enough without the help of the Clergy, searching to the bottom of all particular mens purses ; but for the other moneths, as long as the War endured, he purposed to raise moneys upon the Church ; and that in so doing he thought he should not do any thing at all against his Conscience, nor would stand upon any leave or authority from Rome, for they were the Heads of the Clergy who had put him upon that business ; wherefore it was reasonable they should bear part of the charge ; in conclusion, that he was resolved every one should bear his share, the Nobility and the Kings Revenues having already been sufficiently burthened. There he held his peace to hear their answers ; and when he found they made some difficulty, he cried out with an angry voice, *It had been better then to have believed me, and to have enjoyed the benefit of peace and quietness, then standing in a Shop, or in a Quire, to determine Councils of War : I am very much afraid, that going about to destroy the * Presche, we shall put the Mass in great danger : But howsoever deeds are more needful here than words.* And in that manner he retired into his Chamber, leaving them all in trouble for fear of their purses, who had been promoters of that War.

A saying of
Hen. the third.

* The Hugo-
not Sermons.

But neither did this take off the edge of the people, stirred up continually by their Preachers ; and the Guises being a far off, murmured that the War would never be begun, to recover those places which were possessed by the Hugonots : Wherefore the King, lest he should destroy all that was built up, and be brought again to those difficulties which he had overcome already, began to think of drawing an Army together to be sent into Guienne. He was exceedingly vexed and troubled in his mind, that he must be fain to chuse Commanders for that enterprize at the pleasure of the League ; considering, that, besides putting his own Forces into other hands, all the good success of it would be publicly attributed to the Lords of the House of Lorraine, who, without doubt, desired to be Generals of those Armies themselves : but as a Prince, who, by the sharpness of his wit, would alwayes find an evasion in the hardest and most difficult businesses, after he had, for many dayes, turned the matter on every side, he sent Gny Sieur de Lansac to the Duke of Guise, to know his intention about those that were to command the Armies ; who, after long consultation, resolved that the Duke of Mayenne his Brother, should command the Army that was to march into Guienne against the King of Navarre ; and he reserved to himself the charge of keeping the Confines, and hindring the passage of the Protestant forces of Germany, thinking that to be the more difficult enterprize, and it concerning him very much to be near the Court, to frame his resolutions according to those occurrences which are often wont to happen unexpectedly.

The King having had this answer, resolved that the Marechal de Matignon, of whose fidelity he might confidently assure himself, should command in Guienne, as Lieutenant of that Province, under the Duke of Mayenne ; that the Marechal de Byron should go with Forces to make War in Xaintonge ; and that the Duke of Joyeuse, with an Army, should march into Gascoigne, Provinces so near, that the Duke of Mayenne would be encompassed on every side by those Armies ; and because about that very time happened the death of Monsieur de Angoulesme Grand Prior of France, the Kings Bastard Brother, who was Governor of Provence, he conferred that Government upon the Duke of Espernon, and resolved to send an Army thither with him against the Hugonots, designing, by that means, not onely to have many Armies on foot, commanded by his Confidants and Favourites ; but also retarding the Duke of Mayenne's progress, by making him want Money, Ammunition, and Victual, that the honor of those actions might fall upon them that were nearest to him. But not to give occasion of new complaints and murmurings, the Duke of Mayenne's Army was prepared first of all ; and yet to delay the proceedings of it, he first sent three Ambassadors to the King of Navarre to endeavour his conversion, which were the Cardinal de Lenon-Court, one antiently bred up in his Family, the Sieur de Poigny Knight of the St. Esprit, and President Brulart, who went but a few dayes before the Duke of Mayenne's Army ; whereupon the Dutcheff of Uzes, a Lady of an excellent wit, taking occasion to jest, told the King, that the state of the King of Navarre was now at the

Monsieur d'An-
goulesme Grand
Prior France
being dead, the
King confers
the Govern-
ment of Pro-
vence upon the
Duke of Esper-
non.

1585. the very last gasp, and that he would certainly be converted now for fear of dying without repentance, since that after the Ghostly Fathers, the Minister of Justice went to put the Sentence in execution.

The Ambassadors had Commission to excuse the breach of the Edict of Peace, with many specious reasons, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, to move the restoring of those places they held into the Kings hand, to come and live near his Person, and remove all occasions of the present War; and all this onely to seek occasions to delay the beginning of the War. The King of *Navarre* more resolute then ever not to return to the Prison of the Court (as he called it) whilst the Lords of the House of *Guise* had more Fortes and Adherents then he had: and seeing himself in so weak a condition, that it was necessary for his defence to make shew of not being afraid, after having, with great submission, given the King thanks for the care he had of his Salvation, and after having modestly complained of the breach of the Edict, in a time, when he, in all reason, should have believed, that Armes would rather have been employed against the Seditious Abettors of the League, then against him who was most observant of the Kings commands, and of the Articles of Peace; he began very gravely, not onely to condemn the perverse Ambition of the Heads of the League, in contending about the Kings Succession during his life, but also the poorness of the Duke of *Guise*; in not accepting his Challenge, which might have ended the differences and enmities between them hand to hand, without troubling the King, and disturbing the whole Kingdom: and concluded finally, that as he would ever willingly submit himself unto a lawful Councel, and the instructions which should be sincerely given him by learned men; so neither did it stand with his Conscience, nor with his honor, to be brought to Mass by force, hoping that God would protect his innocence, as he had miraculously done in former times.

At the departure of the Ambassadors, the Army advanced to enter *Guienne*, the War beginning to grow hot in every place; for the Heads of the League, desiring to see the destruction of the Hugonots, especially of the Princes of *Bourbon*, made Spiritual Armes be joyned with Temporal ones, thinking, by that means, to hasten their utter suppression. Pope Gregory the XIIIth died this year, who, of a gentle nature, and averse from violent courses, had never consented either to the open protection of the League, or to the condemning of the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*: But being succeeded by *Felici Peretti*, a Friar of the Order of *S. Francis*, Cardinal of *Montalta*, called afterward *Sixtus Quintus*, a man of a fierce violent nature; the Cardinal of *Pellevre*, Father *Mattei*, and the other Agents of the League, ceased not to solicit and perswade him to take the Confederates into open protection, and to Excommunicate the Princes of *Bourbon*; to which incitements he consented easily, through his own inclinations, as one who having been an Inquisitor a great part of his time, was, by custom, grown a bitter enemy to those, that were of different opinions from the Church of *Rome*; wherefore, in a Consistory held this year on the ninth day of *September*, he declared the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* to be relapsed into Heresie, excommunicated, and made incapable of any Succession, especially that of the Kingdom of *France*, and deprived them of the States they possessed, absolving their Vassals from their Oath, and Excommunicating those that should obey them for the time to come. As this Declaration caused great joy in those of the League, perswading themselves, that it had wholly excluded those Princes from the Crown; so did it pierce the King very deeply, without whose privity it had been proposed in the Consistory, subscribed by many Cardinals, posted up and published. But most part of the French very much troubled at this unexpected Declaration, calling to mind what had been done by *Charles* the Ninth, when the *Monitory* was made to the Queen of *Navarre*, and doubting that the privileges of the Gallique Church would be violated and trod under foot, stood expecting what the King would do; who, being tied up by the condition of present affairs, left he should confirm that suspicion which was conceived of him, that he favoured the Hugonots, and gave new occasions and new pretences to the Lords of *Guise*, resolved to dissemble the business, although all the Parliament together presenting themselves unto his Majesty, were very earnest to have the *Bull* torn in pieces, and those punished who had solicited and procured it; to which request the King answering, that he would think upon it, the matter was past over in silence, and the *Bull* was neither accepted nor published.

Gregory XIII.
dies, in 1585.
Sixtus Quintus
succeedeth.

Sixtus Quintus
on the
ninth of Sep-
tember 1585.
Excommuni-
cates the King
of Navarre
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claring them
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Succession.

published in the Parliament, but onely divulged in many places of the Kingdom, by the Adherents of the League, and the Catholick Preachers. 1585.

The King of *Navarre* being advertised of the Popes Declaration, did not onely procure his Appeal to be posted up in *Rome* it self, as it was upon the sixth of *November* in the night; but writ to all the States of the Kingdom of *France*, complaining to every one of them in particular of the injury which he reputed to have been done unto him, and exhorted them not to suffer the rights of the succession of the Crown of *France* to be decided in the Consistory of *Rome*. Many Volumes were written against, and in favour of this Bull, by the chiefest wits of *Europe*; the reasons whereof would be too long to insert into the compendious Narration of this History; and so much the rather, because the noise that arose from the thundering of these Spiritual Weapons, within a few dayes were drowned by the loud clashings of temporal Arms.

The King of *Navarre* made the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus* to be answered, and the Answer set up in *Rome*.

The End of the Seventh BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The EIGHTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

IN the Eighth Book is described the War against the Hugonots in Guienne; the defeat of the Prince of Conde; the weak proceedings of the Duke of Mayenne General of the Kings Army; the King of Navar's defence; the Mareſchall de Byron's advancing into Xaintogne with another Army; the ſiege of Maran. The King ſets forth two other Armies, one under the Duke of Joyeuſe in Auvergne, the other under the Duke of Eſpernon in Provence; he himſelf goes to Lyons. The Proteſtant Princes of Germany raiſe a mighty Army to relieve the Hugonots; they ſend an Embaſſie unto the King of France, which increaſes their diſcontents, and haſtens the taking up of Armes. The King reſolves again to try if he can perſwade the King of Navarre to turn Catholick, and come to Court; he ſends the Queen-Mother into Poictou to treat with him about it: they of the League are diſpleaſed thereat, and murmur highly, and from that occaſion the union of the Pariſians is fomented, who provide and arm themſelves ſecretly; they plot to ſurpriſe Boulogne in Picardy, but the buſineſs is diſcovered, and the Town ſaved, they think to ſeiſe upon the King himſelf, but dare not venture to do it; and he being informed of it tooks to himſelf, they run for aſſiſtance to the Duke of Mayenne at his return to Paris, but he refuſeth to conſent to it, and departs. In the mean time, the Duke of Guiſe being up in Armes in Bourgongne and Champagne, takes Auſonne, and Rocroy, and beſieges Sedan. The Queen-Mother meets with the King of Navarre, but without effect; whereupon ſhe returns to Paris. The King ſeeing the obſtinacy of that Prince, makes a new Proteſtation, not to tolerate the Hugonots any longer: He unites himſelf with the Catholick League, to oppoſe the German Army: He ſends the Duke of Joyeuſe into Poictou againſt the King of Navarre, who coming unexpectedly, cuts off two Regiments of the Hugonot Infantry. The Duke of Guiſe draws his Army together, to advance againſt the Germans in Lorrain; the King levies Swiſſes, and raiſes mighty Forces for the ſame purpoſe. The Count of Soiſſons,
and

and the Prince of Conty go over to the King of Navarr's party. The Duke of Lorain united with the Duke of Guise, opposeth the Entry of the Germans into his Country; they meet at Pont S. Vincent, but give not Battel: the Germans pass on into France, the Duke of Guise followeth them; and the King with his Army comes forward, to hinder them from joining with the King of Navarre, who advancing in the mean time to meet the Duke of Joyeuse, passes the River Drongne; the Armies face one another at Coutras, and fight with all their Forces; the Duke of Joyeuse loseth the Battel and his life. On the other side, the Duke of Guise fights with the Germans at Villemory and Auneau, and makes a great slaughter of them; the King following the Victory comes up close to the Enemies Army; the Swisses yield themselves unto him, and the remainder of the Germans disband, and betake themselves to flight; they are followed and defeated in many places. The Duke of Guise, in revenge, destroys the County of Mombelliart: the Sieur de la Valette, and Colonel Alfonso Ornano do great execution upon the Hugonots in Dauphine.



Great was the hope the Lords of Guise conceived, that the Princes of Bourbon prosecuted with so many plots, and so streightly beset on every side, would at last sink under the persecution of the League; and that the Hugonot party being destroyed, and brought to nothing, the Catholick Religion would be left alone in the Kingdom, and their old wonted power alone in the Court: but, no less was the constancy wherewith the King of Navarre, (unanimously followed by the other Lords of his party) stood upon his defence; and his condition, which before was wont to be hard and dejected, as it were gathering strength from the assaults of the Enemies, seemed, in a manner, to rise again, to correspond at last with the greatness of his courage, and the establishment of his designs. For his generous resolution of challenging the head of the League to a duel, and of proffering, with the danger of himself, to end the miseries of the Kingdom, had won him the general favour, and applause; and the excommunication at Rome, though in some sort it had confirmed, and approved the League, which had never been openly received into Protection by Pope Gregory, and through it had encreased the scruples of many mindes; yet on the other side, it had wrought a resentment in the Parliaments; and in many men of the long Robe: and which imported most, had alienated and displeased the minds of many Prelates; those as jealous of the greatness of the Crown, the succession whereof they held ought to be decided by the Assembly of the States-General of the Kingdom, and not to depend upon the Arbitrement of the Court of Rome; these, as defenders of those Priviledges, which they pretend do belong unto the Gallique Church, preserved (as they said) with great constancy, by the care and diligence of their predecessors; so that the persons of the Princes of Bourbon, were become more acceptable to many, and their reasons less disfavoured; which, in former times, were wont bitterly to be hated, and universally abhorred. To these was added the favour of the Kings Minions, who, being sharply persecuted by the League, and open Enemies to the Guises, were forced, by necessity, to take part with the King of Navarre, and with their advice, counsel, and assistance, to withstand his danger as much as they were able, and contrive many means to strengthen and uphold him; Nor did he fail, either by Writings to justify his Reasons to all the several Orders, or by actions to prepare for his defence; but with an unwearied mind, and body, drew Forces from all parts, fortified his strong places, and stored them plentifully with Victual, provided Artillery by all possible means, furnished himself with ammunition, gathered money, solicited the Nobility, armed, and exercised the Infantry, and, without taking any rest, had his eye still intent upon all those things which were needful to sustain the encounter of so great a power.

The Duke of Mayenne marched towards the River Loire with his Army, consisting of 500 Gens d'Arms, 1500 Reiters, 400 light Horse, and 5000 Foot: the Marechal de Byron

De Robt Longue.

1585. *Byron* moved also towards those parts, (but by several wayes) with his Forces, which were appointed to make War about *Rochelle*; and *Claude* *Sieur de la Chastre*, with the Soldiers raised in *Berry*, and *Sologne*, came along the Bankes of the *Loire* to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*; but *Emanuel* Duke of *Mercaur* Governor of *Bretaigne* was advanced before them all with 800 Horse, and 1500 Foot of that Province, and entred already into those parts which were held by the Hugonots in *Poitou*.

The War is
begun again
between the
Catholicks
and Hugonots.

On the other side, the King of *Navarre*, after he had consulted with the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marechal de *Anville*, at *St. Paul de Cade-jours*, having drawn those Forces that followed him into one body, had settled himself to defend *Guienne*, where the greatest weight of affairs was like to fall, and had sent the Prince of *Conde* into *Xaintonge*, that by means of his adherents in that Country, and the help of the *Rochelers*, he might endeavour to fortifie as many places as was possible, and take as many others as he could, to make the greater resistance, and give the greater hinderance to the proceedings of the Enemy. With the Prince of *Conde* were the Duke de *la Tremouille*, who, of a voluble nature, was newly turned to the Religion, and party of the Hugonots, the *Sieur de Roban*, a Lord of great note in *Bretaigne*, and a near Kinsman to the King of *Navarre*; the Count de *la Roche-fau-cault*, the *Sieur de Clermont* of *Amboise*, Monsieur de *St. Gelais*, who was Camp Master General; and many other Lords, and Gentlemen of those parts, with whom he was scarce gone from *S. Jehan de Angely*, to visit the places in *Poitou*, when he received intelligence, that the Duke of *Mercaur* was already past *Fountenay*, and came on towards him plündering and burning the Country; wherefore, desirous in the first encounters of the War to shew his face to the Enemy, and to give a bold prosperous beginning to future things, he advanced presently whither he was guided by the cry and flight of the poor Country people. But, the Duke of *Mercaur* being advertised from many places of the Prince's coming, and knowing himself too weak to venture further into the Enemies Country, which was all up in Arms against him, resolved to retire to *Fountenay*, a place belonging to the Catholicks, and there, as in a secure station, to stay for the Kings Armies, which were marching that way. But that intent of his was frustrated; for they that commanded *Fountenay*, being ill-affected to the League, excusing themselves that they had no Order from the King to receive him into the Town, shut the Gates against him at his arrival, and he, with great danger and incommodity, was forced to quarter in the Suburbs called *les Loges*, receiving no other relief from the Townsmen, but a very small quantity of victual. Not many hours after the Prince came up, resolved to fight, and ready to fall upon the Enemy; presently they began to skirmish furiously, the Catholicks having the advantage of the place, and the Hugonots of number; but the fight having lasted till night, successfully redoubled by the Hugonots, and no less constantly sustained by the Catholicks; and the Duke de *Mercaur* considering, that not being assured of those within the Town, he was in great danger of being defeated the next day, determined to save himself with expedition, and raising his Camp in the most silent time of the night, without giving any notice of it by Drum or Trumpet, began to march with all speed toward the *Loire*, and that with such a general diligence, that they would not allow themselves time to eat that day, marching on still in order to recover some secure place: and yet being pursued by the Prince with his Cavalry, he was fain to leave many of his Soldiers behind him, and not onely to abandon the booty they had taken, but also most part of their Carriages a prey unto the Enemy.

The Duke of *Mercaur* being chased away, as the Prince returned to those places that were of his party, he had notice, that many Catholick Gentlemen united together, and not yet advertised of the success, were coming up to joyn with the Duke; wherefore, without losing time, or giving them leisure to be informed of it, he hastened toward them with so great speed, that being suddenly overtaken, they were not able to make much resistance, but some of them were killed upon the place, and some being taken prisoners, freed themselves afterwards, with a promise, not to bear Arms against the Princes for a certain time. The Prince encouraged with this happy success, purposed to assault the Isles and Castles near *Rochel*, to reduce all that quarter to his devotion, and have more Field-room to sustain the War; wherein he had so prosperous a fortune, that having every where routed those (with great slaughter) that came to oppose him, seizing upon all the Forts that were near, and taking all the passes thereabouts, he was so much increased in courage, that he resolved to besiege *Brouage*, wherein was the *Sieur de*

de St. Luc, one of the League, (with no contemptible number of Infantry) and some other Gentlemen of the Country. The Rochellers consented to this Enterprize, both for the profit and reputation which redounded by it; and having sent a great many Ships thither, besieged the Fortres by Sea, whilst the Prince having possessed that passage which is the only way to *Brouages* by Land, and having shut up the Defendants within the circuit of their walls, streightned the Siege very closely on that side.

But whilst fixing his mind wholly upon that business, he neglected no opportunity of blocking and incommodating the Town, a new accident happened that invited him to a more important deliberation: for the *Sieur de la Roche-morte*, Captain *du Halot*, and Captain *le Fresne*, secret Adherents to the King of *Navarre*, and Enemies to the Count *de Brissac* Governour of *Angiers*, having found means to enter as friends into the Castle of that City, one of the strongest and chiefest Fortresses in all *France*; suddenly killed the Governour of it with those few Souldiers that were there in Garrison, and seized upon it without much difficulty; but whilst they sought also to make the Town revolt, they were besieged by the people, who taking Arms, had with trenches cut off the passage to the Castle; and they beginning to write to all parts, demanded present relief from the Prince of *Conde*, who was much nearer than the King of *Navarre*. *Angiers* is a City on this side the *Loire*, seated in a sweet, fertile, plentiful Country, very well peopled, famous for the study of the Law, and commodiously situated to fall into all the Provinces of *Gallia Celtica*, which invirons it on every side with a large spacious compass: wherefore the Prince accounting it a very great and an opportune occasion which offered it self unto him, not only to take so principal a City, but also to remove the War beyond the River *Loire*, (a thing always desired, and thought very advantageous for the Hugonots) applied his mind to carry such speedy relief, that he might seize upon the Town by the help and inlet of the Castle, before it were streightned and shut up by the Catholicks. Indeed this was a very great and hopeful design, but opposed with no less difficulties; for to go over so broad a River without having any pass in his hands that could be maintained, to enter into the heart of those Provinces which held (without division) of the Catholick party, and put himself between two powerful Armies, which marched into those parts to meet him, considering his Forces, seemed rather a rash, than a generous attempt; and to quit the Siege of *Brouage*, which was reduced to an hard condition, and almost to a certainty of being taken, to venture upon so doubtful, so hazardous an enterprize, (for in the Castle of *Angiers* there were not above sixteen Souldiers, besides the Captains, and it was doubted whether they could hold out till relief came) seemed an unprofitable, dangerous resolution. Yet the Prince's mind inclined to hope for the revolt of *Angiers*, and it being of so great consequence, that more uncertain, more perillous hazards were not to be refused for the gaining of it, he resolved to follow the course of his fortune, the prosperity whereof did with wonderful beginnings in a manner assure him of a most happy conclusion: Wherefore leaving Monsieur *de St. Mesmes* with the Infantry and Artillery at the Siege of *Brouage*, and giving order that the Fleet should continue to block it up by Sea, he departed upon the eighth of *October* to relieve the Castle of *Angiers* with eight hundred Gentlemen, and one thousand four hundred Harquebuziers on Horseback. Nor was this enterprize (esteemed so rash by Souldiers of great experience) less prosperous in the beginning than his other actions; for though he neither had any Pass that held of his party, nor boats ready to cross the River, he got over nevertheless happily, and without much difficulty at *Rosiers*, having found certain boats there, which (laden with Wines) were rowing along the River, and accidentally came to that side of the Bank: Having passed the River, they found the *Sieur de Clermont* with about seven hundred Horse, who having gone before into the Country of *Maine* and the parts adjacent, to draw their friends together, being afterward informed of the business of *Angiers*, was come with great expedition to unite himself with the Prince for the same design; or missing of him there, to pass the River, and join with him at the Siege which was laid before *Brouage*. Their Forces being met with exceeding gladness, and the *Sieur de St. Gelais* marching before with two Troops of Horse, to discover the Country, and provide victual for the Army, upon the twentieth of *October* they quartered at *Beaufort* a place not far from *Angiers*, where they intended to rest themselves the day following, that they might come more fresh to the attempt of so great an enterprize.

The Castle of *Angiers* taken suddenly by the Hugonots.

1583.
The Castle of
Angiers is re-
covered by the
Catholicks
before it is re-
lieved.

But the Castle was recovered by the Catholicks two days before; for the Townsmen having at first taken Captain *du Halet* prisoner, who was gone out to parley, and to perswade them to turn unto his party, and having the next day killed Captain *le Fresne*, whilst he treated at the Bridge of the Castle with certain Deputies about the present affairs, had generally set themselves to besiege the place; where on the one side, the Count *de Brissac* Governour of the City being arrived; and on the other, *Henry de Joyeuse*, Count *de Bon-chage* Governour of the Province; and not many days after the Duke of *Joyeuse* himself, who came up with some number of Gentlemen to assist his Brother; and Monsieur *de la Roch-morte* being at last slain with two shots, whereof one took off his tongue, and the other went through his throat; the sixteen Souldiers being left without a Captain to command them, and not agreeing very well among themselves, some of them being Catholicks, and some Hugonots, had in the end capitulated to yield upon certain Conditions, wherewith upon the eighteenth of October being Sunday, they delivered up the Castle into the power of the Governour.

But the Prince of *Conde* believing that the Castle held still for his party, having divided his forces into divers Squadrons, on the 21 in the morning about break of day, advanced towards *Angiers*, not by the great road which leadeth straight to the gate of the Town; but by that way on the field side, which led to the Trenches made by the Catholicks to besiege the Castle. Those of the City having notice from all parts of the Princes coming, and finding themselves already Masters of the Fortrefs, retired into the Suburbs of the Town, and there with Trenches and Barricadoes, stood upon their defence, to receive the assault of the Hugonots with more security. At their first arrival it was easily known that the Castle held no longer of the Princes party; for in stead of shewing signs of joy for the coming of that relief which they had called for, they played with their Artillery very fiercely against the first Troops of the Army, who under the *Sieur de St. Gelais* were come within Cannon shot, by which token though the Commanders knew that the Castle was already yielded, yet in the heat of their first fury they fell most gallantly into the nearest Suburbs of the Town, and fought stoutly for many hours, not without much blood on both sides. This was one of the accustomed effects of a first onset; but their spirits cooling, and the Prince, with the other Lords and Captains, knowing that to perish obstinately in that skirmish, was but to lose men, time, and their labour; and that it was necessary to take another resolution, they sounded a retreat, the Sun not being yet near setting, and marched off to rest their Souldiers in a Village hard by. There the consideration of their present condition, changing their late gallantry into a great and reasonable fear, they began to think what was then to be done for the safety of every one; wherein those difficulties appearing impossible to be overcome, which the hope and desire of getting the City of *Angiers*, had at first made to seem very light and easie, and not having any time to spare, lest they should give the Catholicks leisure to fall upon them, they drew away without any determinate resolution, and as it were leaving themselves to fortune, began to march toward the River *Loire*, which they were necessitated to pass, if they would save themselves. But all the Country already beginning to rise at the ringing of the *Toquesains*, and being informed that the people had with great diligence taken away the boats every where from the River side; that Monsieur *de la Chastre* marched along the bank to meet them; that the Duke of *Mayenne* having passed over at *Orleans* with all the Army, advanced towards them with all expedition; that on the other side the *Marschal de Byron* came up with his Forces, that the Count *Bon-chage* who was sallied out of *Angiers*, drew together the gentry and common people, made trees to be cut down, spoiling the ways every where, and that the Duke *de Joyeuse* with a great power was at their backs; they were forced to take a course very contrary to their first intention, and dividing their men into three squadrons, one commanded by *St. Gelais*, another by the Prince, and the third by the *Sieur de Roban*, they thought best to deceive the Enemy, by turning from the River, and marching out of the great high-ways, to get between the Armies, into the most woody parts of that Province, and with a long compass striking speedily into the higher parts of *Beauvaisse*, to pass the River suddenly in some place where the favour of fortune, and their unexpected arrival might open the way for them, and give them opportunity. In this manner (the Commanders with exceeding care, and the Souldiers with wonderful terrour) they marched all that night, and the day following: but the event shewed

shewed how hard that resolution was to be effected; for the whole Province being up round about them, they had neither leisure to rest, means to feed, nor way to get through those strange difficult passages, and the cry and concourse of the Country people, and the ringing of the *Toquesaint* wheresoever they came, gave the Catholicks sufficient notice of the place where they were, and guided the Armies directly to encompass them, just like the tracing and hunting of wild beasts through the woods. Wherefore the *Sieur de Roban*, who was nearer his own Country than the rest, the *Confinés of Bretagne* not being far off, gave the Prince to understand, that to continue still together would be the loss of all their men, and therefore advised him to divide his Forces into many small Troops to delude the Enemy, who would be called sometimes this way, sometimes that way by the tumult of the people, and by stealing secretly through the most remote hidden places, to endeavour the saving part of that whole, which being united could not possibly escape so great a danger. But the Prince standing in suspense because his courage would not suffer him to come to that resolution; the *Sieur de Roban* saying that he would not perish for another's obstinacy and want of experience, departed from him with his men; and having divided his Souldiers and Gentlemen into little parties of about ten or fifteen a piece, hiding themselves, and throwing away their arms, at last (though after many days) with infinite trouble and danger, thorow woods, and divers several ways, he recovered *Bretagne*, and thence by other passages he got in the end to *Rochelle*. The Prince after he had marched with his Forces in one body another day, seeing that he could resist no longer, nor keep them together, took the same course, and disbanding all his men every one to his own industry, and the protection of Heaven, he himself with the *Sieurs d'Avantigny, de la Tremouille*, and some eight or ten more in company, took that way by chance which fortune presented to them. This division of the Army into so many parcels, made the Catholicks lose their way, for being called to several places by the tumults and advertisements of the people, they could not follow the trace of the Prince and his Commanders; and it so fell out that having surrounded and took certain small parties of private Souldiers, they could never light upon any person of note; so that the Prince crossing unknown as a Traveller through the Country of *Maine*, and being come to the uttermost parts of *Lower Normandy*, went to the Sea-side, and there finding by chance certain Ships laden with Merchandize, he embarked near *Auranches*, and passed first into the Isle of *Garnsey*, and after into *England*, where being honourably received by the Queen, he was not many months after conducted to *Rochelle* with certain men of War. The *Sieur de St. Gelais* being got into the Forest of *Orléans*, and having made an uncertain intricate Voyage, coming at last near to *Gien*, passed the River *Loire* in little boats belonging to certain Mills, leaving his Horses to the Enemy, and having hired others, went like a Traveller to those places that were of his party. The *Sieur de la Tiffardiere, Aubigny*, and others had hid themselves in the houses of their friends and kindred, which some of them had in one place, some in another; many changing their cloaths saved themselves on foot, many also fell into the hands of the Catholicks, and were by the Country people cruelly cut in pieces. This was the issue of the Prince of *Conde's* enterprise, wherein all his Army was dispersed and scattered without fighting, exceedingly weakening the Forces of the Hugonots in a time of so great need.

Whilst the Prince and his Souldiers ran so adverse a fortune, the *Sieur de St. Mesmes*, who had been left at the Siege of *Bronage*, was forced about the same time to retire with very little better success; for the *Marschal de Matignon* drawing near with great strength to relieve it, he seeing himself with the Infantry alone, and they frightened and discouraged with the news of the Prince's ill-fortune, thought it the best way to retreat, and not obstinately to hazard the remainder of the Army, which was so necessary for the defence of their own places; yet the report of the Prince's defeat being spread in the Camp, was so great a terror to every one, and that no less to the Commanders and Gentlemen, than to the common Souldiers, that each man purposed to provide for his own safety; so that *St. Luc* sallying out of *Bronage*, and following those that were scattered several ways, made a great slaughter of them in many places; whereupon the Commanders despairing to rally the Army any more, got away as well as they could possibly, to secure their own strong holds. The same did *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*; for being entred very hopefully into *Limoges*, and having already struck a terror into the people of those parts, the news of the Prince's

1585
The enterprise of *Angiers* being vanquished, the Hugonot Army encompassed by the Catholicks, and reduced to great straits disbanded itself: and part of them with the Commanders save themselves by flight

1585, overthrow coming to him, he judged it a safer way to retire, than alone to oppose the violence of so many Armies, which were marching into those Quarters to destroy those of his party.

But the *Sieur de Lesdiguieres*, Head of the Hugonots in *Dauphine*, having raised Foot and Horse, and begun a sharp War against *Monsieur de Maugiron* Lieutenant of that Province, and against Colonel *Alfonso Corse*, whereby raising all the Country, (the sagacity and readiness of the Commander supplying the inequality of Forces) the affairs of the Hugonots were brought into a very good condition: having taken many such Towns and Castles, which though not very strong, were very commodious; and with the hopes of booty drawn together a great number of old Souldiers, such as were wont to live among the troubles of War.

In the mean time the Heads of the League being augmented in hopes and courage by the Prince of *Conde's* ill success, and the defeat of his Army, were exceeding earnest with the King to shorten the term of six months prefixed by the late Edict, for the banishment of the Hugonots; urging, that since they had declared they would resist his will by force, they were no longer to be suffered, but that their total extirpation was to be endeavoured with the greatest speed that might be; which thing the King knowing to conduce but little to the end of his designs, resolved yet to satisfy them, and with a new Edict reduced the term of six months which had been granted to them, to the space of but fifteen days; after which time, the other Provinces being quiet by reason of the small number of Hugonots that were in them, they prosecuted the War as well in *Poitou* and *Guienne*, as in the Province of *Dauphine*. The other request made to the King by a great many Prelates at the suggestion of the League, took not the same effect, being to publish and observe the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*; for not being willing to oblige or engage himself further in the League than he had already done, alledging that the demand was unseasonable, and excusing himself by the troubles that encompassed him on every side, he referred a business of so great weight to a more quiet season, wherein he might maturely deliberate and resolve upon it.

1586.

With this face of things, all tending to the distractions of an obstinate War, began the year 1586, full (contrary to the common belief) of exceeding great machinations, but of very few and weak executions touching the War. The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end of the year before was come with his Army to *Chateau-neuf* in the confines of *Guienne*, whither the *Mareschal de Matignon* Lieutenant of that Province was also come to consult about the finishing of the War; who being privy to the Kings intentions and designs wherewith he desired those affairs should be managed, demonstrated the terrible sharpness of the season, and the condition of the Country, not only afflicted with a great dearth and want of victual, but also with the violence of the Plague, which had already for many months been wonderfully spread in divers places: and considering that the chief Towns were so diligently mann'd and fortified by the King of *Navarre*, that it was vain to attempt them in that extremity of weather, and scarcity of provisions, he counselled to assault the lesser places, and the more open parts of the Province, to reduce those unto obedience, which not being strengthened with any principal fortification, were yet rich and fertile, and from which the Hugonots by ordinary contributions drew means sufficient to maintain themselves. The Duke of *Mayenne*, though for his own honour, and for the credit and strengthening of the League he desired to make himself remarkable by some eminent enterprise, yet not suffering himself to be transported by the violence of his passion, or the wind of hopes to think of impossibilities, easily concurred in the same opinion, fearing he should lose much reputation, if attempting any principal Fortrefs he should not be able to carry it; whereof he was the more doubtful, (besides the reasons alledged by *Matignon*) because he had but a small train of Artillery, consisting of but four pieces of Cannon, and two Culverins, with a very small quantity of Ammunition: wherefore passing by *St. Jehan d'Angely*, (where nevertheless the Hugonots were in very great frights and fears, as also all other places of the like condition) they resolved with a joint consent, though for divers ends, to divide the Army between them, and to busie themselves about taking in weaker places whilst the sharpness of the Winter lasted; and then re-uniting their Forces, to apply themselves to that enterprise which time and opportunity should present unto them. So the *Mareschal* being returned to *Bordeaux*, the Metropolis of that Province, with a part of the Army, and having commodiously, or rather

rather dilatorily refreshed his men, and put them in order, laid siege to *Castels*, a place of small consideration, and with various successes consumed all the Winter in that expedition; in which time the Duke of *Mayenne* with the greater part of those Forces attacking the weakest places, took *Montignac*, *Beaulieu*, *Gaignac*; and other places of small importance, and which only served to keep the reputation of his Army alive. But in the budding of the Spring-time, advancing to join their Forces together, he felt such bitter winds and extraordinary rains for many days, that the sufferings of lying in the field all the Winter, being increased by those of the dearth of victual, and contagion of the plague, which grew daily more rife in all those parts, the Army began to be exceedingly infected, not only all the principal Lords and Commanders being sick, but a very great number of the Souldiers dying continually, yet all these difficulties being overcome with infinite patience, he joined at last with *Matignon* in the beginning of *April*. At his coming, first *Castels*, and then *St. Bazile* yielded themselves, and with some difficulty the Fort of *Montsegur*, and they would probably have proceeded further, and perchance have begun some more important enterprize, if the diseases which annoyed the Army had not at last assailed the General: for the Duke of *Mayenne* being dangerously sick of a Fever, was forced to leave the Camp and retire to *Bordeaux*. So the weight of all business being left to the Marechal, the expeditions of Arms went on but slowly; for the Kings intention (though secret) was, that the Cletgy being wearied with the length of the War by contributions, the Nobility by toils and troubles, and the people by the oppressions of Souldiers and their multiplied grievances, should all return with greater desire to ask and long for Peace, which by the instigation of the Heads of the League they had caused to be broken, so that things coming about again to their former condition, the plots of his Enemies might be deluded, and the way might lie open to himself for the continuation of his designs.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being (though late) recovered of his sickness, and returned unto the Army, valiantly took *Chastillon*, a place of some moment held by the Baron de *Salignac*, and then *Paris Normand* another of no less importance, of which actions knowing that his Army was wonderfully weakened by many sufferings, and divers accidents, that he had but small store of ammunition, and other necessaries for the taking in of places; and (which troubled him most) that he was not furnished with money from Court to maintain his Army, so that his Souldiers were many Pays behind, he dispatched the *Sieur de Sessaval* to inform the King of the state of his affairs, and to demand new supplies of men and money, foreseeing that if matters continued as they had begun, his Army (to his small reputation) would be dissolved of it self, within a few months: for the King of *Navarre* knowing he had not strength enough to resist and keep the field, having discreetly fortified all his places, and stored them with abundance of all things, reserved only two thousand small shot, and three hundred light Horse, with a few Gentlemen that followed his name in the Province, with which forces, expert, ready, quick upon all occasions, and not troubled with Artillery or Carriages, he ran up and down with great expedition; now this way, now that, providing all things necessary, relieving places that were in distress, and never suffering the Enemy to have any opportunity to fight with him; for by his skilfulness in the ways, and by the unwearied patience of his Souldiers, he appeared, and vanished like lightning, being far off in the morning from those parts where he had been seen the night before; by which conduct and speed that was almost incredible, he made War against a great Army, though languishing by continual sickness that distressed the Camp; and having to do with a Commander, who, grave and wary in his resolutions, proceeded always with very great deliberation, he opportunely furnished and relieved the chiefest places, surprized many scattering Troops of the Army, cut off their passages of their victuals, and kept the Army in continual motion, and very great suspicion; whereby the Duke of *Mayenne* perceived that his Forces continually wasting and decaying, and wanting money and ammunition, if he were not speedily succoured with fresh men, and other necessaries, he should come off with dishonour from that War, wherein never seeing the face of the Enemy, he should be fain to consume his Army in assaulting, not the weakest places, for they were all taken already; but strong Towns excellently fortified, and provided with all things, which though he should take at last, yet would it be with the lessening and destroying of his own Forces, and that afterwards he should be exposed to the King of *Navarre's* valour

1586. valour and celerity, wherewith he (though invironed with a thousand difficulties) knew very well how to lay hold of his opportunities.

While the War is managed in *Guienne* on this new manner, the Prince of *Conde* having got together a good Body of men in the quarters about *Rochel*, had taken and sacked the Castle of *Dompierre*, made himself Master of *Soubize* and *Mornac*, and kept in awe the whole Country; for the quieting whereof the *Sieur de St. Luc* being issued out of *Bronage* with a like number, they met near the Isle of *Oleron*, where they fought with various success a whole day, though with some interruptions, and with almost equal loss on both sides: for though the Catholics lost the Regiment of Colonel *Turcelin* with about five hundred Firelocks; yet on the Hugonots side almost all the Lords and chief Commanders were killed or wounded, particularly *Rienne* and *Sully*, (the Sons of *Andelot* already deceased) who died both within a while after; nor was it long before they were followed by *Guy de Laval* their elder Brother, who in the flower of his age, wasted by continual toil and action, died of a Burning Fever about that very time, as also Monsieur *de Roban*, who died at *Rochel* of the same disease.

Yet did not the heat and troubles of the War take off the Prince of *Conde* from other thoughts: for being desirous by a particular bond to tie and engage the Duke of *la Tremouille* to himself, who was newly come over to his party; and besides that, to make some additions to his own fortune, and it may be also desirous of issue, he about that time took to Wife *Charlotte Catherine* the Dukes Sister; who with her excellent Beauty had also a considerable Dowry, as being a sharer in the Inheritance of the ancient and once most flourishing House of *la Tremouille*. But neither the pleasures of Marriage, nor the delights of his new Wife did at all slacken the Princes warlike fierceness, who full of courage, and a despiser of the most evident dangers, did valiantly embrace all occasions of fighting, nor would at all yield to the violence of his Enemies, notwithstanding the tenderness of his own Forces.

In this condition were the affairs of War when the Marechal *de Byron* arrived in *Xaintonge* with another Army, who desiring to do some exploit, not so much to damage the Hugonots, as out of an emulation to the Duke of *Mayenne*, resolved to lay siege to *Maran*, a place very convenient to block up *Rochel* by Land, and to cut off the Traffick and Commerce of the Inhabitants, with the Isles and Cities adjacent, for which the Rochellers and all the Hugonot party were very much perplexed: wherefore the King of *Navarre* seeing the Forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army weakened, and the sharpness of their first fury abated, left the Viscount of *Turenne* in *Guienne*, to follow the War in the same manner as he had done, and went suddenly with three hundred Horse to *Rochel*, doubting that the Princes too much boldness might run into some great error in those parts; for being a prudent Judge of his own strength he resolved with himself, and had given absolute Order to his Commanders, that managing their affairs with wisdom and celerity, and possessing themselves always of secure advantageous places, they should spin the War out in length, and not give their Enemies any new occasion of prosperity; which not suiting well with the Princes nature, who since the death of Monsieur *de Roban*, remained sole Head in *Xaintonge*, the King of *Navarre* intended by his presence to establish that resolution, and to order the Government and managery of the War himself. But being come to *Rochel*, and finding the Citizens there in great confusion by reason of the Marechal *de Byron*'s design of besieging *Maran*, he stayed no longer than while he was informed of the present state of things; but knowing his arrival to be very opportune, because the Rochellers durst not lessen their Garison to strengthen that of *Maran*, he went personally thither, and the same day having considered the situation of it on every side, he began without delay to make Trenches, and to raise Redoubts and Batteries for the defence of it; and that with so much diligence, that assisting in the work unweariedly his own self, not in the space of many days, but hours, he brought it to perfection.

Maran is a great Town, and of great importance, seated by the Ocean Sea, in a low fenny place, as it were in a *Peninsula*, and so encompassed on every side with Moorish watry grounds, that there is no access to the works thereof but by very few, and those narrow passages. These the King of *Navarre* made to be shut up with Trenches, raising a Fort at the end of every Avenue, which full of small Artillery, and defended by a competent number of Musketers, might hinder the Enemies approaches, having in the

the rest of the Fenn that was not very deep, caused many planks to be sunk; which stuck full of great nails; and other instruments proper to do mischief, might do harm to those that should have the boldness to enter and pass over to the Dry Land.

On the other side, the Marechal de Byron having drawn his Forces together, and made a review of them at Niort, about the midst of June marched towards Maran, where having by their Sallies proved the courage of the Defenders, who trusting to the advantage of their Situation, issued out boldly to skirmish, and fell so hotly upon his first Squadrons, that he himself was engaged in the action, whence he came off lightly wounded in the left hand; he took a resolution to proceed warily in the business, and raising certain Forts against those of the Defendents; as the quality of the ground required, all his hopes of gaining that place were reduced only to the length of the Siege.

Maran besieged by the Catholics.

In the mean time the Court was busied in setting forth new Armies, and making new warlike preparations for the King not willing to suffer that the increase of strength, reputation and adherents, should redound unto the Lords of the House of Lorraine, and the followers of the League, was resolved to put other Armies into the hands of his trusty Favourites, and to keep up their reputation with new Expeditions, and new Governments of Provinces, which he knew would succeed to his own greatness and advantage against the power of the Lords of Guise. By this advice he obtained also another end, which was to tire out the Catholick party by the maintenance of so many several Armies, and bring them all again to intercede for Peace, which was so necessary for the effecting of his designs. Wherefore besides a million and two hundred thousand Crowns which he had gotten by Tenths from the Clergy, he urged at Rome for licence to alienate one hundred thousand Crowns per annum of Church Revenues; and the people oppressed in so many places, and almost in every Province by the insolence of Souldiers, though they were far from the places possessed by the Hugonots, felt nevertheless the calamities and miseries of War. Two several Armies were making ready, one under the Duke of Joyeuse, to go into Auvergne, and thence into Languedoc to recover places which the Hugonots held in those parts; the other under the Duke of Espernon, to go into Provence, and take possession of that Country, which the King since the death of the Grand Pripr had conferred upon him. The preparations of these Armies to the disadvantage and open displeasure of the Guises, kept all the Nobility and Martial men of the Kingdom in Imployment; for every one desiring to gain the favour and protection of the Kings Minions, who in the disposing of gifts and honours carried all things at their own pleasure, ran all voluntarily to their Colours, and with great trains and costly preparations of Warlike Ornaments endeavoured to win the affections, some of the one, some of the other of these Lords, who through the Kings secret instigations, were intent to draw all men by their liberality and ostentation of rewards, to follow the course of their fortunes; so that not only such as were Neuters came from all parts to serve them; but also such as had been resolved to follow the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Heads in the War of Guienne, leaving their first intentions, determined to follow the fortune of those that had most power. To this was added, that the King to moderate by his presence, and with his own counsels the Wars managed by his Favourites, and to augment their reputation, was resolved to go to Lyons, both Armies being to march the same way, so that by the moving of his own person he drew after him great numbers of men of eminent quality, and the expences were still increased without end. Whereby with new Impositions, with erecting new Magistrates, with inventions of new Taxes, and with the disposing of new Offices, the people was every where wonderfully burthened and oppressed; the King being still constant to his own opinion, that by how much the greater were the miseries and oppressions of War, by so much the sooner would they extort an universal consent to the necessity of Peace, and make the authors of those discords odious, and detestable, rendering disfavoured unto all the formerly so much favoured endeavours of the League; wherein his inclination agreeing with the splendour and subtilty of his design, it was impossible by any reasons in the World to alter that determination.

But whilst the King is infinite busie, and the Courtiers most ardently studious in ordering these affairs, a most powerful Army was preparing in Germany for the relief of the Hugonots; for the King of Navarre having long foreseen, that the King would easily

1586. easily be brought to an agreement with the League to his disadvantage, and having learned, by former experience, that all the hopes of his party, consisting in the aid of the Germans, which the union of the Protestant Princes was wont to afford unto the Hugonots, had sent the *Sieur de Pardaillan* thither (a wise man, and by long travel versed in their several customs) who treating confidently, and particularly with every Prince, and every *Hanf-town*, might shew them the danger of their common Religion, aggravate the hatred of the *Guises* to the Protestant party, and exhort them to continue the assistance formerly lent unto the Hugonots against the persecutions of their Enemies; which business being excellently managed by *Pardaillan*, had not only stirred up the minds of those Princes in favour of the Hugonots, but had also much raised the hopes of the King of *Navarre*, so that having turned his thoughts that way, at the beginning of the War, he had dispatched the *Sieur de Cleuant* into *Germany*, to ripen the fruits of that seed, which had before been opportunely sown by *Pardaillan*. And because both the Princes and people of those parts (very great honourers of that Religion, which they hold to be the true one, and also of an easie mind, and flexible nature to the urgency of entreaties, and efficacy of reasons) might more easily be moved to consent unto it; *Theodore Beza*, a most eloquent Preacher of the Hugonots, went to the same effect from *Geneva*, into *Germany* and *Switzerland*, who, by his authority and discourses, stirred up every one of the chief men, to imbrace the enterprise in favour of those, who were of the same, or at least a very little different Religion. The Queen of *England* endeavoured the same, not onely by countenancing it, and by words, but also by her actions; for, keeping in prison *Mary Queen of Scotland*, Cousin to the *Guises*, who was obstinately linked to their faction, she desired that the League, and the House of *Lorraine*, should be utterly suppressed, or at least so busied in *France*, that she might have free power to dispose of her life, and of the affairs of *Scotland* and *England*: Wherefore she not onely assisted the King of *Navarre* with her authority, which was very great in *Germany*, but had also deposited a good sum of Money, to be laid out in raising of Soldiers there. To the Negotiation of *Cleuant*, to the exhortation of *Beza*, and to the money of *England*, the Duke of *Bouillon* added also his assistance, who, holding *Sedan*, a very strong place, and other Towns and Castles about the Confinnes of *France* and *Germany*, that were of the Hugonots Religion, and in their Counsels united to the King of *Navarre*, was a fit instrument for the expedition, and Levies of the German Soldiers; for the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, and the Protestant Cantons of the *Swisses* consenting; and the King of *Denmark* concurring; but above all, the Count de *Mombeliard*, a Lord bordering upon *Bourgongne*, labouring in the business, there began to be raised the most powerful Army, that ever had come out of that Country, to relieve the Hugonots. But, because the Princes knew they had no occasion at all to offend the King of *France*, and to enter in a hostile manner into his Country, they resolved, before the Army (which was preparing against the next spring) to send this year, for a colour, a numerous Embassy, to complain, in the Names of them all, of the breach of that Peace, and violation of that Faith, which had been given unto the Hugonots, with whom they were interested and united in Religion, and to demand of the King a cessation of Armes, and a confirmation of those Edicts so often granted to his Subjects, for the Liberty of Conscience: foreseeing well, that if the King consented to their demands, the Hugonots would be relieved without further noise of Armes, and if he should persist, and deny them, they might thereby make a fair pretence for the War, and take an occasion, not altogether unreasonable, to raise those Forces they intended.

Great Forces
are prepared
in *Germany* in
favour of the
Hugonots.

*Mary Qn. of
Scot.*, Cousin
to the *Guises*,
imprisoned by
Elizabeth Qn.
of *England*.

This determination of the Germans did very much disquiet the King of *France*, being not onely displeased that others should presume to meddle with the affairs of his Kingdom, but also terrified with the fear of forraign forces; who, with perillous commotions, used to destroy Provinces, ruine the People, disturb all things both Divine and Humane, and to put the state of the Crown into extreme danger. But, as a Prince accustomed to govern himself by the subtilty of his wit, to whom (though oftentimes very unsuccessfully) probable appearances of cunning inventions, did always represent themselves; he began to think with himself, that from that evil he might draw another good, and might use the coming of the Germans for the speedy execution of his designs: for seeing the King of *Navarre* reduced to such a weakness, that though he made senseless resistance, he was yet brought to the last extremity of his fortune; and

and being himself every day more out of hope to have issue, since by a continued incurable *Gonorrhea*, and by infinite other proofs, he knew himself unable to get children, he thought it best to unite himself, by all means, straightly and sincerely with the King of *Navarre*, as the lawful Successor of the Crown, to draw him to the Court near unto his own Person, to make him partaker in matter of Government, and by his means to make use of that foreign Army, for the utter suppression of the *Guises*, and the factions of the League, which being unexpectedly overwhelmed between his Forces and the approaching storme of the German Soldiers, could not possibly be able to make resistance, but would presently be quite extinguished and dissipated. Two things amongst the rest were principal hinderances of this intention; one, the King of *Navarre's* Religion, being resolved (for the satisfaction of his own Conscience, and to avoid the scandal that would arrive from thence) not to reconcile himself unto him, unless he would first return into the bosome of the Church; the other was that of his Sister Queen *Margaret*, Wife to the King of *Navarre*, who having given her self over to a licentious life, for fear of her Husbands anger, was fled from him; but, being taken by his order, and the Commission of the King her Brother, she was put as a prisoner into the Castle of *Carlat* in *Auvergne*, and from thence a while after removed to *Usson* in the same Province, under the custody of the Marquess *de Canillac*, who (as it was reported) being become captive to his prisoner, had set her at liberty; so she passing her time in certain houses of her own (yet in *Auvergne*) and continuing the same manner of life, was a very great obstacle to those agreements which might have been concluded between her Husband and her Brother. To overcome these important difficulties, having imported his design to the Queen his Mother, who was wont to ripen businesses of greatest consequence, and to find out remedies for all the hardest impediments, they determined at last, that the person of the Lady *Margaret* was no more to be regarded, and that having made her self unworthy to be acknowledged by them, either for a Sister or a Daughter, (since the dispensation obtained from the Pope, at the time of their Marriage, being defective, did afford a colour and pretence for the breaking of it) they would make a Divorce; and give *Christienne* (Daughter to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by *Claudia* the Kings Sister) to Wife to the King of *Navarre*, who, of a very pleasing behaviour, and of an age already Marriageable, was brought up in the degree and quality of a Daughter, by the Queen mother: and as for the King of *Navarre's* Religion, they resolved to endeavour, by urging the great good that would result from it, and by so important benefit, as the assuring himself of the succession of the Crown of *France* (which was brought in question) to soften and bend his mind to turn Catholick, giving him such securities and satisfactions which should be thought most fit to settle and confirm him. But because all others were either suspected, or unable to manage a business of so great difficulty and importance, the King intreated the Queen his Mother that she would take the pains to go into *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, to confer with the King of *Navarre*, making her self for the present, as she had ever been in times past, the Author and Mediatrix of the good and quiet of the Kingdom.

The Queen takes upon her the charge of this business, though much burthened with years, and exceedingly tormented with the Gout; and therefore the Abbot *Guievan-Baptista Guadagni* was dispatched to the Marechal *de Byron*, to give order for a cessation of Arms on that side, and to appoint a meeting between the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. The Marechal following the instinct of his old inclination, and being near the King of *Navarre*, at the siege which he had newly laid to *Maran*, obeyed the Kings command without delay; and they came to this agreement, That *Maran* should stand neuter, and that both parts should have free commerce thither; yet, that the Governor should be put in by the King of *Navarre*, and that the Garrison should equally protect the Catholicks as well as the Hugonots; that the Marechal should withdraw his Forces beyond the *Charente* (a River in those parts) and that the King of *Navarre*, after having furnished all things necessary for *Rochel*, should go to meet the Queen-Mother in *Poitou*.

This Treaty did much displease the *Guises*, and all those that adhered sincerely to the League; so that on the one side, the Popes Nuncio made grievous complaint thereof unto the King himself; and on the other side, the Duke of *Guise*, who was at his Government in *Champagne*, made it be spoken of to the Queen-Mother by his Agents, and the People of *Paris* began commonly to murmur, that the Cause of Religion was betrayed,

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Hen. the Third despairing of issue, resolved to further the King of *Navarre's* right to the Crown, and to unite himself with him for the destruction of the *Guises*.

By reason of the licentious life of *Margaret* wife to the K. of *Navarre*, the King and Q. Mother resolve to break the Match, and to give *Christienne* the daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who after married *Ferdinando de Medici* Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

An accommodation treated with the Hugonots by the Queen-Mother, and much disliked by those of the League.

1586. betrayed, that the Hugonots were openly favoured, that the course of the War was interrupted, which was like to come presently to an happy conclusion, that the King shewed openly that his mind was averſe to the Catholick party. and that he deſired, by all means, to cheriſh and maintain Hereſie: for, though the Kings deſign and intention was yet unknown to every one, the very name of Peace had wrought a jealousie in the quick apprehenſion of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and given occaſion of talk to the common people. The King answered the Nuncio reſentingly, that the backwardneſſe which the Clergy ſhewed, in ſubmitting themſelves to the vaſt expences of the War, and the difficulty which the Pope had made in granting licence to alienate the Hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum* of the Church Revenue, had made him incline to the Counſels of Peace; and that he thought he neither did any thing againſt his conſcience, nor againſt the Office of a Chriſtian Prince, if he laboured to reſtore peace and tranquillity to the people of his Kingdom, already waſted and undone by the calamities of War: That it was a fine thing to ſtand a ſarr off, and intermeddle in the Government of others with words and Paper-expediſions; but that a good Father of the Family ought to have more regard to the evident good of his own houſe, then to any diſcourſes of ſtrangers. Yet the Nuncio having replied, that the true way to give his Kingdom Peace, was to extirpate the very roots of Hereſie, that the ſafety of the Soul was to be preferred before temporal reſpects; that the laſt end and aim of the War begun with the Hugonots, was quietneſſe and tranquillity, which, by reaſon of the weakneſſe of the excommunicate Princes, was not very hard to be compaſſed by perſeverance; that the Prelates of *France* had never withdrawn themſelves from the equal burden of expences, nor would they at all reſuſe it for the time to come; and finally, that he had certain hopes from *Rome*, of the grant of that Licence which his Maſteſty deſired: the King, moderating his diſcourſe, began to ſhew him the great danger, and evil conſequences, which the inundation of Forreigners that was preparing, would bring along with it; for the diverting whereof, it was neceſſary to feign and diſſemble many things; and that he ſhould aſſure the Pope he would never conclude any thing which could prejudice the Catholick Religion, or the good and honor of the holy Church.

The ſame things in ſubſtance were urged to the Duke of *Guiſe* from the Queen-Mother: but he more particularly was moved to conſider, that this being done to hinder, and by delay to divert the coming of the Germans, did all redound to the particular ſervice of the League, and his own private benefit: for he that was placed in the confines of the Kingdom, on that ſide by which they thought to enter, was more liable then any other to the danger of their incuſſions: That he knew the weakneſſe of the Kings Forces, the want of Money, and on the contrary, the great ſtrength of the Army which was raiſing in *Germany*; and therefore it was neceſſary he ſhould ſuffer the Counſels that were begun to be managed with dexterity, which did all reſult at laſt unto the ſame end.

It was needful, by means of their Confidants, to inſill the ſame things into the people of *Paris*, which already began unbridledly to mutiny: and it was neceſſary to aſſure them with ſo much efficacy, that being gathered up in divers places by thoſe that favoured the Hugonots, (which ſecretly were many) and told unto the King of *Navarre*, filled his mind with great jealousie and ſuſpicion, to the exceeding prejudice of the Treaty undertaken by the Queen, who being gone to *Chinonceaux*, a place of pleaſure, built by Madame *Valentine*, and at that time in her poſſeſſion, expected ſill the Abbot *Guadagni*, and the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, who were gone to treat about it, had appointed the place of interview between her and the King of *Navarre*, about which there aroſe many difficulties, by reaſon of the deep ſuſpicion he was fallen into, that they ſought to deceive him; whereupon, he reſuſed to go beyond thoſe places which were held by his party, and without being accompanied by ſuch Forces, as were needful for the Guard and ſecurity of his own perſon. On the other ſide, it was very unfit, and very unſafe for the Queen, to put her ſelf into the power and forces of the Hugonots; and the buſineſſe was ſuch, as could not in a few houres be treated and reſolved on in the Field. But the Kings Letters and Meſſages were ſo frequent, and his deſire was ſo great to have that Interview brought about, that though the King of *Navarre*, being raiſed by the near approach of the German Ambaſſadors, and by the hope of forreign Forces, either cared little for that Meeting with the Queen, or would make it with his own perfect ſecurity and entire reputation, and therefore

therefore would not consent to go out of the confines of the Country possessed by him; yet she, at last, resolved to satisfy him, and to go into the farthest parts of *Poitou*, bordering upon *Xaintonge*; and, having caused the *Mareschal de Byrons* Army to draw backward, she agreed to come as far as *St. Bri*; a place very near the King of *Navarre* Garrisons, and encompassed with the Forces of the Hugonots.

1588

In the mean time, the King, to give leasure to this Meeting, and to defer the Audience of the German Ambassadors, till he knew the issue of that Treaty, began his journey towards *Lyons*, as he had appointed, leaving order, that the Ambassadors should be received and entertained with great Honors and Feastings, till his return to *Paris*.

The Dukes of *Espernon* and *Joyeuse* began to move with their Forces at the same time, upon occasion of the Kings departure; yet they marched divers wayes, and with divers intentions: For the Duke of *Espernon*, neerly united to the Kings designs, distrustful of the League, an enemy to the *Guises*, and inclined to favour and uphold the King of *Navarre*, proceeded in *Provence* with a desire to reunite it, and reduce it wholly to his obedience; but neither to foment the designs of the League, nor to persecute the party of the Hugonots. But, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, transported with hopes, and spurred on by the emulation of *Espernon*, had partly forgot the interests of the King, the Author of his greatness, and onely root of his so sudden growth, and being allied unto the House of *Lorain*, by his marriage with the Kings sister-in-law, began partly to second the counsels of the *Guises*; and, desirous of glory, was ready to employ his Arms vigorously against the Hugonots; for which cause, being departed from the Baths in *Bourbonais* (where he had stayed a few dayes, to cure some indisposition that troubled him) he drove the Lord of *Chastillon* from the siege of *Compierre*, which he had beleaguered with certain Forces, drawn together in the quarters about *Languedoc*, took *Malaisse*, *la Pierre*, *Marvegoes*, and *Salvagnac*, all places of consideration in that Province; and entering *Languedoc*, no less full of pride then warlike boasting, would make the greatness of his fortune appear distinctly to his own father, and draw his Army to a *Rendezvous* within sight of the City of *Toulouse*, where (his father commanding as the Kings Lieutenant) he had been bred up in the first years of his infancy. But the Duke of *Espernon* with a great Army, and Forces better ordered, accompanied by the *Sieur de la Valette* his brother, who was appointed his Lieutenant in *Provence*, entered there, to make himself be received Governor by the Parliament, just at the very time when *Lefdignieres*, being come thither from *Dauphine*, had, with a great slaughter, routed *Monsieur de Vins*, the chief adherent of the League in those parts, and had reduced the Catholick affairs to a hard condition. This conjuncture was not unfavourable to *Espernon*, for the followers of the League did already plot how to exclude him from the Government; and *Monsieur de Vins* had laboured to make some places refuse to accept him. But he being arrived in a time when they were yet dismayed, by the defeat they had newly received, though *Lefdignieres* was forced to retire again into *Dauphine*, yet *Vins* had neither strength nor occasion to oppose him openly; and the Duke having taken *Seine*, commonly called *La Grande-Tour*, and many other lesser places, in a few weeks brought the whole Province under the obedience of his government; there having left his brother with the charge of the Army, he returned speedily to Court; his interests of ruling the Kings *Genius*, and moderating his deliberations, not suffering him to be far from thence.

At the same time the German Embassie arrived at *Paris*, wherein, besides a select number of honourable personages, were the Count *de Mombeliard*, and the Count of *Isembourg*, in person, Lords, for the nobleness of their blood, and the quality of their power, of very high estimation, and who ardently favoured and managed the German Levies. These being entertained at the Kings charge, and with all the highest sorts of honors, seemed yet unsatisfied at his so far distance, and the delay which was interposed of their negotiating with him, interpreting that to French pride and disdain, which depended upon more secret and remote occasions: so that the two Counts thinking they should take off from their own reputation, by staying longer to wait for him, full of hidden anger, and of so much greater favour to the Hugonots, returned home, leaving the charge of the business to the other Ambassadors. The King having, by redoubled messengers, received the news of their departure, and the distaste which the rest shewed openly, began to return, with small dayes journeys, towards *Paris*, expecting still to hear, that the Queen, having overcome all difficulties, had, at last,

Q. 2

conferred

1586.

The Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany being come to Paris to treat in favour of the Hugonots, having spoken highly to the King, are sharply answered, and depart unsatisfied from the Court.

conferred with the King of *Navarre*: But, all delays being already spent, and the business of that Interview proceeding extraordinary slowly, he was, in the end, necessitated to stay at *St. Germain's*, and give audience to the Ambassadors, but, with a countenance no less doubtful and uncertain, then his mind was perplexed and unresolved; which yet nevertheless became presently free and resolute: for, Prince *Casimir's* Ambassador having spoken, in the name of all the rest, with bold terms and high words, no less full of tacite threatnings then open contempt; the King, as a Prince of a tender sense, offended at that proud manner of proceeding with him, was kindled with so great indignation, that, contrary to his wonted custom, and first design, he answered the Ambassadors of himself, with so much sharpness and resentment, that instantly they were wonderfully dashed, and the next day after, without other audience, with small honor, and as little satisfaction, they were dismissed. The discourse of the Ambassadors in substance contained a long complaint, That the King, to satisfy the unjust desire, and perverse ambition of the Pope, and of certain Princes and Communalities of his Kingdom, had broken his word with those of the Reformed Religion, and taken away that Liberty of Conscience, which he had formerly granted and established by so many Decrees: That therefore the Princes of *Germany*, who were interested and united in the same Religion, intreated him to put an end to the War and disturbance of Armes, granting both Temporal and Spiritual peace to all his Subjects, whereby he might escape the just wrath of God due to such as break their word, and might also give them occasion to preserve their ancient friendship with the Crown; notwithstanding which, they were streightly obliged to provide for the safety of those who (without fault of theirs) being in distress, did implore the aid of those Princes that agreed with them in the confession of the same Faith. On the other side, the King's Answer contained, That having been called and chosen by God to the just profession of his Crown, he had also authority not depending upon any body, to establish Laws, publish Decrees, grant Licenses, and make fitting Provisions, according to the qualities of times, and the need of his Subjects, and therefore might also revoke, change, alter, and retract them at his pleasure, as he was best directed by his Divine Majesty: wherefore he did give the lie to whosoever went about to tax him to be a breaker of his word, if for the interest of his Subjects, and good of his Kingdom, he had revoked a liberty, granted conditionally, and but for a time; and that as he had formerly done, so he would reign freely for the future, marvelling that any should presume to interpose and meddle in the Government of his People, and in the Authority of his Person: That this was his last resolution, neither was it needful for them to stay any longer, to hear any other particulars from him. The Ambassadors urging, to have that Answer given them in writing, he angrily refused to do it; and giving order, that they should be conducted to lodge at *Poissy*, went the next day after (being the ninth of *September*) to the City of *Paris*.

There, notwithstanding the resolute answer given to the Protestant Princes, already divulged every where, and the progress of the War against the Hugonots, already kindled in so many places, the mindes of the common people were more then ever enflamed against his person and proceedings, which were publicly inveighed against in Pulpits, and particularly slandered in private meetings; for it being already spread abroad, by the Preachers and Heads of the League, and rooted in the minds of the Parisians, that the King favoured the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonot party, and sought, by under-hand means, at the sute of his *Minions*, to bring him to the succession of the Crown, and to establish them in the free profession of their Faith; the hatred conceived upon this occasion, was afterwards increased, by the frequency of Taxes and Impositions, and the continued exalting of the Duke of *Espernon*, and the other Favourites, who not only were highly suspected, but extremely hated by the greatest part of the Citizens. Wherefore, besides the suggestions of the Duke of *Guise*, who kept the *Sieur de Meneville* perpetually in the City for that purpose, the chief of the people being (in favour of the League, kindled of themselves, to conspire both against the Actions and Person of the King, had framed a Council of such as were most interested, consisting of sixteen persons (because the chief Wards, or as they call them, the *Quarters* of the City were so many) which was to rule and moderate the progress of that business, and the mindes of the common people. *La Chapelle Marais*, *Jehan le Clerc* *Sieur de Buffy*, President *Nully*, and *Charles Hotman*, were from the beginning as Heads and Presidents of this Council, and all * Trades were brought into it, by means

The Parisians, by the suggestions of the Heads of the League, being set against the King, frame a Council of 16 principal persons, by whom they were governed, receiving their Orders and resolutions. * Or Companies.

means of certain men chosen by them, one of each profession, who being admitted to this Council, made their relations, and received their orders, concerning whatsoever was resolved by the *Sixteen*, as well for the defence of the City, as the service of the League, and to oppose themselves against the designs of the King and his Favourites. The meetings of this Council was at first in the Colledge of *Fortet*, commonly called the * *Cradle of the League*, afterward they assembled themselves in the Covent of the Dominicans, or Jacobines; and at last, for fear of being suspected and discovered, they met not any more together in any certain determinate place: but sometimes in one private house, sometimes in another, with wonderful secrecy.

But nevertheless all these things were known unto the King, by the relation of *Nicholas Poulain*, who, (as we have said before) moved, either by hope of reward, or by the sting of conscience, made the King acquainted with every particular, by means of Monsieur *d'O* and the High-Chancellor; for, as a chief instrument in the Union of the Parisians, he knew the most hidden counsels that were plotted in that Congregation. But they of the League, not yet finding that their practises were discovered, and being fomented and swelled with promises by the Duke of *Guise*, and Don *Bernardino Mendoza* the Spanish Lieger at *Paris*, their boldness passed so far, that besides having possessed the whole scope of the City, listed secretly those men that were fit to bear Armes, and made great provisions to arm them, they had also begun to communicate with other principal Cities of the Kingdom, to raise and unite them in the same Conspiracy, which being by inveterate use and custome grown to an unbounded liberty, they began already to think, not onely of seizing upon strong Towns and Fortresses, but went so far, as to dare conspire against the Kings own Person, that they might be able afterwards to order the affairs of the Kingdom at their pleasure, and as the League should think fit.

It happened, that this counsel of the League being held one day in the Jesuites Colledge, a Proposition was made by the Confederates, in the name of the Spanish Ambassador, to surprise the Town of *Boulogne*, a Fortress in *Picardy*, seated upon the Shore of the * *Ocean Sea*, then under the Government of the Duke of *Espemon*, and in his name kept by the *Sieur de Bernay*, with the Authority of Governor. The Proposers alledged, that the Catholick King being about to set forth a mighty Fleet to go for *England*, was content, that (using his Forces in favour of that League) they should land in *France* at their first arrival, provided they might be furnished with a strong, large, and convenient Harbour, where they might securely enter; that there was no place more fit then *Boulogne*, seated in those parts which were nearest the City of *Paris*, placed right against *England*, hard by *Flanders*, to receive supplies from thence; the Duke of *Parma* being there, raising a very great Army, to join with the Forces of the Fleet: They shewed, that the Enterprize was not difficult; for the Provost *Vetus*, a faithful instrument of the League, using every three months to ride his circuit, and visit those parts, with fifty of his * *Archers*, which were commonly wont to go along with him, might surprise one of the Gates of the Town at his entry, and keep it till he were relieved by the Duke of *Aumale* with the Forces of the Province, at whose coming, those few Soldiers which were there in the Garrison being cut off; it was most easie to make themselves Masters of the place; which being a very principal one, was greatly desired also by the Duke of *Aumale* himself, who never having been able to attain to the absolute Government of *Picardy*, tried all wayes and plots, though bold and dangerous, to compass it. This attempt of *Boulogne* did very much please the Confederates, hoping that all the Spanish Forces would turn unexpectedly in favour of their designs; but, it was no less hopeful to the intents of the Ambassador *Mendoza*, considering the great benefit the Navy would receive by so important a place, and so large, so commodious an Harbour, as well in the prosecution of the Enterprize upon *England*, as if it should be employed in the affairs of *France*: wherefore the common opinion concurring to the same end, it was resolved in the Council, that the business should be attempted, and the Provost being informed thereof, who was most ready to undertake it, the fitting assignation was given to the Duke of *Aumale*, who, by reason of his wonderful Inclination to the affairs of the League, and his desire to make himself absolute in the Government of *Picardy*, did, with as much readiness, put himself in order for the design. But, Lieutenant *Poulain* was no less solicitous then they, to give the King intelligence of all the business, by means of the High Chancellor: so that Monsieur *de Bernay* being advertised, and carefully

1584.

* *Le berceau de la Ligue.*
Nicholas Poulain discovers all the Plots of the League unto the King.

They of the League plot to surprise *Boulogne* by the Spanish Fleet, which is revealed by *Poulain*.
* The Author in many places calls that the Ocean Sea, which we call the British Sea.

* *Attendants*, or guard; so called, because in old time they went with Bowes and Arrows.

1585. fully prepared, received the Provost in so dextrous a manner, that in the entry of the Gate, between the Draw-bridge and the Percallife, he was taken Prisoner with the greatest part of his men: and the Duke of *Aumale* appearing a while after under the Walls, was, by the fury of the Canon shot forced to retire.

They of the League consult about taking the King, as he returned from hunting.

Yet, for all the failing of this Enterprize, did not the Confederates find, that their secret Consultations were laid open to the Kings knowledge; but, ascribing the successless event of that attempt to chance, and to the wonted diligence of the *Sieur de Bernay*; they continued their accustomed inclinations with so much ardour, that they consulted of taking the King himself, returning with a slender Guard (as he was wont to do) from the *Boys de Vincennes*, whither he retiring himself from time to time to the exercise of his devotions (or as his detractors said, of his debauches) at his return entred by the *Porte St. Antoine*, the farthest part of all the City from the *Louvre*, where his Guards were, and about which the Court was lodged. But they themselves had not courage to prosecute that attempt, not having any Head of the Confederate Princes there present, and the King having notice of it by the same means, began to take better heed to himself, and to go with more caution thorough the City, and the places about it, causing himself alwayes to be attended by the Captains of his Guards, and by a good number of his most trusty Gentlemen, not suffering the five and forty appointed for that service particularly, to stir far from his Person. He was oftentimes thinking to chastise their temerity, and to revenge himself, as well of the contempt which the Preachers shewed, speaking publicly against him, as of the conspiracies of those stirers up of the people, which had caused the greatest and most important City of his Kingdom to revolt against him; but many things withheld him from it; the Treaty begun with the King of *Navarre*, the end whereof he desired to see before he gave any new disturbance to the League; the neer coming in of the forreign Army, to oppose the violence whereof, if he should not agree with the King of *Navarre*, he was necessitated to make use of the Forces of the League, and keep united with the Lords of the House of *Lorain*; much less was that a fit conjuncture to break out into open War with them, by punishing the Parisians, the so numerous Forces of such a populous City alone requiring many preparations to subdue them, and the absence of the Queen his Mother, without whose advice he was not wont to take any resolutions of such consequence as concerned the whole summ of his affairs. To these weighty respects, and the unsitnes of the time, was added the Office also of Monsieur de *Villequier*, who, being Governor of *Paris*, either out of a certain propension, which men have to defend and excuse those that are under their command, or out of a belief that they conspired, not immediately against the King, but onely for the good of the Catholick party, and against the Duke d' *Espernon*, or else disdaining, that in his Government, others should know more of the secret affairs of that People, than he himself, and should, in a manner, tax him of negligence, laboured to make them appear lyers, and satisfied the King, by assuring him, that the people did not bear him ill will, and that they plotted not any thing at all against him, and finally, endeavoured, by several meanes, to perswade him to dissemble, and bear with some indiscretions of the People, who were jealous of their Religion. In which opinion Secretary *Villeroy* did often also concur; being intent, by all wayes possible, to hinder the further greatness of *Espernon*.

The Design of taking the Bastile, Arsenal, Paris, and the Louvre, and to cut in pieces the Minions and the Kings adherents, and to take the King himself prisoner, revealed, and not effected.

Thus the King, by dissembling, increased the popular boldness and temerity: so that the Duke of *Mayenne* being about this time returned to *Paris* (who seeing his Army destroyed by toil and sickness in *Guienne*, and not having been able to obtain from the King, either recruits of men, or supplies of money, was come personally to Court, after the taking of *Chaftillon*) the Heads of the Parisians were ready to make their addressees to him, aspiring to bring their designs about, under the protection and conduct of his authority. *Hot-man*, *Bussy*, *la Chapelle Mortel*, President *Nully*, *Prevost* the Curate of *S. Severine*, and the Preacher *Vincestre*, went secretly by night unto him, and made him acquainted with their Forces, the union of the people, the Armes already gathered, and with the intention they had, not only to reduce the City under the power of the League, but also to seize upon the Kings person, and put his Favourites to death, who gave him such wicked Counsel in favour of the Hugonots. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who, because he had ever been of a contrary opinion to his Brothers, was not fully informed of these particular practices, managed by the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal, and who, by nature, was averse from too bold precipitate Counsels, stood a while in

In doubt, and took time to resolve till the night following: which being come, and the same Deputies of the *Union* being come unto him, he desired them to inform him more distinctly of their intentions, of their Forces, and of the Plots to which they trusted, being not disposed to undertake any thing which was not sure to be effected: The Deputies presently did so, and related to him, That first of all they meant to make themselves masters of all the chief places of the City, and that they had laid the Design in this manner: That to get the *Bastille*, they would go by night to the house of the *Chevalier du Gros*, who dwelt in *St. Catherine's*, a very remote place, and by one of the Archers which are wont to wait upon him, who was privy to the Plot, cause him to be told, that the King asked for him; at which, he opening his house to go out, an hundred armed men should enter, and having taken him, should force him to open the Gate of the *Bastille*: That, at the same time, certain Archers and Serjeants, with whom they had agreed, should cause the * *Chastelet* to be opened, under pretence of bringing certain prisoners thither, as it often happened, and rushing in, armed men should make themselves masters of it: That the gate of the * *Arcenal*, where there was no Guard, should be opened unto them by the two founders of Ordnance, whom they had dealt withal, and who dwelling within there, had promised to open it when they pleased: Which things being performed, they would presently run to the houses of the High Chancellor, of the first President of the Parliament, of *La Guesle* the * *Procureur-General*, and of the Kings Councillors, who, being taken unexpectedly in their beds, might easily be cut in pieces without resistance. Which things being done, they would barricado all the streets with barrels full of earth and dirt, and with Chains, Bars, and other things, to the end that none might be able to relieve the City, or draw men in Armes together, every Ward standing upon the defence of their own quarter; and eight thousand armed men chosen amongst them all, under the command of some expert Leader, or of the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, if he pleased to be there, should beset the *Louvre*, where there being only the ordinary Guards, and the retinue of Courtiers, it would be easie to enter it by force, or constrain all those that were there to yield by Famine, having no provision of victuals within it: which being done, all the Kings *Minions*, and other Counsellors should be cut in pieces, and the King himself put in a Monastery, till the Princes of the League had resolved of a future Forme of Government: the Duke of *Mayenne* being to go presently with new Forces into *Guienne*, and the Catholick King sending in a mighty Army over the Pirenean mountains, to destroy the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonot party. At these proposals, the Duke of *Mayenne*, a stayed man, was in much greater suspence then before, both for the cruelty of the fact, and because he thought it not secure to attempt such things upon the onely foundation of the common people, who, for the most part, are deceitful; and therefore answered the Deputies, That they should think better of the ordering that enterpise, and that he also would think upon it, and provide Commanders and other necessary means for the execution, if he resolved to meddle in it: And indeed, either doubtful in mind, or to have more convenience to think upon a business of so great consequence, he fained himself not well, and neither stirred abroad, nor admitted any to visit him.

But, in the mean time, *Poulain*, who knew all the business, was not slow in going to the High Chancellor the next morning betimes, to make him acquainted with the whole design; but he found him going out of his lodging sooner then ordinary to Counsel, wherefore seeing much company with him, he was resolved to defer the discovery till the afternoon. It happened, that he being very much in debt, some Creditors of his having got leave to arrest him, lighted upon him that morning, and caused him to be led prisoner to the *Chastelet*, where, seeing himself shut up, he, by a private note, let the High-Chancellor know of the disaster that had befallen him, and how necessary it was that he should speak with him about things of infinite importance: whereupon the Chancellor causing him to be brought bound before him, took him into his closet, pretending to examine the occasion why he was imprisoned, and there he was fully informed by him, of all that had been proposed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of all the designs and attempts of the Parisians; but, to deceive the standers by, seeming to be very angry with him, and that he would have him sell his Office to satisfy his Creditors, he sent him bound to Secretary *Villeroy*, who set down his whole relation in writing; and, to cover the business, so that those of the *Union* might not have the least suspicion, he, with an angry countenance, and more angry words, commanded him to be carried back to Prison, from whence, by a feigned security, which the King himself caused him

2584.

* Captain of the ordinary VVatch of Paris.

* A Court of Justice in Paris as Childehall in London, where also many are imprisoned.
* The Magazine of Arms.
* Attorney-General.

1586. to give, he was set at liberty a few days after. But the King being informed of the conspiracy of the Parisians, (though Monsieur *de Ville-quier* continued to assure him, and to cry out they were but lyes and inventions, *Poulain* being often rebuked and villified by him, as one who brought to despair by his own evil life, tryed by this calumny to make his profit) commanded nevertheless that the *Chevalier du Guet* should remove and lodge in the *Bastile*; caused the Founders of Ordnance to be put out of the *Arcenal*, and put in the Provost *Papin* with his Archers for a Guard; strengthened the Guards at the entry of the *Louvre*, and drew some of the Duke of *Espernon*'s Horse and Foot within a mile of the Town, which in time of need might be brought in by the Garden of the * *Tuilleries*, at a back gate opening into the fields.

* The Garden
of the *Louvre*.

They of the Union were much astonished, finding all their secrets were discovered, but they knew not upon whom to lay the fault, nor could they mistrust *Poulain*, because the accident of his imprisonment had excellently disguised his intelligence. But the Duke of *Mayenne* was much more discontented at it; who having never consented absolutely to the conspiracy of the Parisians, saw himself yet included in their error, and as it were engaged within the Kings power, by whom he might very easily have been taken, had it not been for those respects which made him proceed warily, and dissemble all things to attain to the end of his designs: wherefore if he had before feigned himself sick, that he might have more conveniency to ripen his determination; now he was necessitated to do the same for fear of being taken and put to death by the King if he should go to the *Louvre*. But when after the space of many days it was known that the King made no greater preparations, being satisfied with having secured himself; the Duke of *Mayenne* recovering courage, resolved to leave the City, and retire to his Government of *Bourgogne*; whereupon going to the *Louvre*, he made as if it had been necessary for him to go into the Country by reason of his want of health, and asked the King leave; who for all his dissimulation could not forbear to say, *How now Duke? will you forsake your League?* whereat the Duke feigning not to understand him, and saying, That he knew not what his Majesty meant, departed without further delay; the King rejoycing no less to see him go, and leave the Parisians without a Head, and without any settled resolution; then he to be out of that danger, and to have escaped the Kings Forces without hazard of his life or reputation.

The Duke of *Guise* took it very ill, that the Parisians had revealed their designs to his Brother, as well because knowing himself to have a freer courage and a more subtil sprightly wit, he desired in all things to be the man that should give the first motion and beginning, and that should order the course of all enterprises; as because he knew the nature and actions of the Duke of *Mayenne* were not altogether conformable to the aims of his intents: but the Parisians excused themselves, that they suspected their counsels were already discovered; whereupon their fear lest the King should prevent them, had caused the determination of imparting it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that they might execute the business without delay, having also believed, that the having recourse to one Brother more than to another was of no great importance, since one was present, and the other far off, and imployed in other affairs: Wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, not to be idle in the midst of so many businesses, and not to let his reputation grow stale and decay, had upon slight occasions begun a War voluntarily with the Duke of *Bonillon*, who possessing *Sedan* and *Jamets*, very strong and important Towns, with other less places upon the Confines of *Lorain* and *Champagne*, did by them keep open the passage for the German Army which came in favour of the Hugonots to enter *France*; wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, who desired to shut up that way by trying to drive the Duke of *Bonillon* from thence, having made a great complaint, that the Garisons placed in those Towns which were under *Sedan*, (where great store of Hugonots were gathered together) did much harm to the villages joining upon *Champagne*, he assaulted suddenly and took *Donzi*, a place in that territory very commodious to block up the principal City, as he presently would have done, if another enterprisé had not diverted him.

The Governour of *Aussone*, a very principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, denied to yield it up to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom it had been particularly assigned, being encouraged by his so far distance, and his having been imployed so long with the Army in *Guienne*; and the * *Grand Esquier* Lieutenant of that Province, a man

* Master of
the Horse.

man meerly depending upon the King, though he made shew of desiring to force that place, did yet cunningly defer to do so, nor could he find the way to bring him to his due obedience: Wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, who would endure no such affronts in the Provinces held and governed by his Family, and particularly in *Bourgogne*, closely united with *Champagne*, and standing upon the Confines of the Kingdom, and jealous of his Brothers reputation, and of his own, laying aside the enterprize of *Sedan*, came suddenly into *Bourgogne* with all the Forces of the League, and without other leave from the King, unexpectedly besieged *Aussone*, which having a sufficient Garison, the Defendents shewed themselves so courageous, that in their first sally they defeated Colonel St. Paul's Regiment of Foot, killing six Captains and three hundred Souldiers, and in the following assaults which were fiercely given unto the wall, beat back the Assailants oftentimes with much loss; but being streightned by the continual battery of three and twenty Cannon, the greatest part borrowed from the Duke of *Lorraine*, and distressed with Mines, Escalodoes, and redoubled assaults, and expecting no relief from any place, because some few Foot and Horse raised in *Mombelliard*, (which State borders upon *Bourgogne*) and in *Geneva* by Monsieur de *Clervant*, were defeated by Monsieur de *Rhosne* Camp-Master to the Duke of *Guise*, they capitulated in the end to yield themselves, and having leave from the Duke to go to *Sedan* and *Jamets*, upon the eighteenth of *August* they delivered up the place to the Duke of *Guise*, who having made the Baron de *Senesay* Governour, returned presently to the Government of *Champagne*, and from thence went to *Soissons*, where in a Diet of the principal Heads of the League, it was resolved, that the War with the Duke of *Bouillon* should be continued; wherefore as he was resolute in his determinations, and most quick in the execution, having in a few days put his Army in order, he attacked *Rocroy*, a place fortified after the modern way, and constantly defended by the *Sieur de Monmore*. But in that multiplicity of assaults and variety of attempts, wherein the art of the Duke of *Guise* was admirable, and his valour no less, the having no hope of relief constrained the Defendents to yield at last; amongst which, one called *Persevalle*, and two other Captains corrupted with money and promises by the Duke, feigned to retire to *Sedan*, and *Jamets*, giving him assurance they would deliver up a Gate of each of those Cities, when it should be their turn to have the guard of them; upon which hopes, though with forces inferiour to what was requisite for the besieging a place of so great moment, he quartered at *Moncon*, a Town near *Sedan*, and resolved under colour of streightning it, to expect the performance of those promises.

Aussone a strong place in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne* besieged and taken by the Duke of *Guise*.

But while the Duke of *Guise* does these things in *Champagne*, the Queen-Mother (the place of interview with the King of *Navarre* being appointed) was come to *Cognac*, attended by *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, (who having left the League, had put himself wholly under her protection) by the *Mareschal de Retz*, the *Sieurs d'Abin*, and *de Rambouillet*, by the Abbot *Gnadagni*, Secretary *Pinart*, Monsieur de *Lansac*, and divers other personages, who for quality and wisdom were of great esteem.

On the other side, the King of *Navarre* was come to *Farnac*, with the Viscount de *Turenne*, the *Sieur de la Force*, and *Monguignon*, the Baron de *Salignac*, and many other Lords of his party; but with so great a strength, (having with him eight hundred Horse, and few less than two thousand Foot) as at the first notice of them, put the Queen-Mother into very great suspicion, there not wanting those who doubted, and who spread abroad a report, that she was come with an intention to take her, and carry her away by force to *Rochel*. But after it was known that the King of *Navarre* was come in that manner for his own security, as one who by reason of his own weakness, and the usage he had received at other times, was in doubt of being deceived; and that the ingenuity of his nature, and the absurdity of that business had taken away all jealousies, they met at last upon the eighteenth of *October* at *St. Bris*, equally distant from the places whence they came, there being on the Queens part besides her ordinary Court, only the Captain of her Guard with fifty Horse, and on the King of *Navarre*'s Captain *Lomelle* with as many. The Gates were guarded by two Companies of Foot, one of the one party, and the other of the other, and in the field the Cavalry of both sides, in two several Squadrons; the King of *Navarre*'s commanded by the Count de *la Vall*, and Monsieur de *la Nue*; and the Queen-Mother's by the *Sieur de Malicorne* and other Gentlemen of the Country.

The interview between the Queen-mother and the King of *Navarre* at *St. Bris*, wherein nothing was concluded.

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Their publick discourses passed in complaints on both sides; the King lamenting that the King of *Navarre*'s obstinacy not to change his Religion, and to keep so far from Court, put the King upon a necessity of making War: and on the other side, the King of *Navarre* complained, that whilst he stood still obedient to the Kings commands, and most observant of the Edicts, he to satisfy the Lords of *Guise*, and other Enemies to quietness, had broke the Peace. But being come to secret conference, the Queen laid open the conditions which the King propounded of the divorce of Queen *Margaret*, and of the Marriage with the Princess of *Lorain*, who was there present, and being of an age already marriageable, shewed tokens of most noble education and discreet modesty. To this Match the Queen told him, that a Manifest should be added to declare him first Prince of the Blood, and lawful Successor to the Crown; and alledged, that from thence would necessarily result the disuniting of the Duke of *Lorain*, Father to the Princess, from the League, and from the Lords of *Guise*, who losing so principal a foundation, either would become quiet of their own accord, or if they did not submit themselves freely to the Kings will, they might with help of the German Army, which was upon the point of entering the Confines, be easily ruined and suppressed. That to attain so great a good, nothing else was required from the King of *Navarre*, but only his conversion to the Catholick Religion, and his return to Court; for as concerning the Excommunication of *Rome*, and the Popes Declaration of his incapacity to succeed in the Crown, as soon as he should be a real Catholick, the persecution of the *Guises* being taken away, and the League destroyed, the revocation of it would without difficulty be obtained; for the facilitating whereof, the King, who at first was displeased that *Fabio Mirto* a Neapolitan Archbishop of *Naxos*, had been declared Nuncio for *France* in the place of *Girolamo Ragazzoni* Bishop of *Bergamo* a Venetian, and had refused to accept of him, was since perswaded to receive him; and besides, Monsieur de *St. Goart*, Marquess of *Pisani*, his ordinary Ambassador to the Pope, he had also appointed the Duke of *Luxembourg* for extraordinary Ambassador, both men of such worth and prudence as would easily know how to overcome the greatest difficulties they should find in that Court.

This indeed was the best resolution and the most powerful to destroy the Lords of *Guise*, and the League; to restore the first authority, and Majesty to the Kings person, and to put the affairs of *France* into a secure quietness; and the King of *Navarre* himself was of opinion that it was so, whereupon he took only two days time to consider of it. But it was decreed that things should go in another manner, and that not peace and accommodation, but war and ruine should make way for the King of *Navarre*'s exaltation; for on the one side his thoughts represented such a fear of being caught again, and deceived, by the bitter memory of *St. Bartholomew*'s day; and on the other so weak hopes of his succession to the Crown, by reason of the youth of the King and Queen, and an infinite number of accidents which might cross it in length of time, that the shame of forsaking the Hugonot party, from which he acknowledged his present condition, and of having (to the scandal of his name) changed his Religion so often, condemning himself not only of Inconstancy, but even of Atheism, if it should be known that he swayed his Faith to the interest of State, he resolved not to consent to the Queens Propositions, but to see if by another way there might be any means to obtain the same ends.

With this determination he returned to the second Conference in the same place, where after the same complaints, to conceal what was treated of between them, they came to secret discourses, wherein he shewed that the foreign Forces might altogether as well be united with the Kings, and turn with his to destroy the League, and easily to suppress the House of *Lorain*, without his being obliged to change his Religion, or come to Court: That the King in former times had plainly known the ingenuity of his Nature, and the desire he had, not only to obey him, but also to make him to be obeyed by those stiff-necked Rebels, against whom he would employ not only the German Army, but all his own forces, friends and adherents, and his very life: That he was ready to give the King all possible assurance, and hoped that in a short time his actions would of themselves give testimony of his faith and sincerity: That therefore it was now superfluous to treat of changing his Religion, a thing of so great moment, and to be resolved upon with very mature deliberation, and with those circumstances of counsels, instructions, and other particulars, which might satisfy his Conscience, and give just pretences to his resolutions: That it was also out of season to press his coming

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coming to Court, where he could not secure himself he should stay without danger, till the *Guises* were utterly suppressed, whose power would never suffer his mind to rest in quiet till he saw them made unable to practise their wonted machinations: and with what heart, with what courage could he return to live in *Paris*, where the power of the League was so mighty, and the minds of the people so cruel, unless the Incendiaries and Stirrers up of tumultuous conspiracies were taken out of the World? that the King therefore should take what the nature of things would permit in that present condition, and become certain (with reason) that their common Enemies being the same, and the same interests pleading for them both, he would labour with that candour and that efficacy which the exigency of the matter required.

To these reasons the Queen answered, That as his Conversion was easie, so neither could it want just pretences; for if the King should make a League with him while he was disobedient to the Catholick Church, and openly excommunicated, besides the infamy which his name would incur, (by mingling in a conjunction not only abhorred, and never so much as in thought consented to by any other of the most Christian Kings, but also immediately contrary to the Vow and Oath taken solemnly at his Consecration) he should moreover give colour to the complaints, and justify the practices of the League; and which was of very great consideration, he should stir up all other Catholick Princes of the World against him. That upon their agreement would presently ensue the revolt of the City of *Paris*, (already in an uproar with but seeing that they treated with him) and the rebellion of many other chief Cities, as also the alienation of all the Catholick Nobility, and the greater part of the Kingdom: that this was the way to facilitate the King of *Spain's* assistance of the League, who would presently be forced to turn those preparations into *France* which were made against *England*. That at the first news of it, the Pope, of an angry hasty nature, would run precipitately to *Excommunications* and *Interdictions*, would presently dispatch great Supplies in favour of the League, and stir up all the Italian Princes to unite themselves with him for the defence of Religion. That the Duke of *Lorain* would not consent the marriage of his Daughter should be consummate whilst he was an alien from the Church; nor would the States endure he should be declared the lawful Successor of the Crown whilst he held the Faith of the Hugonots. In conclusion, that his perseverance was accompanied with all manner of difficulties and impediments; but his conversion did wonderfully facilitate and lay open the way to all his hopes, neither doubtful nor uncertain, but well grounded and secure.

The King of *Navarre* excused himself, sometimes with the indecency of changing, sometimes with his Conscience, sometimes discovering his fear of being brought into the net again; but in his excuses the perplexity of his mind, and the force of the Queens reasons appeared; whereupon new time was taken, and another Conference appointed within two or three days, wherein to facilitate the business, the Duke of *Nevers* was admitted on the Queens side, and the Viscount *de Turenne* on the King of *Navarre's*; but they (contrary to expectation) did rather increase the difficulties, than open the way to any resolution: for the Duke of *Nevers* desiring to shew his Eloquence and Learning as he was wont to do, wrought greater doubts in the mind of the King of *Navarre*, to whom the Italian arts were suspected; and the Viscount, a man no less wise and cunning, than stout and valiant, though he shewed a great inclination to favour the Queens reasons, yet the common opinion was, that for fear of being abandoned with the Duke of *Montmorancy*, (so they called the Marechal *d'Anville* after the death of his Brother) and of losing those great hopes which he had of power and command in the Hugonot party, neither desired Peace, nor the King of *Navarre's* Conversion; and that therefore he secretly dissuaded him from it: wherefore neither in this third Conference could they conclude any thing; but at the very time the King of *Navarre* had warning given him to take heed of the artifices of the King and Queen, who at the same instant while they treated with him, did assure the Popes Nuncio, the Duke of *Guise*, and the people of *Paris*, that whatsoever was done was in favour of the League; and that the end would justify, that this Treaty included such a design as would at last break forth for the good of Religion; whereby his jealousy increasing, not thinking it safe to trust either the Kings inconstancy, or the Queens too much cunning, he resolved in the end to follow the fortune of the Hugonots, and not to trust the Court; neither would he come to the Conference any more himself in person, but continued to send the Viscount of *Turenne*,

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The Solemn
Oath of Henry
the Third.

With these Negotiations began the year 1587: upon the first day whereof the King celebrating the Ceremonies of the Knights of the St. Esprit in Paris, swore solemnly not to suffer any other Religion than the Roman Catholick. This Oath of his, as it was sudden and inconsiderate, so both then, and many times after, it was blamed, as absurd, and contrary to his own designs: for, to treat of an Agreement with the King of Navarre, and vow the extirpation of the Hugonots, did immediately contradict one another. But neither they that spake of it then, nor they that looking upon things afar off, reprehended it, did so afterwards, when they knew either the Kings intention; or the contents of what was secretly treated with the King of Navarre: for Monsieur de Rambouillet being come post from Poitiers, and arrived already at Court upon the 27 of December, with Letters from the Queen, and with a Relation of all that had passed with the King of Navarre, whereby the King was certified that it was impossible to conclude any thing, he standing averse from changing his Religion, and proposing an Agreement without speaking any thing about matters of Faith; the King, to take away that hope from the King of Navarre, and to make him consent to be converted; or if he would not change his mind, being resolved, or rather necessitated to join with the League to oppose the German Army, made this Protestation very opportunely, whereby he at once beat down all the complaints and calumnies of the Heads of the League, and appeased in great part (at least for a time) the minds of the Parisians, who (as the commotions of the people are wont) varied their thoughts and inclinations with the breath of every the slightest accident; whereupon he was afterward able to stir to gather an Army, and turn against the foreign Forces, without being molested by the Parisians; though the wonted Incendiaries did not fail to strive to raise them more than once. The Kings inclination was clearly seen in this, That when the course of affairs did necessarily force him to treat of any thing in favour of the Hugonots, he consented to it very slowly, ambiguously, and after long consideration: But if the business were to favour or unite himself to the Catholick party, he concurred in that with so much readiness and resolution, that his motion to the benefit to the benefit of the Catholick Faith plainly appeared to be natural, but the other produced by necessity, and violently constrained.

And as for the King of Navarre, the news of the Kings Protestation being speedily come unto his ear, and he complaining that the proceedings were contrary to what was treated with him; the Duke of Nevers answered him opportunely, That if he called to mind all the late Treaties, he should not find that ever the King had offered to tolerate or embrace the Hugonot Religion, but that indeed he had tried all possible means to make him forsake it, and turn to the Catholick, in which the King was so fully resolved to live and die, that no accident, how averse soever it might be, could ever be able to draw him from it. However it were, this is certain, that the Queen having by Monsieur de Rambouillet given the King account of the King of Navarre's last resolution, received Commission at his return to change her discourse in that Treaty, and in stead of the propounded League between them, to try if she could procure a Truce for some few months, to gain time to make preparations against the Army of the Germans. But neither did this take effect: for though the Viscount of Turenne came often to the Queen, and that the Duke of Nevers and the Marschal de Byron went often to the King of Navarre; yet they concluded nothing but a suspension of Arms for so few days, that the King did not care to ratifie it; and the King of Navarre, not willing to retard the coming of the Germans, broke off the Treaty, and went away to Rochel; as also the Queen, with the same speed, beyond her age, or the season of the year, returned to Paris; where all the late Treaties being repeated and discussed, chiefly by the counsel of Monsieur de Villeroy it was concluded necessary for the King to unite himself to the Heads of the League betimes, and with their Forces together to oppose the German Army, so that the King of Navarre might not by any means possible be able to join with them, since they saw his mind could not be brought by any composition to an agreement with the King, and that the firmness of his resolution could not be broken by any largeness of conditions: wherefore nothing remained, but to follow the old way, trodden by so many other Kings, till some other occasion should make an overture of new resolutions, and to resist the violence of the Hugonot Army, that the Kingdom might not be left a prey to the fury of strangers,

strangers, that the Royal Majesty might not utterly be abased and made contemptible, and that he might not be ruined while he was unarmed, and an Enemy to, or at least distrustful of both the Factions.

Monsieur de Villerey argued, that ease and want of Arms had taken away the splendour and reputation from the Kings person: That the Taxes and Impositions excessively increased, had rendered it odious; and that therefore taking Arms against himself with a mighty Army, shewing his wonted valour and greatness of courage, and putting an end to the calamities of War by an absolute Victory, he might recover his former Majesty, make the shadows of so many intrusted powers of his Subjects vanish with the Sun-shine of his greatness, and strike fear and terror into those who thought to force him to consent to their own wills: He shewed that this was the true way to dissipate and frustrate the strength of the League: for that when he should once command his own Armies, the Nobility and Souldiery would much more willingly follow his Standard than the Ensigns of the Lords of Guise, and that every one would rather draw water from the fountain (if they might) than from the brook. He also alledged that by his Declaration in favour of the Catholics (which his actions would shew to be sincere) he might assure himself of the Popish and Spanish Forces, since neither of them would ever dare to rise against him, when the pretence of Religion was taken away: and that it was already known how the Pope, forced by the truth and evidence of reason, had answered Cardinal Bellarmine, urging him for assistance in favour of the League, that he knew not how to take Arms against a lawful Catholic and religious King, unless first they could make it plainly appear that he favoured the establishment of the Hugonots; and the King of Spain not having the courage to declare himself openly, had gathered his Forces together under pretence of making War with England, waiting for an opportunity to turn against him, but not otherwise than the cloak of Religion might give him occasion. Moreover, he affirmed that all other counsels were but politick subtilties and inventions, new ways, difficult knots, impossible Chimera's, and deceitful shadows: That this only was the great high-way and beaten road that led to victory and repose; after which, lightening the weight of their loads and burdens, he might give breath and quiet to the common people, and get the love and affection of all his Subjects. In sum, he concluded with his wonted Maxim, That the King could no way more easily destroy the League, than by carrying himself plainly and sincerely, as the other Kings his glorious Predecessors had done, for by taking away the foundation of pretences and complaints, the fabrick of all those plotted designs would fall to ruine of it self.

These reasons, or rather evident necessity, made the King resolve to unite himself with the League, and to oppose the Army of the Germans; and therefore he presently dispatched Myron the Physician to the Duke of Guise, to let him know that he had endeavoured by the Queen his Mothers late Interview, to draw the business out in length, and to procure a suspension of Arms with the King of Navarre, thereby to divert the entry of the Germans, and make them fall asunder by delays, as he had prosperously done so many other times, without indangering the whole sum of affairs; but having found the King of Navarre's propositions were very hard, and the time of the coming of the Germans still drawing on, he was resolved to oppose them by force: That he would dispatch the Sieur de Sancy to the Cantons of the Swisses, to make strong Levies: That he was preparing an Army commanded by the Duke of Joyeuse, to be sent against the King of Navarre, to the end that being kept in play, he might not be able to pass the Loyre, and come to join with the Germans: That he would make another ready to march where need should require; but that the Germans being first to come into Lorraine, and then into Champagne and Burgundy, Provinces governed by him and the Duke of Mayenne his Brother, it was also necessary that they should take Arms, and calling in all their friends and dependents, should make up a Body of an Army, able to wait upon and distress that of the Hugonots in their entry. Myron the Physician found the Duke of Guise at Menon near Sedan, where, with the Forces he had, by slight inconsiderable enterprises, he endeavoured to streighten that place, expecting that Perceval and the others that went out of Becroy being corrupted by money and his promises, should give him some opportunity to surprize either Jametz or Sedan it self; for one of them was in one City, and the other two in the other. Myron delivered what the King had given him in charge, adding the Queen-Mothers Exhortations, accompanied with kind Letters, expressing a confidence

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dence in him; and without difficulty (because the necessity of opposing the Enemies was reciprocal) carried back word from the Duke of *Guise*, that he would obey his Majesties commands, and that drawing together the friends and dependents of his house, he would not fail of those endeavours which he had always been wont to lend in the exigencies of the Crown: beseeching his Majesty that he would but once free himself of the stubbornness of the Hugonots, and give way that his Kingdom might be purged from the deadly poison of Heresie.

But this liberty of framing an Army to oppose the Germans being given to the Duke of *Guise*, (which howsoever he would have taken of himself) the King was still in wonderful great difficulties which way he should carry himself, both to hold the King of *Navarre* in play, and make war with so great an Army, as was ready to invade his Kingdom: for as when the wills of his Subjects were unanimous, and well united with him to the same end, the French Nation was so warlike, that it needed little to fear the force of any foreign Enemy; so now having not only a very great number of Hugonots in every Province, but (which at the present raised greater difficulties) the Intentions and Forces of the Catholicks being divided by several ends, the event of things was by that discord made very doubtful and uncertain: Nor did the Victory of the Duke of *Guise* represent it self unto the Kings mind with less terrour than that of the King of *Navarre* and the Germans, not being able which way soever the event succeeded, to promise himself any thing but infinite dangers, and greater troubles than he had ever had in times past: which afflicted him so much the more, because, being a Prince of exceeding providence and quick foresight, he had all difficulties and future encounters as it were ever present before him; whereby he was not only taken off from his wonted entertainments, but watching whole nights in most deep considerations, he went often out of his Chamber in the most silent hours, and coming into the lodgings of the Queen his Mother, held long consultations there: to which were called (as more trusted than any others) sometimes the Marechal de *Retz*, sometimes the Abbot de *Bene*: for the Duke of *Epernon*, though most beloved by the King, and master of his favour, was yet an open Enemy to the *Guises*; and *Villeroy* on the other side, who for his wisdom and experience in matters of Government was highly in esteem, was yet suspected in this business, by reason of his enmity with the Duke of *Epernon*, and all the men of greatest credit depended nearly upon one of these two, not (though he said the contrary) did the King much like or esteem the Duke of *Nevers*, because he thought with his wisdom to rule in all things as an Oracle. Thus all the secret consultations were reduced only to four persons, unless the Widow Dutcheff of *Uzes*, a Lady of great worth, and excellent wit, and who, as it is believed, had also in her younger days been very acceptable to the King, did participate in the counsels of some affairs, though not of the most secret and intimate ones. To these the Sieur de *Rambouillet* was often joined, who, of a subtil nature, powerful eloquence, and profound learning, began to rise in credit near the King and the Queen-Mother; but he was not yet made a secure Confident, and therefore all secret businesses did not appear unmasked to him. Thus all the present difficulties and future doubts being exactly sifted among these, and the opinions of the other Cabinet-Counsellors being heard upon some particulars, the Kings determination was shut up within these limits: That the Duke of *Joyeuse* with competent Forces should go against the King of *Navarre*, but that *Jehan* Sieur de *Lavardin*, of whose endeavours the King was very confident, should go along with him as his Lieutenant and Moderator, to the end that the King of *Navarre* might be held in action, but not suppressed; it being sufficient to keep him so in play, that he might not get loose to join himself with the German Army. That the care of hindering the entry, and opposing the first violence of the foreign Army should be left to the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Lords of his Family, being certain that the Duke for the haughtiness of his mind, the defence of his own estate, and the encreasing of his reputation, a thing so necessary for the Heads of popular Factions, would pass by no occasion which should offer it self of fighting with the Germans, from which Battel an equal joy and benefit would result which way soever the event succeeded; for the Conquerours and the Conquered would be equally routed and destroyed: or rather, it was very probable, that the Duke of *Guise*, being much inferior in strength, would either in one or many encounters be defeated, and by consequence the League broken to pieces; but that to prevent the Conquerours from having free passage to run on, and do their pleasure to the ruine of the Kingdom, the King should

should make up a mighty Army with Swisse-Infantry, and with the greatest number of Nobility that he could, to be ready to withstand all dangers, and give the Law as he pleased to both the Conquered and Conquerors; a thought for the speciousness of it so imprinted in the Kings mind, that as he walked alone he was often heard to break forth into these words, *DE INIMICIS MEIS VINDICABO INIMICOS MEOS.*

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A saying of Henry the III.

With this resolution he presently dispatched Monsieur *de Sancy* to the Swisses to raise eight thousand Foot of that Nation, and the Army was begun to be prepared wherewith the Duke of *Joyeuse* was to march into *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, where the King of *Navarre*, since the Queen-Mothers departure, not losing a minute of time, had taken *Chisay* upon composition, and *Sassay* by assault, stormed *St. Messant*, and forced *Fonsenay* to yield, surpris'd *Monleon*, and having made himself Master of all those Quarters, gathered all possible Forces, called in his dependents and adherents, raised new Infantry, and set all his endeavours on work to draw together a competent Army, wherewith he might march to receive his Germans; to perfect which business, it being necessary to return to *Rochel* to gather money, and furnish himself with ammunition, he left two Regiments of Foot to keep those places he had gotten under the command of *de Bory*, and *Charboniere*, Colonels, or as they are now commonly called, * Camp-Masters.

* *Maîtres de Camp.*

But the fame of the King of *Navarre's* Successes, and the complaints of the Catholicks, who exclaimed in a manner publicly, that the Country near unto him had been left without an Army, purposely to give him opportunity to augment his Forces, constrained the King to hasten the dispatch of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who with a great number of the Nobility, (whose favour he had exceedingly won by his courtesie and liberality) and with between seven and eight thousand Foot and light Horse, was almost ready to begin his march. Before his departure the King calling to him in private Monsieur *de Lavardin*, (chosen Lieutenant-General of that Army, a man by reason of his ancient dependencies not ill-affected to the King of *Navarre's* party) informed him of his intentions, and how necessary it was for him to proceed with such moderation in that War, that the Hugonots might be kept in action without putting the whole sum of affairs in hazard; it not being fit in the difficulty of that present conjuncture, to engage the Catholick Forces, nor venture them in such sort as might prejudice those businesses that were in agitation: then after long instructions, he filled him with great hopes and promises, if he could order matters according to the informations he had received. But *Lavardin*, either not sufficiently informed in a short discourse or two, or perchance not being able for want of capacity to discern the Kings intention, which was, that affairs should be kept in equal balance; or else drawn by some interested dependents upon the King of *Navarre*, was imprudently afterwards in a manner the instrument of ruining that Army, which was not taken notice of by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who (full of high genetous spirits, and puffed up with the great abundance of Nobility that served under him) having hastily passed the *Loire*, fell so unexpectedly, into the Hugonots quarters, that the Regiments of *de Bory* and *Charboniere*, which over-ran the Country every where, were not able to make their retreat, but being both surrounded in the Town of *St. Eloy*, thought they made very gallant resistance for many hours, yet were they at last taken by force, and cut in pieces to the very last man. The *Sieur de Bory* was left prisoner, and *Charboniere* saved himself by flight at *St. Messant*, which Town being besieged, and terribly battered, in the heat of that Victory was fain to yield within a few days, and was unfortunately sacked by the violence of the Souldiers; and with the same fury the Abby of *Maillemais* and *Thonne-Careme* were also taken. But the *Sieur de Lavardin* not being able to resist the will of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, (who desirous of glory, not averse from the designs of the League, and (as he said himself) desirous that the Preachers of *Paris* might have occasion to magnifie his actions, and make his name famous, aspired by his enterprises to confirm that greatness to which fortune had raised him) began to attempt that by policy, as he thought, which he could not openly bring to pass; and by slackening the discipline of his men, and by giving the common Souldiers frequent opportunity of spoil and plunder, was the occasion that many ran away, (for most of them sought to get home and save what they had gotten) to which the sicknesses and diseases being added, in part caused by hard duty, but much more by ill government, the Army was strangely diminished in a short time; which being known and certified by their musters, the

The King sends an Army against the King of *Navarre*, and gives secret order to *Lavardin* to oppose, but not suppress him.

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The Count de Bouchage Brother to the Duke of Joyeuse turns Capuchin after the death of his wife, whom he dearly loved.

The Duke of Espernon marries the Countess of Candale, a rich Heir; the King honours the wedding with great presents.

the Commanders, and *Lavardine* among the first, began to advise the Duke not to proceed further till his Infantry were recruited, without which it was impossible for him either to take in any Towns, or to make War in the inclosed Fenny places of *Xaintonge*; this counsel, and the news that came daily from Court of the Duke of *Espernon*'s greatness and authority, which pierced the Duke of *Joyeuse* very deeply, made him resolve to take Post, and go to the Court in person, as well to keep himself fresh in the Kings memory, as to obtain a new addition to his Forces. But his coming thither caused him more discontent than his absence had done before; for he found that the Wife of his Brother *Henry Count de Bouchage* was newly dead, who was Sister to the Duke d' *Espernon*, and had maintained that friendship (at least in appearance) which by their emulation was wholly blotted out of their hearts: to which misfortune was added, that the Count either out of extream sorrow for his Wives death, whom he most dearly loved, or out of a satiety of worldly things, or (as it was reported) because he had so promised his Lady in her life time, took the habit of a Capuchin, making himself be called Frier *Ange de Joyeuse*, to the infinite grief of his Brother: nor did the adverseness of his affairs end there; but at the same time he saw the marriage concluded between the Duke of *Espernon*; and the Countess of *Candale*, Heir of that most noble, wealthy Family; which Wedding the King did not honour so much with the vanity of Pumps and Ceremonies, as he had done that of the Duke de *Joyeuse*, but with presents of infinite value, and with the additions of inestimable riches, whereof the Duke of *Espernon* was a very careful manager. To these serious businesses the Courtiers added also light youthful discourses; for the Duke of *Espernon* loving *Mademoiselle Stavay* one of the Queens Gentlewomen, and the Duke of *Joyeuse* *Mademoiselle de Vitry*, another of the same Court, whom they were wont to present with very rich gifts: they said that the Duke of *Joyeuse* at his return found he had also quite lost the heart of *Mademoiselle de Vitry*; for being won by the Duke of *Espernon*'s presents, or the hopes of marrying *Monsieur de S. Goart*, who depended upon him; with a womanish inconstancy she was turned to that side, which either for the love he bore her, or for envy and emulation, did wonderfully afflict him. These things striking deeply into the mind of *Joyeuse*, but much more the lessening of the Kings favour, which he knew to be much abated, (having publickly told him that the Court reckoned of him as a *Poltron*, and that he was not able to wipe off that blemish) he returned to the Army with those few forces that were granted him, and (as the custom is) present passion having more power with him than former benefits, he resolved with himself to adhere wholly to the League, to wreak the hatred which he bore to his Corival, and presently to give battel to the King of *Navarre*, hoping by a famous Victory to confirm his own fortune, and make himself equal to the Duke of *Guise*, both in the Catholick party, and in the air of the common peoples applause.

But it was in vain for him to pretend at one flight to reach so high a pitch, to which the *Guises* by long patience and many years endeavour, had attained by little and little; and he by striving precipitately to force the nature of things, did hastily procure his own ruine; to which, whilst he runs on the one side with an unbridled fury, the King of *Navarre* proceeding with more circumspection, was intent in gathering Forces from all parts to enable himself to move towards the *Loire*, and meet the German Army. To him were joined the Prince of *Conde*, the Viscount de *Turenne*, the Duke de la *Tremouille*, the Count de *Montgomery*, and the Marquess de *Gallerande*, the Baron de *Salignac*, and a good number of Horse and Foot under many Gentlemen of note, and old experienced Commanders; so that his Army was not so numerous as resolute and valiant. About this time, by the means of his ordinary Confidants, he had solicited *Charles Count of Soissons*, and *Francis Prince of Conty* Brother to the Prince of *Conde*, who till then had persevered in the Catholick Faith, and continued near the Kings person in the Court; urging to them, that the business now in hand did no longer concern Religion, but the defence of their Family, and the inheritance and succession of the Crown, to which not only He was called, but successively the whole House of *Bourbon*; and that it was therefore fit in that common cause and reciprocal interest, they should all unite themselves, to make the greater resistance against those who went about to exclude and ruine them; and that they should take example by their Enemies, among which the Duke of *Mercœur* and his Brothers, though they were the Kings Brothers-in-law, and had from him received so much honour,

honour and so many benefits, yet because they were of the House of *Lorain* kept united with the Duke of *Guise* and the rest of their Family, and stood out against their own Sister and Brother in-law: That if it were lawful for them to do so for the execution of new, unjust designs, much more was it lawful for them of the House of *Bourbon* to unite themselves all together, for the defence of their most just, ancient Prerogatives, which were due unto them by the legal universal consent of the French Nation: That they need not fear they should suffer any violence in their Consciences: for he that laboured for the liberty of others, would never take it away from those that were so near himself, but that they should take example by so many Catholick Lords and Gentlemen which followed the fortune of his party. By which reasons these two Princes being moved, as also because they saw themselves kept under, and little valued at the Court, resolved to go over to his party, and determined that the Prince of *Conty* should join with the Army of the *Reiters* as soon as they were come into *France*, and that the Count *de Soissons* should go to the Hugonot Camp in *Xaintonge*; which that he might securely do, the King of *Navarre* gave order to the Sieurs *de Colombiere* and *Sauvè Marye du Mont*, who had raised some Forces in *Normandy* in favour of his party, that they should conduct him to the passage of the *Loyre*, whither he had sent the Viscount of *Turenne* with eight hundred Horse to meet him; and it fell out so luckily, that the Count and the Norman Forces went close by the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Army without receiving any damage at all, and united themselves with very great joy to the Army of the King of *Navarre*, who highly incensed at the inhumanity used to his two Regiments which were cut in pieces in *Poitou*, being wary, yet resolved to take revenge, advanced still forward, while the Duke of *Joyeuse* as it were assured of the Victory, came on carelessly to meet him.

In the mean time the German Army was upon the point of marching towards *Lorain*: for the Protestant Princes Ambassadors being returned home with the angry answer of the King of *France*, the King of *Denmark*, *Christian* Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquess of *Brandenbourg*, Prince *Casimir*, the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, with other Lords of the same Religion, at the importunity of the King of *Navarre*'s Agents, but much more at the exhortations of *Theodore Beza*, gave resolute order for the raising of that Army; toward which, besides the money gathered publicly in the Protestant Churches, and put into the hands of Prince *Casimir*, there were also sixty thousand Ducats added by the Queen of *England*. With this money, and the consent and endeavour of all the Protestant Lords in *Germany*, it was easie to raise an Army in that populous warlike Nation; so that in the beginning of *July* there met in *Alsacia*, under the conduct of Prince *Casimir*, upon whom that charge had been conferred by the rest, twelve thousand *Reiters*, four thousand German Foot, and sixteen thousand *Swisses*; for the other four thousand went into *Dauphine* apart. *Fabian* Baron *d'Onaw*, born in *Prussia*, commanded as Prince *Casimir*'s Lieutenant-General; a man of private condition, but risen to high esteem by the favour of the King of *Denmark* and of the Count *Palatine*, and accounted a man of very great boldness and courage; but of neither wisdom nor experience proportionable to an employment of so great weight: and though in the beginning of *August*, *Guillaume de la Marck* Duke of *Bonillon* came up with two thousand Foot and three hundred French Horse, and by Commission from the King of *Navarre* was to have been General of that Army; and though at his arrival he displayed the white Cornet, (a mark due to the Supreme Commander) yet retaining only the name, he left the command wholly to the Baron *d'Onaw*, both for his age, and because he was of the Nation, as also out of respect to Prince *Casimir*. With the Duke of *Bonillon* were *Robert* Count *de la Mark* his Brother, the Sieurs *de Guitry*, *de Monlucet*, *de la Noche*, and many other French Gentlemen; to whom the Sieurs *de Momy* and *Cormont*, with many other of their Adherents, came from *Geneva* with two hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot; and every day the Army increased with the number of those who ran thither from *Dauphine*, and the other Confines of *France*: so that before it moved out of *Alsacia*, it amounted to the number of Forty thousand fighting men.

Before this Army marched, there came an Edict from the Emperour *Rodolphe Secundus*, sent to the Baron *d'Onaw*, which contained, That he having without his License, and without the Letters Patents of the Empire, caused that Army to be raised

to disband the Army raised without his leave, and to desist from the business upon pain of the Imperial banishment: to which the Baron answers with excuses that he ought not to desist.

The Protestant Princes of Germany, moved at the King of France his answer to their Ambassadors, raise an Army under the conduct of Prince Casimir, which being come into Alsacia, was forty thousand men, led by the Baron d'Onaw, Lieutenant-General to Prince Casimir.

Rodolphe the Second the Emperour commands the Baron d'Onaw by a publick Edict

1587. to invade the Kingdom of *France* should presently disband it, and desist from the Enterprife, under pain of banishment out of the Empire, both to himself and those that should follow him. To which threatening the Baron *d'Onaw* answered in writing, That the Enterprife being neither his, nor against the Empire, nor against the Kingdom of *France*, but for the relief of the oppressed Confederates of the Protestant Princes: and the German Nation having ever had that liberty to enter themselves into pay under whom they pleased, so that it were not against the Emperour nor his Jurisdiction, he neither thought himself obliged to desist, nor to disband the Army, but that without offence to the Emperour he would continue the business begun by Commission from his Princes. Thus the Emperour making no reply, nor proceeding to any other new Prohibition, about the middle of *August* the Army was ready to begin to march. And to the end that businesses might prosper under the conduct of the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Baron *d'Onaw*, the Count *de la Marck* was appointed to lead the Van: the command of the German Cavalry was given to the Baron *de Bonck* an expert Souldier of that Nation; that of the Swisse Infantry, to *Claude Anthony* Sieur *de Clermont*; to *Momy* the command of the French Foot; the Sieur *de Guitry* a French man, and *Lodovick Roms* a German, being Marshals of the Field.

Against all these preparations, the Duke of *Lorain* (who in all the other Wars had ever stood Neuter, and now had declared himself in favour of the League, and of the Lords of his Family) being first at the Frontiers, was in a very great fear, finding he had not sufficient force to make resistance, and with Letters and Messages solicited the Duke of *Guise*, and all his Friends and Confederates, that since they had drawn him into so much danger, they would also be ready and speedy to help him out. He had raised two thousand *Reiters* out of the Territories of the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, under the command of the Baron of *Swartzenbourg*; eight hundred other Horse, some * Albanians, some Italians, and four thousand Foot of his own State; to which Forces the Prince of *Parma* Governour of the Low-Countries, in performance of the League with the Catholick King, had added eight hundred Bourguignon Horse, under the Command of the Marquess *de Havray*, and two thousand Foot, all Walloons, under the command of the Marquess *de Varambone*. But it being necessary to put a Garrison in *Nancy* the chief City of *Lorain*, and many other lesser Towns, he had neither Force enough left to hinder the passage of the Germans, nor to defend his Country from their Incurfions; and therefore the Duke of *Guise*, the very Soul and Life of his Party, and upon whom the Foundation of all the Affairs of the League was settled, drew Friends and Forces together from all parts to assist and defend the Duke of *Lorain*.

Nor did the King of *France* make less preparations than the rest; but being resolved to shew his face, and make himself Arbitratour of Affairs, he drew all his Forces together: for besides eight thousand Swisse Foot raised under the publick colour of the Catholick Cantons, he also levied fourteen thousand French Foot, summoned all the Souldiery, called all the Nobility to attend him, having determined to command his Army himself in person; wherein he received no other hinderance, but the unquietness of the Parisians; for the Preachers and the Council of *Sixteen* ceased not to stir up the people, and to make frequent tumults in the City, insomuch as the Authority of the King and his Magistrates was despised and trodden under Foot, with very great danger of an open change desired and procured by them. Nor durst the King in that present condition punish the authors of those tumults, for fear of causing an absolute revolt, and in a conjuncture of so great danger, deprive himself of that City, which had ever been the Basis and Foundation of his Party; this encouraged them with more boldness to multiply their designs, which would have produced the event aimed at by the Heads of the League, if first the imminent fear of the German Army, and then the Kings Oath taken against the Hugonots, and the promise wherewith he took Arms for the common defence, had not restrained and withheld the people, who out of fear, and some certain respects of duty, were not very forward to embrace seditious counsels. But the King having with great dexterity and patience often quieted those uproars raised without occasions, full of ill-will towards the Heads of Sedition, though cunningly dissembling it, having left the Queen-Mother as Regent in *Paris*, and Monsieur *de Villequier* as Governour, departed from the City about the end of *July*, and went to *Meaux* ten leagues from thence, about which place he had caused Quarters to be taken up for his Army. Thither the Duke of *Guise* came unto

unto him, *Meaux* being a Town under his command, and they met together with shews of exceeding kindness and respect, but thoughts very different from the outward appearance. The division of both Horse and Foot was made in the Duke of *Guise's* presence, the King having appointed twenty Cornets of Horse, and four Regiments of Foot for the Duke, reserving all the rest for the Army which he was to lead himself; but almost all the Horse were withheld afterward with several excuses, and the Duke of *Guise* had only those Foot left him, which were brought by his dependents; for in their meetings and discourses, suspicions being rather increased, than former hearts-burning taken away, the King was so much the more firmly settled in his intention, to beware no less of the Duke of *Guise*, than of the foreign Army; and to leave him weak, that he might be the more easily cut off, since that whether his Forces were many or few, he could do no less than draw near the Enemy, and fall upon him either in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, or in the Confines of his own Government.

After two days the Duke of *Guise* departed, and making his Rendezvous at *St. Florentine*, a place near *Troye*, with seven hundred Cuirassiers of Gentlemen that were his dependents, six hundred Light-horse, part Albanians, part Italians, and part sent by the *Sieur de Balony* Governour of *Cambray*, and with two thousand French Foot led by the *Sieurs de Joannes, de Clusseau, de Gies*, and *de St. Paul*, his old Colonels, he marched streight toward *Lorain*. All the Lords of that Family were met together at *Nancy*, where the Duke commonly resides, and there fell to consult which way they should oppose the German Army. The opinions were different, or rather oppositely contrary: for the French Lords, among which the Duke of *Guise* was the chief, would have made the seat of the War in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, a streight narrow Country, and by reason of the abundance of Rivers, fit for some great enterprize, keeping the Germans busied in a place where they could not hope to join with the King of *Navarre*, and where being near their own Country, they would easily disband and run home upon every small occasion or disorder that might arise: nor did the greatness of the foreign Army at all dismay the Duke of *Guise*, a man of a resolute undaunted courage; but despising the number of raw untrained men newly raised in haste, he thought himself able to accomplish any thing with his old tried Souldiers. But the Duke of *Lorain* was of a contrary opinion, who with the *Marquess du Pont* his eldest Son, the Count *de Saulme* his principal Minister, the Count *de Chaligny* one of the King of *France* his Brothers in law, and with the *Sieurs de Offonville*, and *Bassompierre*, thought not fit to submit his Country to all the dangers and miseries of the War, and thought he had done too much, in declaring himself for the French Lords of his Family, and in being at so great charges, and in undergoing so many dangers to satisfy them: wherefore he desiring the Germans might not be hindered in their passage, but that keeping all the principal Towns well provided, and waiting upon them with a flying Army, to the end they might have less opportunity to hurt the Country, that impetuous torrent might be suffered to make an inundation in those parts to which it naturally tended: and by how much the more he saw the Duke of *Guise* ready and desirous to put the event of businesses opportunely to the hazard of a day, so much the more did he fear that danger. Wherefore because the opinions differed, he concluded freely, that he would not have them to play his State at that Game; and that if the Duke of *Guise* and the French Lords had an humour to fight, they should reserve themselves till the Enemy were entered into *France*, it satisfying him to preserve his own with as little loss as possibly he could, considering the greatness of the Enemies Army. With this resolution all the guards were recalled from the Confines, to quarter in strong places, and the *Sieur de Offonville* General of the Duke of *Lorain's* Forces, rode thorow all the State, causing the Mills and Ovens to be destroyed, and the victuals to be carried away from all places, to the end that the German Army finding scarcity of provisions, might resolve to pass on without delay: and because the Duke of *Guise's* forwardness made the Duke of *Lorain* suspect, that against his will, he would with inferiour Forces, and without necessity put it to a Battel, he himself, though far in years, would command the Army; and to honour the Duke of *Guise*, gave him only the charge of the Van-guard.

The same divisions were in the German Army; for the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de la Mark* desired to make the seat of that War in *Lorain*, not only to have conveniency of victual, and to garison *Sedan* and *Jamets*, their own Towns, which bordered upon that State, but also to ruine and undo the Duke of *Lorain*, whose

Care taken by the Duke of *Lorain* that the German Army might not stay in his Country

1587. neighbourhood was suspected by them, believing that he aspired to their possessions, the truth whereof they had seen in the War made upon them by the Duke of *Guise*, and knew much more evidently afterwards. On the other side, Monsieur de *Monglas* the King of *Navarre*'s Agent lately come from him, and the Sieurs de *Muoy*, de *Clermont*, de *l'Anguiere*, and almost all the French pressed to have them go forward, and entering into *France* without delay, to take the shortest cut that might bring them to join with the King of *Navarre*, whom they affirmed to be upon his march, to come as far as he could to meet them. There wanted not some among the Germans who were much pleased with the nearness of their own Country, and with a War that was like to be so easie, by reason of the inequality of Force; but the Baron d' *Onaw*, intent to execute the Commissions he had received from Prince *Casimir*, resolved at last to go into *France*, without making any longer stay in the State of *Lorain* than what was necessarily requisite, yet purposing to do as much mischief there as the brevity of the time would permit, without going about to take in any Towns: with this intention, but with little correspondence among the Commanders, and as little Government among the Souldiers, (there being no man whose authority and experience was proportionable to so weighty a business) the German Army began to move, and upon the 26 of *August* came in the Confines of *Lorain*.

Already were the Guards withdrawn, which at first had been placed at the principal passes of that State, and the Forces being retreated into their walled Towns, had left all the ways free; wherefore the Germans began to plunder all the Country without any resistance; not forbearing murders, firing of Towns, nor any kind of hostile act whatsoever, though the harm were much the less, because the people had had convenient time to absent themselves, to drive away their cattel, and hide their goods in secret places, and what they could not carry away they had spoiled and burned. But it was not long before the Germans felt the Forces of the League; for the Duke of *Guise* desirous to discover their strength, and to try their valour and discipline, sent forth the Sieur de *Rhofne* and the Baron of *Swartzenbourg* with two hundred *Reiters*, and three hundred French Horse, to beat up their nearest quarters. These two Commanders being come upon the thirtieth of *August* where the Enemy lay, fell upon the quarter of the Baron de *Bouck*, and at first put them into great confusion: and though they were driven back at last by so much a greater number, yet they brought away a Cornet with them, which the Duke of *Lorain* sent presently to the King of *France*, as a token that to their cost the German Army was come already into his Country. Yet did the Army continue in the same confusion, in quartering, in keeping their Guards, in rising, and in marching: for the great abundance of men bred tumult and disorder of it self, and there was no Commander able to govern a Body composed of so many several Nations mixt together, and of a different manner of discipline. The Duke of *Bouillon* a young Lord, and though of great courage, yet of little or no experience, was not very much obeyed by the Germans. The Baron d' *Onaw*, whom they obeyed, might rather be counted in the number of valiant Souldiers, than of Commanders who for birth and wisdom were fit for such an employment; and the other inferiour Officers being of several Nations and different dispositions, did rather increase than lessen that confusion.

These things being known to the Duke of *Guise*, he desired to meet handsomly with them, either as their Army was about to quarter, or to rise, before time or experience should inform the Commanders of their error. But the Duke of *Lorain* persisted in the same opinion, nor would upon any terms suffer them to come to a Battel within his Territories; and the Duke of *Guise* was necessitated to comply with him, both because of his age, and because he was in his own Country, as also by reason of the inequality of the Forces: So the *Reiters* passed on without any lett or impediment, as far as *Pont St. Vincent*, a great Town seated upon the declining of a Hill, at the foot whereof the River *Mense* passeth under a spacious Bridge of ancient building. There Monsieur de *Rhofne*, and an hundred Harquebuziers on horseback, being quartered with three hundred Light-Horse, the Duke of *Guise* came up to view the place, having resolved to lodge the Vanguard there, to make the passage of the River more suspected to the Enemies, and to make them a little more wary in pillaging the Country: but at the very time of his arrival, the German Army was espied from the top of the Hill marching in their divisions directly toward the Bridge, thorow a little Plain that spreads it self from the bottom of the Hill: whereupon the Duke of *Guise*, desirous to discover the

The first assault given by those of the League to the Germans in *Lorain*.

the quality and order of the Enemy, having commanded out the three hundred Light-Horse, drawn them up without the Town, and spread the hundred Harquebuziers along the bank of the River, he himself unarmed as he was, with the Sieurs *de la Chastre*, *Bassompierre* and *Dunes*, and two Gentlemen of his Attendants, all six in number, passed over the Bridge, hoping to get up to some high place, from whence they might conveniently discern the motions, and distinctly perceive the number and order of the Germans; but he was hardly come to the other side of the bank, when he was charged by two Troops of *Reiters* who marched before the Army to discover the Country; to avoid whose fury, he was fain to retreat over the Bridge again at a good round Trot. The Enemies Horse being come to the bank of the River, and seeing it defended by the Harquebuziers, and that the Duke of *Guise* with five and twenty Gentlemen that were come up to him, stood firm at the entry of the Bridge, they made a halt to stay for the first Troops of the Army, and in the mean time one of them (which was a very remarkable thing) being come to the very brink of the River, lighted from his Horse, spanned his Carabine very leisurely, and taking aim, gave fire with wonderful security; and though above two hundred shot were made at him in the mean time, he was not only untouched, but not so much as daunted at all; so that he got on horse-back again with the same gravity, and retreated safely a foot-pace to his fellows.

A bold act of
a German
Trooper.

In this interim, the Sieur *de Guis* Marechal of the Field arrived upon the bank of the River with four hundred other Horse, who with the two first Troops of *Reiters* came directly forward to possess the Bridge: But the Duke of *Guise* finding himself much weaker than was requisite to defend the Pass, and that not only the Duke of *Lorain's* Army was a great way from him, but also his own Van-guard which had been left far behind, he caused the Harquebuziers to retire and put themselves again in the Body of Monsieur *de Rhosne's* Cavalry; and having dispatched *Bassompierre* and *la Chastre* with order to put the Army in readiness to receive him, in case he should be streightened and followed by the Enemies, he began to retreat, skirmishing himself in the last ranks, and very gallantly sustaining the Charge of the *Reiters*, who having passed the Bridge without further resistance, followed him close at the heels, *caracoling* and giving fire continually with their Pistols: but being come to the bottom of the Hill, which had a steep troublesome ascent, the Duke of *Guise's* Light Horse, and he himself with his Gentlemen, who were bravely mounted, got up quickly; whereas on the other side the *Reiters* with their great Friezeland-Horses, were much longer about it, and after they were at the top of the Hill, were fain to make a stand to give their Horses breath; which time he opportunely making use of, passed over another small River that was before him, and without any shew of flight arrived safely where the Field-Marshals had with excellent order set the whole Army in *Battalia*; which being drawn out between three Hills in form of a Half-Moon, with the Cavalry on each Wing, and Foot placed within the banks and ditches, by the High-ways, and among the stakes in the Vineyards defended by the Cannon planted upon a little Mount, made so gallant a shew, that the German Commanders being come up to face them with the first Troops of their Forces, judged that in respect of the strength of that situation, the Battel was not to be hazarded, being they could by no means make the *Lorain-Army* dislodge from their post, nor fight with it there, without too evident and almost insuperable disadvantage.

Wherefore retiring to the main Body, they quartered in the Villages near *St. Vincent*, in the Castle whereof the Sieur *de la Chastre* entred that same night with six hundred Musquetiers, that it might not be left in the Enemies power: and the Duke of *Lorain*, who saw that contrary to his desires the Duke of *Guise* by his boldness, and to disengage himself from the *Reiters*, had like to have put his State in very great hazard, to avoid the same danger, removed a great many miles from thence, leaving them free passage to continue the voyage, which with pillaging and burning they had begun; and quartering his Army in the chiefest places, that the Enemy might not have opportunity to take and sack them, with very great care and circumspection stood barely upon his defence.

At last, upon the eighteenth of *September* the Germans arrived upon the Confines of *France*, and took up their first quarters at *St. Urbin*; which Town being of the Duke of *Guise's* patrimony, was by them in a hostile manner burned; yet to put themselves in order, and by reason of the extraordinary rains that fell, they stayed there four days,

in

1587. in which time *Francois* Sieur de *Chastillon* came up with a hundred Cuirassiers, and eight hundred Harquebuziers on horse-back, who with wonderful great difficulty had from the farthest parts of *Languedoc* passed by the way of *Dauphine*, and the Confines of *Savoy*, as far as *Grizelle*, a Town upon the borders of *Lorain*, to join with the foreign Army; but being come to *Grizelle*, he was suddenly charged by the Dukes Forces, and constrained to retreat into the Castle of that Town, where he had been in manifest danger by reason of the weakness of the place, if the Count de *la Mark* had not advanced with the Van of the Army to disengage him: who no sooner appeared, but the *Lorain* Forces retiring, he went on to *St. Urbin* to join with the rest of the Army upon the 22 of *September*, which day the Duke of *Guise* (having left the Duke of *Lorain* at *Bar*, who refused to enter into the Confines of the King of *France* unless he were called) quartered with twelve hundred Horse and two thousand Foot at *Joinville*, but two Leagues distant from *St. Urbin*.

The German Army going out of *Lorain* rich with spoil enters *France*, where not esteeming the Duke of *Guise's* small Forces, they continue to pillage and destroy the Country.

The German Army entred *France* with an infinite deal of Baggage, not only by reason of the great store of carriages which they had with them according to the custom of their Country, but also of the abundance of spoil and plunder they had got in the Territories of *Lorain*, and which they still increased daily; nor did their disorders and confusions cease, though they were come into an Enemies Country, suspected on every side; but rather every one presuming upon the greatness of their strength, (for they were above forty thousand fighting men) they quartered very wide and open, minded nothing but pillage, were negligent in their guards and marches, the fields being every where full of Grapes, of which that Nation being exceeding greedy, they disordered their Squadrons, and ran confusedly to satisfy their gluttony; and so much the more, because the Duke of *Guise's* handful of men made by him contemptible to their pride, nor did they think they could meet with any thing that could do harm to so much a greater number, well armed, well mounted, well provided, (which was true) but wonderfully ill ordered and disciplined. The number of Commanders made opinions differ about the way they should march; for some counselled, that following the easiness of the ways and the abundance of victuals, they should go on thorow *Champagne* to *Brye*, and to the Isle of *France* as far as the City of *Paris*, to strike the very heart of the Catholick party, and not to linger about matters of small importance, experience having shewed, that the Hugonots had never had hope of victory, but when they had entered the very bowels of the Kingdom, and brought terrour and damage to the City of *Paris*: but others knowing that they wanted a General who was capable to manage the weight of that imployment, and that therefore all their marches were difficult and dangerous, perswaded to move streight towards the head of the River *Loyre*, to pass over it above *la Charite*, or at some other place thereabout, and to go without delay to join with the King of *Navarre*, without whose conduct and command they despaired of effecting any enterprise. The last opinion prevailed, and with that intention crossing the Provinces of *Champagne* and *Bourgogne* about the end of *September*, they took the direct way toward *la Charite*, to pass the River there, as the Duke of *Deux-ponts* had done at the same place; and because the Count de *la Mark* died about that time of a natural death, the charge of the Van-guard was given to Monsieur de *Chastillon*.

The Duke of *Guise* followed the track of the Germans; and though his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne* were joined with him, with the Forces he brought out of his Government of *Bourgogne*; and though the Marquess du *Pont* had followed him also with no contemptible number of Gentlemen, whereby in all he had fifteen hundred Horse, and little more than three thousand Foot, yet because he had no Body of an Army, he quartered always in advantageous places, keeping near the Germans, that he might not lose any opportunity (which he watched for with extream diligence and impatient desire) to fight; but the Duke of *Mayenne* following his old stayed resolutions, and the Marquess du *Pont* instructed by his Fathers admonitions, did opportunely allay his forwardness, shewing him that the whole fortune of the House of *Lorain* was reduced to that small handful of men, and would run into a manifest ruine, if he should be so rash as to assault the Enemy with Forces so infinitely inferiour: that he could give no greater joy nor contentment to his Enemies, than to offer up the whole being of their Family to spoil and havock by so certain a danger, the event whereof, whatsoever it could be, would overthrow his Forces for ever: that it was a business of long, mature deliberation, and which could never be sufficiently pondered and discussed,

cuffed; to hazard all his former labours, all his present Estate, and all his future hopes upon the cast of a Dye with so much disadvantage: and with what strength, with what number of Horse and Foot would he assail an Army of sixteen thousand Horse and twenty thousand German Foot, flanked with four thousand of the choicest French Firelocks? that it was no small matter, if they could be able to defend the principal Cities, and the walled Towns of those Provinces which were under their Government; and that he alone ought not to assume that charge to himself which principally concerned the King of *France*, and which never had been assumed by so many others; who upon occasion of other German Armies had had the care of the Frontiers, and who preserving only the places of consequence, had let the storm flie where the principal Armies were, and where the whole sum of business did reside. These considerations abated, but extinguished not the ardour of the Duke of *Guise*, who having vaster thoughts, and higher designs, did within himself alone press forward the effecting his own resolutions: for having undertaken to be Patron of the League, assumed the care of the popular cause, and conceiving hopes of ruining his adversaries, and making himself not only Arbitrator and Moderator of the Kingdom, but also the glorious Restorer of the Roman Catholick Religion, he foresaw he should grow less in reputation, and lose his credit within and without the Kingdom, if the King, and not he, should win the Victory over the Germans, which would turn the scale, and make him Superiour that should obtain it: besides, suspecting that the King held secret intelligence with the Hugonots, he feared that the *Resters* joyning with the King of *Navarre*, and the King being on the other side with a strong Army in the field, they might catch him between them; and therefore he aspired with all the powers of his mind, to destroy, or at least weaken that Army, before it could come to the consummation of that design: finally, the desire of glory which in him was most ardent and unmeasurable, would not let his mind be in quiet, if he did not make his valour famous in so conspicuous an occasion: Wherefore, sometimes marching before, sometimes beside, sometimes behind the Enemy, with unwearied diligence both in himself and in his Souldiers, he used all his uttermost endeavours to incommode and distress them, by putting them upon a necessity of quartering close together, by protracting and retarding their march, and finally by striving to bring them to a scarcity of provisions.

But the abundance of Wine, Grapes, Fruits, and Flesh, whereof there was great plenty in those Provinces, did more harm to the Germans than all the labour and industry of the Duke of *Guise*; for by excess and surfeiting, in a Country differing from their natural climate, such frequent dangerous diseases were gotten into the Army, that their number daily decreased, and their march was not a little slackened; to which the rains of *Autumn* being added, which were wonderfully immoderate in the beginning of *October*, did much increase the mortality; and in that deep dirty Country the ways were so broken, that it was most difficult for so great a multitude to march, being (as they were wont) exceedingly ill ordered and commanded.

The same rains did also hurt the Duke of *Guise's* Army, and so much the more, because being in continual motion, they did perpetually suffer by the ill weather: But though the Souldiers were without shoes, and almost without clothes, and their horses tired and almost quite spoiled, yet the great confidence they had in their Commander, and seeing him the first in all incommodities and sufferings, made every one undergo them willingly; and because they were all old Souldiers, hardened to the toils of War, the diseases did not spread amongst them, which had brought the affairs of the Enemy into a very ill condition. In this manner, with frequent skirmishes, the Armies came as far as *Chastillon* upon the *Seine*, where the *Sieur de la Chastre* having put himself in, for the defence of that Town, not so strong as populous; as the Germans passed by they skirmished continually for four hours, with some loss on both sides.

But having passed the *Seine* at *Chastillon*, turning on the right hand, they marched from thence toward *la Charite* to pass the *Loyre*, not in those places that are nearer to the head of it, as the King of *Navarre* had directed, and as his Agents put them in mind to do; but to endeavour to get a Bridge over which they might pass conveniently: and of this resolution not the Commanders, but the tumultuous cries of the Army were the occasion, who would not hear of being led thorow narrow, barren, mountainous Countries, as those parts are from whence the River springs, but would spread themselves with their wonted pillagings and licentious manner of living, in the more fertile, spacious

The great abundance of all things causing surfeits, brings great mortality in the German Army.

1587.

Henry the III.
goes in person
with an Army
to oppose the
Germans, and
to keep them
from joining
with the King
of Navarre.

cious parts of *France*, as those were thorow which they were to march toward *la Charite*, and the passes near unto it.

But they were extremely deceived in their hopes; for the King of *France* being departed from *Meaux*, and then from *Gien*, where he had made the general Rendezvous of his Army, and being come to *Eftampes* with eight thousand Swisses, ten thousand French Foot, and four thousand Horse, the Duke of *Nevers* commanding as Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Duke of *Espenon* leading the Van, by their advice was prudently come unto the *Loyre*; and having broken and spoiled all the passes, taken away all the Boats, and well garisoned and provided all the Towns, encamped along the banks of the River, to hinder the Enemies from wading over, or passing it in any place.

This difficulty exceedingly puzzled the German Army: for having been made believe by the French Commanders, both before they were raised, and after they were entered into *France*, that the King would tacitly give way to their passage, and joining with the King of *Navarre*, and that they were to have no other Enemy but the Duke of *Guise*, whose Forces were not to be feared: as soon as they saw the King in Arms, and resolved to oppose them in a hostile manner, not only with a very great strength, but with wonderful providence and Military policy: and after that the Duke of *Espenon*, who was generally thought partial to the Hugonots, did personally assail some Troops of Horse that plundered the Country; and having slain many of them, took one of their Cornets, there entered such a confusion into the Army, that the authority of the Commanders was not able to settle it. The German Cavalry began to cry out aloud for their pay, which had been promised them at their entry into the Kingdom, nor had money appeared yet from any place to satisfy them. The Swisses that saw their Country-men with the King, with the publick Colours of the Cantons, talked of going over to his Army; and generally all of them murmured, that having been promised to be led by a Prince of the Blood, they yet saw not any one appear; and every hour tumultuously threatened the French Commanders, because they had rashly brought them thither, and falsely perswaded them that they held intelligence with the King of *France*. In this Mutiny the Commanders being come to the head of the Army, it was without much consideration precipitately resolved amidst that universal cry and tumult, to turn back again, and get into the Country of *Bouffé*, (the ordinary nourisher of the War) and in the mean time to send men to the King of *Navarre*, to demand money and a General, and to know which way the Army should march to unite themselves most easily with him.

The German
Army mutinies

At that time the King of *Navarre*, being departed from the places that held of his party with the greatest number he could gather together, and having mustered them, marched directly toward the *Loyre* to find some means of joining with the foreign Army. But the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who spurred on by ambition, had wholly given himself over to the designs of the League, was inconsiderately gone from *Saumur*, and came with his whole Army to meet the Hugonots, desiring with great confidence by all means to give them Battel. Two little Rivers parted the two Armies from one another, one called the *Isle*, and the other the *Drougne*; the *Isle* on the Duke of *Joyeuse's* side; the *Drougne* (much the bigger) on the King of *Navarre's*; and between both Rivers were *la Roche-Chalais*, a Town near the *Isle*; and near the *Drougne* *Contras*, a brave house built by *Lantree*, a famous Commander in the Wars of *Italy*. Both the Generals thought with reason that the passage of the River might cause a disadvantage to the Enemy, and therefore the Duke of *Joyeuse* passed the *Isle* with all speed, upon the nineteenth of *October* in the evening, and quartered at *la Roche-Chalais*, with an intention to lie the night after at *Contras*, and to meet the King of *Navarre*, and fight with him as he passed the *Drougne*. To that purpose he sent Captain *Mercurio Bua* before with the Albanians, to possess *Contras*, and had sent away Colonels to take up quarters there. But the King of *Navarre*, who commanding an old well-exercised Army, desired to meet in the plain field without advantage of ground or Rivers, had waded over the *Drougne* the same day betimes in the morning, and had also sent the Duke de *la Trimoille* to make himself Master of *Contras*, and he himself followed the same way with the whole Army in Battalia. There was no doubt but the Albanian Light-horse were easily driven back by the greater number: and returning the same night to *la Roche-Chalais*, related to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who was sitting at a gallant Supper with many of the Nobility, that the King of *Navarre* had passed the *Drougne*, and was quartered in the

the Village at *Contras* with all his Army; presently the Duke turning about to his Officers, said, so loud, that every one might hear him, *So, we have the Enemy shut up between two Rivers, and he cannot now escape us; let every one be ready for the Battel to morrow by break of day.*

1587.

The Duke's Army was full of Nobility, and in number 10000 strong; but the greatest part men rather forward then expert, who accounting the Victory certain, cared little for that order and discipline, which almost alwayes uses to cause it in such encounters; there was no Commander, whose authority and experience could regulate the unbridled rashness of the young Gentry, which greedily made haste to come to the business, believing firmly, that they had imprisoned the Enemy between two Rivers; and therefore the next morning, being the twentieth of *October*, they began two hours before day to march, stragling confusedly toward the Field where the Battel was to be. There they were drawn into Battalia, as well as possible they might, by the *Sieur de Lavardin* Lieutenant-General, having spread a long Body of Lances in the Plain, on whose Wings were two Battalions of Infantry, which flanked it on either side, and he himself with the Light-Horse, led by the *Sieur de Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, was at the Head of the whole Army, having placed the Artillery at the point of the left Wing.

At *Contras* the D. of Joyeuse with his Army prepares himself to Battel, but with great confusion.

But, the Confusion of those untrained Soldiers, who were come thither without order, and had scatteringly broken their Ranks, and disordered their Squadrons; and the way also to the place appointed, being (to say the truth) narrow and Woody, made them lose so much time in embattelling, that the King of *Navarre*, finding that the Enemy moved, had conveniency to bring up his Artillery, which by reason of their hasty passage, was left the night before on the other side the River; who otherwise must have been fain to fight without his Canon, which would have been an extreme disadvantage to him. Now, having received that benefit by the slowness of the Enemy, he divided his Army, consisting of 2500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, into seven Squadrons, whereof four were Cuirassiers, one of Light-horse, and two of Foot, and caused the Culverins, and the small Field-pieces to be planted in the front of the Army upon the bank of the River, in a place somewhat higher then the Plain; the two middle Squadrons which made the bottom of the half-moon he commanded himself; the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count *de Soissons* on the right hand; and on the left the Viscount *de Turenne*; the Light Horse were commanded by the Duke *de la Tremouille*, and the *Sieur de Vivans*, who was Marshal of the Field; and the two Bodies of Foot on the right hand were commanded by the Baron *de Salignac, Chastelnew*, and *Parabiere*, who, upon their flank had a thick Wood, and a ditch of seven foot broad; and by *Lorges, Preau*, and *Charboniere* on the left, all old expert Colonels of that party, who were defended with the Walls and Buildings of the Park, but more especially of the Warren. The care of the Artillery was committed to the *Sieur de Clairmont* * Marquis of *Gerlande*, and the Baggage either purposely, or by chance, was left in the Village of *Contras* without any Guard either of Horse or Foot.

The King of Navarre takes opportunity by the Enemies slowness, and puts his Army in excellent order.

* The French Translation says, and so the Marquis of *Gerlande*.

The Armies were very different; for the Duke of *Joyeuse's* was clothed all with rich upper Coats, set forth with gallant Liveries, Plumes, and other wanton ornaments, but half in disorder, and all wavering, a manifest sign of want of experience; whereas the King of *Navarre's* had no other shew then that of Iron, nor other ornaments then their Arms rusty with the rain, yet united and compacted in a firm perfect array, shewed their worth most clearly in Soldier-like actions and behaviour. The Canon began to play on all sides (the Sun being above two houres high) but either with different industry or fortune; for the King of *Navarre's* making a lane thorough the Catholick Lances, and passing from thence into the Squadrons of Infantry, made a very great slaughter of them, and put them all into confusion; but the Duke's Canoneers levelled their Pieces so low, that all the Bullets struck into the ground, and killed no body except one Gentleman of the Prince of *Conde's*; which the *Sieur de Lavardin* perceiving, and knowing that to give the Enemies time to charge again, and redouble their great shot, would cause the total routing of the Army, which was so broken and disorder'd by the Artillery, that they hardly kept in Battalia, having commanded to sound a charge, fell in with his Light-Horse so furiously upon those of the Enemy which stood over against him, to the number of some two hundred, that the *Sieur de Montigny* killed the Duke *de la Tremouille's* horse under him, and Captain *Mercurio Bua* wounded the *Sieur de Vivans* Marshal of the Field very dangerously; and having scattered the

The Armies face one another, and the Battel begins.

1587.

The Albanians break through a Squadron of Cuirassiers, run to Contras, pillage the Hugonots baggage, and could no more be rallied in the Battel.

The D. of Joyeuse thrown to the ground, offers 100000 Crowns in ransom, yet is slain.

The Catholicks lose the day, are all killed and taken prisoners, except a very few that save themselves by flight.

The King is not displeased at the loss, nor at the Duke of Joyeuse's death.

light-Horse, came up to the Squadron of Cuirassiers, led by the Viscount of *Turenne*, whom they charged not in the Front, but rushed fiercely upon their flank, and making way quite thorough them (whatsoever the occasion was, for it was afterward diversly spoken of) ran on with full speed to the Village of *Contras*, where the Enemies Baggage was. There the Albanians being out of breath, with the length of their career, and seeing booty before them, fell to pillage, and were so long before they rallied again, that they resolved to retire into some place of security, without doing any further service. But the King of *Navarre* having briefly exhorted his men to fight for their common safety, and having put Thirty Gentlemen before him with short Lances, ran but ten paces to meet the Catholick Cavalry, who having begun their Charge too soon, were in such disorder with the length of their career, that their Lances wrought not their wonted effect, and did no good at all; wherefore being thrown away, the fight remained equal, wherein, besides the valour of the Soldiers, their Squadrons being much harder to break thorough, then the long weak Battalion of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Cavalry of the Catholicks was routed and defeated in less then half an hour, the Duke himself, among an infinite of Lords and Gentlemen being left dead; for being overthrown upon the ground, and offering 100000 Crowns in ransom, he was with three Pistol shots most violently slain. Nor had the Infantry better fortune then the Cavalry; for being charged on all sides, and fierce cries resounding every where, that every one should remember the slaughter of *St. Eloy*, where two Regiments of the King of *Navarre*'s were cut in pieces without mercy, the Soldiers were not satisfied till they had put most of them to the Sword; the Commanders being not able to restrain their fury, nor the King of *Navarre* to prevent it, being busied elsewhere in chasing the Reliques of the Cavalry.

The slaughter of the Conquered, and pursuit of the Conquerors, lasted three houres, after which they were Masters of the field, of the Canon, Colours, and Baggage, wherein (to the laughter of Soldiers, accustomed to the toils of War) they found many of those softer accommodations of ease and tenderness used in the Court. There were slain three thousand five hundred of the Catholicks; besides the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Count de *Sauveur* his brother, *Breslay*, who carried the General's Cornet, the Counts de *Suse*, d' *Aubijoux*, and *Gavelo*, Colonel *Tiercelin*, and many others: but the number of prisoners was much greater; for except *Lavardin*, *Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bna*, who saved themselves, all the rest remained in the power of the Enemy. On the King of *Navarre*'s side there were not full Two hundred killed, among which not any many of great note; and among those that were wounded, onely the *Sieur de Vivans*, Captain *Favas*, and the Viscount de *Turenne* but slightly. In this so great Victory the King of *Navarre* shewed his clemency no less then he had done his prudence before in preventing the Enemy, and ranging his Army in order, and his valour in fighting: for being returned into the place of the battel, he stayed the slaughter of the Catholick Infantry, received the prisoners courteously, commending those that had behaved themselves well in that action, and pitying the death of the rest that had been slain in the fury of the Battel, caused the dead Body of the Duke de *Joyeuse* to be honourably put in a Leaden Coffin, and granted it to those that came to demand it, who caused it to be carried to *Paris*, where, with a solemn Funeral it was magnificently buried.

This Victory of the King of *Navarre*'s, the first cause and original of his safety, and so much the more glorious, as being the first the Hugonots had obtained in the revolution of so many Wars, did not much displease the King of *France*, as well because he desired not the King of *Navarre*'s total suppression, lest the *Guise*'s Faction should be so much increased, as to remain arbitrators alone of the Forces of the Kingdom, as also because the Duke of *Joyeuse*, raised by him with so much favour, to such a height of honour and greatness, had proved most ungrateful to him; being, out of an emulation to the Duke d' *Espernon*, turned to favour the League; and if not openly, at least secretly, united to the designs of the Lords of *Guise*. Nor did it trouble him that the King of *Navarre*, having got the Victory, and overcome the hinderance of that Army, was able to march to meet the Germans; for he with a stronger Army had taken all the Passes of the *Loyre*, and so guarded the banks of the River every where, that he was certain neither of the Enemies Armies could pass over it; and he hoped not onely to drive away the Germans victoriously; but also that they should be instruments to ruine and suppress the House of *Guise*, and all the Plots and Machinations of the League.

At

At this time the German Army was in wonderful discord and confusion, not onely because there neither came Money to pay them, nor that Prince of the Blood that had been promised them for their General, and because their hopes of being able to joyn with the King of *Navarre* began to diminish; but also because the Duke of *Espernon*, who led the Van-guard of the Kings Army, having often beaten up their quarters, they were certainly assured, that the King, contrary to what their Commanders had perswaded them, had taken Arms against them, and followed them with a mighty Army, since they turned back from the River *Loyre*. But the Swisse Infantry were more unruly than all the rest; for seeing other Foot-soldiers of the same Nation, with the publick Ensigns of the Cantons in the Kings Army, though they were of another Religion, were very unwilling to fight against their Country-men, and as unwilling to break their Confederacie and lose their friendship with the King of *France*, with whose consent, and for the good of whose Kingdom, they were told they should fight when they came from home. The death of Colonel *Tileman*, who commanded all the Swisses under the *Sieur de Clermont*, put the affairs in an absolute confusion: for dying suddenly of a malignant Fever and a bloody Flux, they had no Commander left that had authority enough to restrain the unruliness of the Soldiers, so that they tumultuously resolved to send messengers to the King of *France*, and to make up an agreement with him: which being come to the knowledge of the Baron *de Onaw*, and the French Commanders, they made so much the more haste in marching away from the Kings Army, to get into the Country of *Beauvais*, where the abundance of provisions and pillage might make the Swisses forget the tumultuous resolution they had taken. But this hasty march brought greater confusion into the Army, troubled with a great multitude of sick men, some whereof were left behind in their several quarters, and miserably murdered by the Country people; some carried along upon their Carriages, and following slowly the speed of those that were in health, were the cause that they quartered confusedly and in places.

The Swisses do not willingly fight, when they see the Ensignes of their Cantons displayed in the Enemies Army.

This disorder was very well known to the Duke of *Guise*, who, at their returning back from the River *Loyre*, had most wisely put himself between their Army and the City of *Paris*, to keep that City faithful to him, and to increase both the affection the people bore him, and his reputation, as if he were the onely defence that hindered that mighty Army of the *Germans* from offending the City and Territories of *Paris*; whereas the King following slowly, seemed to have given over all care of the *Parisians*. He alwayes lay in secure advantageous places, not far from the enemies Army; but made the wayes be continually well cleared by Captain *Thomaso Fratta* an Albanian, and the *Sieur de Vins*, who had the charge of the Light-Horse, and who sending Scouts abroad, and bringing in intelligence every minute, gave him notice of the moving and progress of the Enemy. The *Germans* were come into the Territories of *Montargis*, twenty eight Leagues from *Paris*; and, upon the twenty sixth of *October*, were quartered in this manner. The Baron *de Onaw*, with the biggest Body of Horse, at *Vilmory*, a very great Village: The Swisses under the Walls of *Montargis*, which Town was above two great Leagues from thence; and the rest of the Army scattered in several places about *Vilmory*; but some a League, some two Leagues from the Head-quarter.

The manner of their lying being told the Duke of *Guise*, and the draught and platform of it being brought unto him by Captain *Thomaso*, whilst he was at table at *Courtenay* with the *Marquess du Pont*, and the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, *Male*, and *Elbeuf*, he sate a while musing, and silent, and then having sent for his own Trumpet, commanded him to sound *Bontefelle*, and that every body should be in a readiness to march within an hour. At which order the Duke of *Mayenne* asking him, to what purpose he would move, and whither he intended to go; he replied instantly, To fight with the Enemy. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who knew the inequality of their Forces, began to smile, and said, he was contented to be jested with: To which the Duke of *Guise* answered, with a grave countenance, that he spoke in very good earnest; and that they who had not the courage to fight might stay in their quarters; and without more words put on his Arms, and having set all things in order, took Horse without any further delay. His authority was such, and his Soldiers had so great a confidence in him, that when it was known they were presently to go charge the Army of the *Reiters*, there was no man dismayed at the great disparity of their numbers, but as if they were going to a certain Victory, the Foot and Horse, in emulation of one another, strove who should be first in order and ready to march: only the Duke of

The Duke of *Guise* jested at by the Duke of *Mayenne*, for saying, he would assault the Enemy, because they were indiscreetly quartered.

1587. *Mayenne*, and the *Marquess du Pont*, considering the greatness and number of the German Army, and that by fighting, the whole House of *Lorain*, and the fortune of them all, was set upon the cast of a Dye, and in a most dangerous precipice, would have dissuaded the Duke of *Guise*, shewing, that they could not believe, that he, a prudent wary man, would hazard all his fortune at so dangerous a game: But he, persisting in his resolution, told them, That, to the end they might not think him rash, he would make them partakers of his design, which was, About midnight to fall into their Head-quarter, where he knew they kept not so strict Guards as they ought, nor were so vigilant as Military Discipline required, being certain, that in the tumult and uncertainty of the dark, the other quarters, neither knowing who, nor how strong they were, by reason the King's Army was not far off, would never stir to assist the Head-quarter, but would rather fortifie themselves within their own, till break of day: But it was most probable of all, that the *Swisses* would do so, who were so far off, that they could by no means possible come time enough to help them: Wherefore, that quarter being suddenly assaulted, where they slept in ease and security, without the least suspicion of an Enemy, he was most assured to have the Victory, and, in that manner, to disorder the whole Army; and, though it should succeed contrary to what reason perswaded, he could not want time and means to retreat with his Forces, not being troubled with any Carriages: And, because the Duke of *Mayenne* answered, That indeed, it was a thing probable, in appearance, to succeed, but yet to be well thought upon; he (almost angry) reply'd, That he that could not think of it in a quarter of an hour, would never think of it in all his life time: Whereupon, the considerations of all the rest yielding to the authority of so noble a Man, they began to march about the shutting in of the evening, with a design to be about midnight at *Vilmory*, seven Leagues from thence.

The Duke of *Guise* knowing the want of discipline and experience in the German Army, resolves (though much inferior in number) to fall upon them in their quarters.

The Duke of *Guise* marched first of all with thirty Gentlemen, and sixty Albanian Light-Horse; the Infantry followed in two divisions, one of which consisted of the Regiments of *Ponsenat* and *Chevieres*, commanded by the *Sieur de Clusean*; and the other of the Regiments of *Gies* and *de Bourg*, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*. After these went the Cavalry; the Vanguard (being five hundred Horse) was led by the Duke of *Mayenne*; the Battel (being four hundred) by the *Marquess du Pont*, with whom were the Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Elbeuf*; and the Rere (being four hundred more) by the Duke of *Annale* and the *Chevalier* his brother. In this order they came into the Plain near *Vilmory* after midnight, and having found no obstacle, either of *perdu's*, or any parties that should have rid the *patrouille*, the Duke of *Guise* putting himself at the head of the Infantry, led it silently into the *Bourg* (which thick of Houses spreads it self about half a Mile in length) and entered so softly, that the street was full of his Soldiers, before the Germans, who slept soundly, heard any thing at all of them. The Cavalry was already set in order in the Field, the Duke of *Mayenne* having the right hand, the Duke of *Annale* the left, and the *Marquess du Pont* between them, encompassing the whole *Bourg* almost on every side, to catch those, who, escaping from the fury of the Foot, should try to save themselves in the field.

All things being ordered in this manner, the Duke of *Guise* gave sign to Colonel *St. Paul*, who, with a great volley of Muskets, began to set fire on the nearest houses, and the same did Colonel *du Clusean* on his side; so that in a very short time the flames gave light to the place of Battel, if it may be called a Battel; where the Germans, unexpectedly assaulted, were, without making any resistance, either slain by the Sword, burnt in the Fire, or destroyed with a thick hail of bullets. Only the Baron *d'Onaw*, who lay at the farthest end of all the Town, had time to get on horseback before the storm of the Infantry fell upon him, and seeing the high street which led into the field was all on fire, and commanded by the enemies Soldiers, he turned upon the right hand with an hundred Horse that followed him, and through a narrow Lane galloped out into the Field, where, having encountered the Vanguard, which was led up by the Duke of *Mayenne* to charge him, as he was a most valiant undaunted soldier, he rushed furiously into the midst of the Enemies, and meeting with the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, discharged a Pistol gallantly in his very face, which hitting something low upon the chin of his helmet, did him no harm at all; but the Duke of *Mayenne* having taken notice that the Baron was without his head-piece, because he had not had time to put on all his Arms, strook him a slash over the Fore-head, notwithstanding which he passed on into the midst of the Squadron, and with his other Pistol killed him that carried the Duke's

Cornet;

The Baron *d'Onaw* gets out of *Vilmory*, and having fought is wounded in the head, and saves himself by favour of the night.

Cornet; but all the Van-guard falling close upon him, he having left above eighty of his men upon the place, broke through all the Squadron with fourteen in his company, under favour of the darkness, and being sheltered by the night, saved himself at *Chateau-Landon*, where another part of his Army was quartered. In the mean time the Infantry had made an end of destroying the rest of his men, who perished all in the fire of the Town, not being any way able to save themselves, with so little danger to the Conquerors, that onely three men were wounded; but with so much spoil and rich booty, that never any Soldiers were more loaden with wealth then they; for besides seven Cornets, two Camels that carried the Generals baggage, and two brazen Kettle-drums, which for Pomp waited on the Cornet of the Chief Commander, the Soldiers took above 2600 Horses, many gold Chains, no small store of Plate, rich clothes, and other things of exceeding great value, besides the Mony found about those that were dead; and the benefit of their prey was so much the greater, as the Soldiers that fought were but few in number. The Duke of *Guise*, who was run to help his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, whither the cry and tumult of the fight had called him, found that the Enemies were defeated, and the Baron *d'Onaw* fled, with the loss of seventeen Gentlemen of the Duke of *Mayenne's* own Troop, and onely four more wounded, and when he saw all things in his own power, that he might not give the other quarters time to fall upon him, nor the Swisses to move that way, he founded a retreat before break of day, and with his Infantry all mounted on Horseback, returned in the same order to his own quarters. The number of the slain was never so uncertain in any action as in this; for though one side endeavoured to encrease, and the other to diminish it, yet it is most clear there could not be any certain particular knowledge of it, because the greatest part of them perished in the fire.

This overthrow did much dismay the German Army, who thought the Duke of *Guise's* industry most wonderful, and his courage no less admirable, and therefore stood in exceeding great fear of him: but they were as much terrified by the carelessness of the Baron *d'Onaw*, who, to his dishonour, had, by his want of Military discipline, given opportunity to the vigilancy and celerity of his Enemies: whereupon, if the disorders and confusions were very great among them before, they were multiplied afterward to such a height, by their fear of the Catholicks, and distrust of their own General, as opened the way to their utter ruine and destruction; for the Swisses presently sent messengers to the King of *France*, who, being brought in by the Duke of *Nevers*, were received by him with a fowre countenance, and angry words, not that he was not very glad to make a composition with them, but because he desired to draw the business out in length, that the German Army might not be dissolved, till the Duke of *Guise's* boldness and thirst of glory had brought him to some precipice. Likewise the *Reiters*, and particularly those that had lost their Baggage in the defeat of *Vilmory*, mutined, demanding their pay, and the French Commanders disagreeing among themselves, could hardly keep their Foot together, that were most pitifully worn out by the extream wet weather of Autumn; thus every thing tended to manifest ruine and destruction.

But it fell out luckily; for *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conty*, destined from the beginning to be their General, arrived then at the Army, who, though he came without Train, without Money, and was of himself but little able to command in War; yet being a Prince of the Blood, and Son of the so renowned glorious Prince of *Conde*, he filled the whole Army with joy; whereupon the Commanders taking courage, wroughe so much with the Swisses by prayers and entreaties, that they resolved to follow the Camp, and expect news from the King of *Navarre*, before they made an end of their Agreement with the King of *France*. But their spirits and hopes were quite raised again by the news of the Battel of *Contras*, and the death of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, which having passed thorough the Enemies Country, was at last come unto them: whereupon they began to talk, that the King of *Navarre* being now victorious, would certainly find some way or other to pass the *Loire*, and come to joyn his Forces with them. But, these shews of prosperity were exceedingly counterpoised by those real difficulties wherewith the King opposed the deliberation of that Army; for being turned to march toward *Vendosme*, the King having left the banks of the *Loire* well guarded; was advanced himself to hinder them, causing the Duke of *Espernon* with the Van-guard to streighten and incommode them in their way; and the Duke of *Guise* following them in the Rere, with frequent Skirmishes, now as they were quartering, then

as

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as they were rising, sometimes in their march, ceased not to annoy them very much and keep them in perpetual trouble; yet the contentment and rejoycing for the Prince, of *Comy's* arrival, did wholly possess the Army, and to rest themselves, to refresh their spirits, and recover their Forces, they had lodged themselves at *Annean*, in the Territory of *Chartres*, a great Town well furnished with buildings, and abounding in provisions; and because the Castle, a place indifferently strong by the situation, was held by a Governour and Garrison of the Kings, they had blocked up all the wayes that led towards it, and stopped them up with Carts chained together, with barrells, logs, and other such like things, keeping their *Corps de Garde* at the end of the Streets, and setting out their Sentinels on every side. With these preventions they thought themselves so secure, that they intended to lie three or four dayes in that Quarter, as well to ease themselves, as to consult what they should do, the deliberation of the Commanders not being yet very well resolved on; and because *Annean*, though a great *Bourg*, could not contain all their number, many of them quartered thereabouts, and in the neighbouring Villages, making invitations and merriments every where for the coming of the Prince of *Comy*, and for the Victory of the King of *Navarre*, drinking deeply after the German fashion; and so much the more, because the Feast of *St Martin*, and the great plenty of Wines that year, excited their natural inclinations to dissoluteness.

But the Duke of *Guise*, who watched for all opportunities and occasions, that might offer themselves, being informed of the intentions of the Germans, to stay some few dayes at *Annean*, dispatched the *Sieur de Vins* secretly to the Governor of the Castle, filling him with wonderful great Promises, if he would grant him passage thorough the Castle one night, that he might fall down unexpectedly to assault the Enemies. The Governour was a little doubtful at first, because all the wealth of the neighbouring Towns was put into that Castle, and he having taken Money from the Countrey-people to secure them, that no Soldiers should enter into it who might take them away, shewed himself backward, in giving way to let in the Army. Yet he consented willingly to let the Duke pass under the Wall, upon a narrow bank that lies along between the *Ravelin* of the Castle-gate, and a very broad Lake that spreads it self over a great part of those fields. But, the *Sieur de Vins* considering, that it was not good to put themselves into the power of a mercenary man; and that it was necessary to be Masters of the Castle, to the end that whatsoever should happen, the Foot might have a secure retreat, he brought it so to pass, that the Governor went first to speak with *Monfieur de la Chastre* Marshal-General of the Field, and afterward with the Duke of *Guise* himself, by whom, being corrupted with Money, and invited with very great hopes, he consented at last to receive him into the Fortrefs, having given him his faith, that the Countrey-peoples Goods should suffer no harm by the Soldiers: so, upon the eleventh of *November*, the Duke of *Guise* departing from his Quarters at *Dourdan*, towards the Evening, made so much speed, that he arrived with his Forces, not much wearied, at the Castle of *Annean*, presently after midnight. The back-gate being opened, he went in to make himself master of the place, and brought in an hundred Muskietiers with very great silence; and the rest of the Infantry, to the number of Three thousand, commanded by Colonel *St Paul*, stood ready along the bank under the Castle-wall, to assault the *Bourg*, and the Barricadoes which the Germans had made up: and at the same time the Cavalry had encompassed the Lake; and, being divided into three squadrons, had possessed the passage toward the Field, to drive back those that should seek to save themselves that way. Colonel *Joannes* was also come to the same place with Six hundred Muskietiers mounted behind his Horse-men, and had taken the passage to that Gate of the *Bourg*, which leads into the Fields, just over against the Castle.

It was already break of day, and the *Reiters* Trumpets sound the *Diana*, when the Infantry assaulted the enemies barricadoes with infinite fury: and though many of them lay still buried in wine and sleep, yet the *Corps de Garde*, which were vigilant, received the assault most courageously, and the success was doubtful for a time, till the Catholick Infantry, by setting the Carts and Barrells on fire, cleared the way, and removed those impediments that stoppt it up; whereupon the Germans *Corps de gard* not being able to make resistance of themselves, were, in a very short space, all cut in pieces, Colonel *St. Paul* entered with the first Squadron into the street that led on the left hand, and Colonel *Ponsenat*, with the second, into the street on the right hand, where they

The Duke of *Guise* gives a sudden assault to the Germans at *Annean*, and with a great slaughter of them, obtains another famous Victory.

they bravely set upon those few *Reiters*, who not having had time to get to Horse, came up to them a foot with their Pistols in their hands: but the fight was very unequal; for the Musketers shot them at a distance, and the Pikes overturned all that came in their way; so that the *Reiters* having nothing but short Pistols and their Swords, could never come up to give one blow to the Enemy, and within a very little while all turned their backs, thinking to save themselves in the field; but finding the way shut up, and the Gate possessed, being also driven back by *Joannes's* Musketers, who had made good the passage, they fell into so great terror and confusion, that they were presently slain by the Foot without resistance. Some few, who thought to get over the Walls and flee cross the Field, were met withal by the Horse, and either miserably killed, or taken prisoners: onely Baron *d'Onaw*, much more fortunate in escaping then in fighting, having, by the help of a Woman, got over the Wall toward the Moorish side of the Lake, saved his life, and fled into the quarter of the Swisses, which was little more then a League from thence. The slaughter of the Germans was exceeding great and terrible, being inclosed on every side (for Colonel *Joannes* was at last come in also at the Field-gate) and with lamentable cries they were all put to the sword without distinction: This bloody business continued till Baron *d'Onaw* being got to the Swisses, and the French Commanders being come to the same place from the other quarters, he exhorted, prayed and conjured them to follow him, promising them a certain Victory over the Catholicks, who in confusion, busied in spoil and execution, and wearied with watching, marching and fighting, could not be able to resist a much greater number, wherewith they might instantly fall upon them. But such a *Pannick* terror had seized them, that it was not possible to perswade them to it: and the French Commanders considering that the Catholick Infantry would retire safe into the Castle, and that the Cavalry fresh and unwearied possessed the passage toward the field, dissuaded the Baron from that attempt; and having put the rest of the Army in Battalia, purposed onely to defend their post. The Duke of *Guise*, when his Soldiers were glutted with blood and pillage, rich in spoil, all gallantly mounted, and from Foot-Soldiers turned Horse-men, retired with eleven of the Enemies Cornets, and all their Baggage, to *Estampes*, where, having given God thanks, he instantly dispatched away the Cornets, and presented them to the King, giving him account (with proud Soldier-like boastings) of that notable Victory, which without blood he had so easily obtained.

But the King seeing the event prove quite contrary to his design, resolved to prosecute hotly the remainder of the German Army, that he might have part in that glory which he saw resulted from Victory, and therefore he speedily sent forth the Duke of *Espernon* that way, he himself following with all the Army, with a set purpose to meet the Enemy. The Duke of *Espernon*, after the example of the Duke of *Guise*, attempted often to beat up the Germans quarters, but with small effect; for the experience of the Commander, the goodness of the Soldiers, and the success, were all very unequal, circumstances which often make the events of like occasions and like counsels to be very different: Wherefore the Duke of *Espernon*, by the King's direction, began again to treat of an Agreement with the Swisses, by means of the *Sieur de Cormons* a Hugonot Gentleman, who had been taken a few dayes before in a skirmish between the Armies. The Swisses were brought into an ill condition with perpetual marches, without money, having never had their pay, terrified by the defeat of the *Reiters*, and discontented to fight against the Ensignes of their own Nation, and much more, because they had not a General, who, for authority and experience was able to command and govern them, whereby they saw, that the end of so great Forces would be ruinous and miserable; wherefore it was not very difficult, by an accommodation with the King, to make them submit themselves unto his obedience: and their Commanders going to acknowledge him, being kindly received (not to exasperate that Nation) and scanted by the Duke of *Espernon*, obtained a safe conduct to return to their own houses, which was also punctually observed, though toils, sufferings and diseases had let but few escape of so great a number.

The *Reiters*, and their Commanders, and the French Soldiers, disheartned by the two late defeats, and forsaken by the Swisses, resolved to turn back, and try to get out of the confines of *France* by the way of *Bourgogne*, hoping to come safe into *Germany*, and the Territory of *Basile*, and with that determination, being united and drawn close together, they began to march that way. But it was hard for them to get thither: for the Duke of *Mayenne* being returned into *Bourgogne*, had set himself

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The Duke of *Espernon* begins again to treat an Agreement with the Swisses of the German Army, and they have leave granted them to return with a safe-conduct to their own home.

The *Reiters* and the Germans, following the example of the Swisses, do the same.

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1587. to guard the confines; and the *Sieur de Mandelot* and the Count *de Tournon* being marched out of *Lyons* with the Forces of that City, were advanced also to hinder them: the King with his whole Army was but half a dayes march behind them, and streightned them in the rere; and the Duke of *Guise*, with his wonted celerity, sometimes in the flank, sometimes behind, and sometimes getting before them, ceased not to distress them very much. The French Infantry was tired and consumed; wherefore the Soldiers disbanding of themselves, lay close hid in those Cities and Villages thorough which they passed: and horses spoiled and unshod, could not follow the hasty march of the Commanders; and the loss of their Baggage, the want of Money, the dearth of Victuals (because all the people hid what they had in some secure place) the great rains, and dirty wayes, which are wonderful in *Burgogne*, their watching, weariness, diseases, and their disorders, had brought them to the extremity of desperation; wherefore the same *Sieur de Cormons* interposing, they resolved to submit themselves to the King's Mercy, who, upon condition they would deliver him all their Colours furled up, and would promise not to fight any more against him, profered to grant them a most ample safe conduct.

All the Army that was commanded by the Baron d'Ornano disbanded at last.

The Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the *Sieurs de Clervant*, *Chastillon*, and other French Commanders laboured to withstand that resolution, promising them relief from the King of *Navarre* within a short time, and the arrears of all their pay, and endeavoured to perswade them, not to do so dishonourable a thing, as to acknowledge themselves subdued and conquered; alleadging, that the Forces in *Lyonois* were not so strong, but that they might pass that way, and go securely into the Territory of *Geneva*; but whilest they treat of these matters, being informed that the *Reiters* persisting in their determination of yielding, intended to make them prisoners, thereby to win the favour of the King, and assure themselves of their pay to which they pretended, they resolved to steal away secretly, and separate themselves several wayes, to try if they could save themselves by flight, before the Germans had opportunity to execute their design.

The Duke of Bouillon flies to Geneva, and dies there.

So the Duke of *Bouillon* with a few Horse making his escape without delay, by the way of *Roane* and *Lyonois*, but travelling out of the ordinary road, after many troubles and dangers got to *Geneva*; where, being no less wailed with grief of Mind, then toil of Body, he died within a few dayes after, leaving his Estate to his Sister, whom he recommended to the care of the Duke of *Montpensier*. The *Sieur de Chastillon* with an hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, having often fought with the Forces of *Burgogne* and *Lyonois*, with wonderful success, and no less valour, got at last into *Languedoc*, and retired himself to his wonted Government in *Vivarez*. The *Sieur de Clervant*, hid among the Swisses that went with a safe conduct, escaped in their company to *Basile*. The Prince of *Conty* with a few Horse, lurking in remote places, got at last unknown to his own house; and the other Commanders taking several wayes, ran very various fortunes.

The *Reiters* having obtained leave of the King to carry home his Cornets, but not displayed, divided themselves into two parts; one with the Baron *de Oneau* and Colonel *Damartin* passed thorough *Savoy*, where being shrunk to the number of but Five hundred, they were pillaged by the Duke's Forces, the other with the Baron *de Bouck*, passing thorough *Bourgogne* to the confines of the County of *Mombelsiard*, was followed by the Marquess *du Pont* and the Duke of *Guise*; by whom being overtaken without the borders of *France*, they were all cut in pieces in many several encounters. Nor did this satisfie those Heads of the League; but with a hostile fury they also sacked and burned the Towns and Castles of the County, as well to revenge the like outrages committed by the *Reiters* in *Lorain*, as because that Count had been the principal author of raising those Forces. The slaughter of the Germans was most lamentable, even to the eyes of their very Enemies; who, sick with Fevers, and weakened with bloody Fluxes, falling down by the High-wayes, and in the Towns as they passed, were miserably slain by the Country people; eighteen of them were seen, who were left sick in a poor Cottage in *Bourgogne*, were cruelly butchered; as the vilest Creatures, by a Woman, who cut all their Throats with a Knife, in revenge of those losses she had sustain'd.

A Woman kills six Germans with a knife.

Nor had those Swisses better fortune, who, to the number of Three thousand were gone into *Dauphine*, under the command of the *Sieur de Cougy*, to joyn with *Lesdiguier*s, who keeping the Hugonot party alive in that Province, could make no great progress

progress for want of Forces, but busied himself in taking in little places of small importance, and in actions of small moment; having with him but a few Foot Souldiers, and only the Hugonot Gentry of that Country. These Swisses accompanied with four hundred French Musquetiers, having passed the narrow places, marching on to join with him, as they passed the River *Isere*, were assaulted by Monsieur *de la Valette* Brother to the Duke of *Espenon*, with the Cavalry of *Provence*, and by Colonel *Alonso Ornano* of the Isle of * *Corfica* with the Infantry of *Dauphine*, and so furiously charged there, that all the rest being slain upon the place, only sixty of them escaped from so great a slaughter: whereupon also the Sieur *Lesdiguier* himself was forced to seek security among the Mountains.

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* And therefore usually called Colonel *Alonso Ornano*.

This end had that mighty Army of the Germans; after the defeat whereof, the King returning armed to *Paris*, entered as in triumph upon the twenty third of *December*, being in appearance solemnly received by the people; though with the incredible applause of every one, but especially of the Parisians, the whole glory redounded to the Duke of *Guse*, whose name being become admired and immortal, was celebrated by the Tongues and Pens of all his Adherents.

The miserable end of the reliques of the mighty Army of the Germans.

The End of the Eighth BOOK.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The NINTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THis Book relates the determination of the Duke of Guise, and of the League, to obtain (in the heat of the Victory) their designs of the King, and the ruine of the Hugonots: The Parisians assent unto it, and are more resolute than the rest: They prepare themselves to constrain the King by force, and to shut him up in a Monastery. The King being advertised, takes order to curb their unruliness; and to that end causeth the Swisses to draw near, and makes many other preparations. The Parisians finding they were discovered, to save themselves send for the Duke of Guise: At his Arrival they take Arms, make Barricades, drive out the Swisses, and besiege the King in his Palace. He being not able to resist, flees away secretly, and retires to Chartres, and thence to Rouen: He resolves to make Peace with the Duke of Guise, causeth it to be treated by the Queen-Mother, and it is concluded. The Duke of Espernon goes from Court, and retires to Angoulesm, where, by a Conspiracy of the Citizens, his life is in great danger. The Duke of Guise comes to the King to Chartres, and is favoured and exalted to the height of power. The States are assembled at Blois, according to the appointment made in the Articles of Peace. The Pope declares Cardinal Morelino his Legat in France. The King dismisses from Court the High Chancellour, Secretary Villeroy, and the Sieur de Bellicure: He sends an Army commanded by the Duke of Nevers against the King of Navarre; who after the taking of many places, lays siege to Ganache. The States at Blois are begun: Many practices and machinations are contrived on both sides. The Duke of Guise causeth the States to demand that the King of Navarre may be declared incapable of the Crown, and labours to be created Lieutenant-General with absolute Authority in the Government. News comes that the Duke of Savoy hath seized upon the Marquesate of Saluzzo; businesses are changed by it: but the Duke of Guise orders matters so, that all redounds to his advantage and power. The King being very much streightned, resolves to cause the Duke of Guise

Guise to be slain: He finds difficulties and impediments, but at last his design is effected, and upon Christmas-Eve the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his Brother are slain, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, with many others, imprisoned: He sends Colonel Alfonso Corso to seize upon the Duke of Mayenne at Lyons; but he is forewarned, and retires to Dijon. The Queen-Mother dies in the seventieth year of her age, and affairs remain in confusion.

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THE defeat of the German Army caused the depression of the Hugonots, no less than the greatness and exaltation of the League: for the King of Navarre having received the news of so great a loss, though he were victorious beyond the Loire, yet fearing so black a cloud would suddenly pour a storm upon his head, he retired, without making other attempt, into his wonted retreat the City of Rochel; and the other Heads of his party shut themselves up in the strongest places, expecting the resolutions which they saw would be taken against them.

On the other side, the Duke of *Guise*, after the destroying of the County of *Monsbelliard*, being come to *Nancy* with the other Lords of his Family, began without further delay to consult of the means of accomplishing speedily the designs of the League, and of reaping fruits suitable to their present Victory. In this Consultation debated and reiterated for many days, the greater part of the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, forgetting moderation, so necessary in prosperity, and spreading their sails very boldly, could talk of no less than the extirpation of the Hugonots, the deposing of the King from the Crown, of putting him into a Cloister, as they had learned in Story, had been in former times done to *Chilperick*, of destroying the House of *Bourbon*, pulling down the Minions and Favourites of the Court, and disposing the Offices and Dignities of the Crown unto themselves, and in conclusion, of commanding and ruling the whole Government of *France* their own way; and were so puffed up with the presumption of themselves, that their counsels were neither measured by justice nor possibility, presupposing they had all things in their own hands which were lawful for their deserts to undertake, and that they could easily execute any determination, how high, how advantageous soever. These great designs were partly opposed by the Duke of *Lorain*, who of a mild nature and moderate mind, no less remote from danger than far from the pretensions of the Lords of *Guise*, tried by the authority he had, as Head of that Family, to restrain those deliberations which he thought too precipitate, and to keep matters for the most part within the limits of reason. The Duke of *Mayenne* assented to his opinions, and commended them very much, thinking (according to his old inclination) that every moment they put the whole state of their Family in danger without much necessity. But the Duke of *Anjou*, and the *Chevalier* his Brother, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke of *Elbens*, the Count de *Chaligny*, and above all the rest, the Duke of *Guise*, who led no less by the boldness of his own nature, and the acuteness of his wit, than by the prosperous success of his enterprises, could suffer no delay in following his conceived hopes, argued (not without reason) that the longer they deferred, the longer time they gave the King to contrive their ruine, and to perfect the design of their suppression which he had already begun.

Vast thoughts of the House of *Lorain*, too much puffed up, by prosperous success.

This diversity of opinions was the cause that they concluded as it were in the middle way: and therefore about the end of *January*, in the year 1588, they resolved upon two conclusions: One, that the Duke of *Lorain* with all his Forces and the assistance of *Flanders*, should assail the Towns that belong to the Duke of *Beillon*, to root out the Hugonots from those parts, and to keep the Forces of the League in action: the other, that the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Confederate Lords, should not enter to oppose the King at the very first; but that being united with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to strengthen their reasons, and to make appear that the nature of things did of it self carry businesses to their designed end, they should present a Petition, which should contain many demands for their advantage, and which should necessitate the King to declare his last resolution: for if he granted them, their desires would be effected without noise or trouble; and if he refused them, he should thereby give them occasion and opportunity to make use of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not consent to of his own accord.

1588.

The conjuncture of invading the Dutchy of *Bouillon* was in shew very opportune; for the Duke himself and the Count *de la Mark* his Brother being both dead, and having left *Charlotte* their Sister only Heir, under the tuition of the Duke of *Montpensier*, they knew that he being a Catholick, was not acceptable to the City of *Sedan*, *Jamets*, and other places of that Dukedom, and that they would not trust his Government, and Monsieur *de la Nove* being Executor of the late Dukes will, was not only absent, but also to deliver himself from the imprisonment of the Spaniards, by whom he had been taken in the Wars of *Flanders*, had promised not to bear Arms against the King of *Spain*, nor against the Duke of *Lorain*: whereby it appeared that *Charlotte* wanting a powerful protection, and being likewise molested by the Count *de Montleurier* her Uncle, who pretended right to the inheritance, would hardly be able to resist the Forces of the Duke of *Lorain*, who also upon old pretences laid claim to many places of that State, and therefore without losing a minute of time, the Duke having put an Army in readines, under the command of the Marquess *du Pont* his Son, accompanied by the Sieurs *de Rhosne* and *Osonville*, after he had over-run and spoiled the Country, laid siege to *Jamets* with certain hopes to take it. But he found it a difficult business; for Monsieur *de Sebelandre* the Governour of it made very wise and careful provisions for the defence of it; and Monsieur *de la Nove* having first by a long Apologie in writing excused his stirring in a defensive War, and for the just right of a forsaken Orphan, came to *Sedan*, and began to make strong preparations to maintain the War; so that the Siege of *Jamets* cooling of it self, proved so long, that it hardly ended with the year, wherein those things that happened, directed their Arms to more important expeditions.

The Duke of Guise causes a Writing to be presented to the King, with many cunning demands redounding to his own benefit.

But the Duke of *Guise* being departed from *Nancy*, and come into his Government of *Champagne*, caused a long Writing in the names of himself, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Heads of the League to be presented to the King, wherein after many preambles, and many reasons very cunningly laid together, they demanded in substance, That he would unite himself truly with them, and would sincerely make himself Head of the League, to the destruction and rooting out of the Hugonots. That he would put those persons from the Court, from his Councils, and from their Offices, who should be named by the Catholick Princes, as suspected and ill-affected to Religion. That he would make the Council of *Trent* be received and observed through the whole Kingdom, only excepting those things which did prejudice the privilege of the *Gallicque* Church. That he would grant some certain places which should be thought fit, unto the Confederate Princes for their security, wherein they might keep Garisons, and make necessary Fortifications at the expences of the Crown. That he would maintain an Army about the Confines of *Lorain*, under the command of one of the Confederate Princes, to hinder the incursions of Foreigners. That he would cause all the Estates of the Hugonots to be confiscate and sold, wherewith the expences of the late Wars might be satisfied, and the Confederates might be assisted toward the maintenance of future matters.

The Writing contained these principal things, and many others of less consequence, which being presented to the King in the beginning of *February*, was received by him with his wonted dissimulation, and the answer deferred with his wonted delays: nor did the Duke of *Guise* press much to know his resolution; for the end of the demand was only to make the King contemptible, and render him odious to the people, suspected to favour the Hugonots, and furnish the League with an occasion and pretence to take up Arms, and persecute their begun-designs while the prosperity of their fortune lasted. But these artifices were needless to make the Kings person odious and contemptible. The burdens which the War, the maintaining of so many Armies, and his own profane manner of spending, daily increased, had lost the hearts of the people. The noise and splendour of the Duke of *Guise's* Victories, had obscured the majesty of his Name: his obstinate favour to his Minions, had alienated the minds of his most ancient, most devoted Servants: and the People of *Paris*, swayed by the ambition of the Council of *Sixteen*, could no longer endure Government. The City was full of infamous Pamphlets, politick Discourses, Satyrical Verses, and fabulous Stories, which for the most part abusing the Name of the Duke d' *Epernon*, redounded to the scorn and disgrace of the Royal Majesty. On the other side, all the Streets, and every corner of *Paris*, resounded the praises of the Duke of *Guise*, celebrated in Verse and Prose by a thousand Writers, with the Title of the new *David*, the second *Moses*,

Moses, the Deliverer of the Catholick People, the Prop and Pillar of the Holy Church; and the Preachers in their wonted manner, but with greater licence, openly inveighing against the present affairs, filled the ears of the people with wonders, or rather miracles (so they called them) of this new *Gideon*, come into the World for the desired safety of the Kingdom: Which things spread from the City of *Paris*, as from the heart; diffused themselves thorow all the Provinces, as into the members, which were possessed with the same impressions, as well to the Kings disadvantage, as in favour of the League. This Commotion was fully perfected by the Kings own determination, who either blinded with the affection he bore the Duke d' *Espernon*, or because he would not advance other men whom they had no great cause to trust, declared him Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of *Normandy*, places that were vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuse* his death; which absolutely pierced thorow the heart of the Duke of *Guise*, seeing that he continued in his wonted customs, and that one man alone being exalted to the highest degree of greatness, himself, his Brother, and the rest of his Family, how great soever their merits were, could never obtain nor compass any thing; so that forgetting the determinations resolved on at *Nancy*, and that wary moderation which the Duke of *Lorain* had advised, he began without more delay, to think of reducing the authority of the Government into his own power, making the Parisians his principal instruments, who no less displeased and incensed than himself, did earnestly sollicite him to that resolution: Wherefore having received particular information of the state of things from the Council of *Sixteen*, whereby they assured him that they had twenty thousand armed men in the City at their devotion, ready to be put upon any enterprise: That they were divided into sixteen Squadrons, to every one of which they had appointed a Commander; and that the rest of the people would without question follow the stream of the chief men, by reason they were ill affected to the person of the King and the Duke d' *Espernon*, and on the other side most zealous in the cause of Religion, he considering that confusion easily ariseth among the multitude, and that the division into sixteen several quarters was too many to meet altogether suddenly in one body when need should require, writ to the Council, that they should lessen that number, and reduce it into but five quarters, to which they should appoint a place, where they should meet at the sign that should be given them, and that they should dispose things in such a manner, as might breed neither disorder nor confusion: and as well to assure himself absolutely that that business should proceed according to his own will, as because he had no confidence in the small experience of those Heads appointed and chosen by the Parisians, he sent them five Commanders, who were to order the five quarters, and to rule and moderate the turbulence of popular Arms. These were the Count of *Brissac*, the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, the *Sieur de Chamois*, the *Sieur d' Esclavotes*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, to whom the *Sieur de Meneville* was added, who from the first had been the Mediator and chief Instrument in that business. These entered openly into *Paris*, under colour of private affairs; and being lodged in those quarters of the City that were appointed them, frequented the Court, and followed divers businesses, leaving the care to *Meneville*, of bringing the matter to its conclusion: and to give the greater assistance to it, the Duke of *Guise* gave order to the Duke of *Anmale*, who had Forces in *Picardy*, to make himself be obeyed by many Governours of places, who fomented by the Duke of *Espernon*, refused to acknowledge him: That he should keep five hundred good Horse in a readiness to be there in due time, to put life in the design of the Parisians, who knowing that such order was given, desired *Jehan Conty* one of the *Eschevins* (or, as we call them in *England*, Sheriffs of the City) that he would let them have the Keys of the *Port St. Martin*, which he kept, as the custom is, to the end that when occasion should serve, they might bring in that supply which was to come out of *Picardy*: but he refusing, they dealt with *Pierre Brigard* Eschevin of the next quarter, who promised them the Keys of *Port St. Dennis*, by which their assistance might be brought in as well as by that of *St. Martin*: And because they doubted that *Conty*, who had denied to consent unto it, might reveal the business to the King, they found an invention to make him be complained of for an Heretick, and many other misdemeanours, putting him by that means in discredit, to the end that his relation might not be believed.

Things being contrived in this manner, the means of executing them remained to be resolved on. The Commanders sent by the Duke, and the major part of those chosen

1588.

The King declares the Duke of *Espernon* Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of *Normandy*, to the great discontent of the Duke of *Guise*.

The Council of *Sixteen* informs the Duke of *Guise* of 20000 men in readiness for any design.

The Duke of *Anmale* is in a readiness with 500 Horse to assist the conspiracy of the Parisians.

1588.

A Conspiracy
against the
Kings person.

chosen by the Council of *Sixteen*, thought that to assault the *Louvre* where the King lay encompassed with his Guards, and the Nobility that attended him, would be a dangerous enterprise, of too loud a violence, and no ways likely to succeed; and they foresaw besides, that the fact would seem very scandalous to the rest of the Kingdom; that also if it failed but never so little, or that the effecting of it should be a work of time, many disorders would arise, and the King might have opportunity to make himself Superiour: wherefore they resolved unanimously to make use of the occasion which the time of *Lent* would afford them, to take his person then when with the Duke of *Espernon* he should be in procession as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, neither accompanied by his Guards, nor the ordinary retinue of the Court; and as soon as he should be seized upon, under colour of a popular Sedition, caused by the indignation of the common people, exasperated by the heavy punishments that lay upon them, and Enemies to the Authority of the Minions, that he should be shut up in a Monastery with strong Guards; after which the Duke of *Aumale's* five hundred Horse and his other Forces should presently come in, to take absolute possession of the principal places, and keep them guarded till the Duke of *Guise* should arrive; who calling the States General, and shewing either the Kings incapacity, or his evil intentions, and evil Government, might cause the affairs of the Kingdom to be disposed at the arbitrement and to satisfaction of the League.

Nicholas Poulain reveals the whole Plot to the High Chancellour, and confirms it also to the King himself.

But *Nicholas Poulain*, who was privy to all this Conspiracy, did by means of the High Chantellor quickly make the resolution that had been taken known to the King, who though he did not absolutely give credit to the discovery, by reason of the weight and importance of the thing, grounded upon no other assurance than the bare affirmation of *Poulain*, a man of no very good repute, and suspected by that means to seek for profit and reward; yet thinking fit to look to himself, he feigned himself not well, and upon that excuse forbore to go to any spiritual exercises with the Fraternity of the Penitents. And that he might be the better assured of the truth, he caused *Poulain* to be brought one night secretly into his closet, and in the presence of the High Chancellour *Monfieur d'O*, and the Abbot *del Bene*, examined him particularly concerning all things he had revealed, seeming not to believe him, and to doubt that he was set on and suborned to say so; by those of the Hugonot party. *Poulain*, with a secure confidence and distinct narration, confirmed all that he had discovered, added all the particulars and smallest circumstances, named all the accomplices, related from the beginning the whole Conspiracy, and at last, with a free courage and settled countenance, offered to be put in prison and kept there, till he had justified all that he had said; and in conclusion added, That the Council of *Sixteen* was to be held the next day in the house of *Monfieur de la Bruyere*, (one of the Conspirators) and that if the King would send whom he pleased along with him with a sufficient Guard, he would put them all into his hands, so that none of them should be able to hide themselves, or deny the Conspiracy. The King dismissed him with gracious words, and very great promises, and went presently to the Duke of *Espernon's* lodgings, where they conferred together the space of half an hour; and being come from thence about midnight, went to the Queen-Mothers Chamber, which was in the Palace, and having awakened her, told her distinctly all that had been revealed unto him, and began to consult whether he should do well to follow *Poulain's* advice, and send the next day to take the Conspirators.

The thing in appearance was easie and secure, but in effect full of great difficulty and danger: for it was not to be doubted, but upon very little stir all the quarters of the City would be up in Arms, according to the order already taken, and under the Commanders already appointed, who would never suffer their Heads to be laid hold on and carried away prisoners by so small a number as a Company of the Guards, which was all they were able to send about that business: nor could they doubt of this effect, since they had often proved, that when any one of the Heads of the City had been taken by the Officers of the Court, either upon civil or criminal occasions, the common people had ever run violently and seditiously armed to deliver him: and if the people, being raised upon the apparent colour, that their Heads and Protectors were like to be seized upon, should suddenly assault the *Louvre*, the King and Court unarmed, unprovided, undefended, except by the ordinary Guards, they would hardly be able to make resistance against so great a Force, led by so expert resolute Commanders, and who

who being come to that pass, would readily embrace so specious an occasion of making it appear that they stirred not so offend others, but only in their own defence. They considered that the people of Paris were so powerful, that they could not be curbed, but by mighty forces; and to undertake what they could not compass, would be nothing else but to overthrow the business, and come off with loss and dishonour. They foresaw that the Conspirators would presently be relieved by the Dukes of Guise and Anjou, who were hard by in Arms; whereas the King had no Body of men ready to assist him in a case of so great danger. They knew that they were not to trust in the Hugonot party, as well because they had always feared the King, and esteemed him a bitter Enemy to their Religion, as because the defeat of the Germans had so terrified them, that they all thought rather of leaving the Kingdom to save their lives by flight, than of following the conduct of the Princes, to save themselves by the Sword; and so much the more, by reason that the Prince of Conde's death (which happened about this time at St. Jehan d'Angely, by poison given him, as was reported, by his own Servants, upon some private distaste) had raised the affliction of that party to the utmost height; wherein there was nothing left unshaken, but only the constancy of the King of Navarre. Besides that, the far distance, and the other wonted respects, excluded the making of a foundation upon that party, especially in the exigence of this imminent danger: so that they could find no Forces any where sufficient to bridle the Parisians. Whereupon the Queen at last spake this conceit in the Italian Tongue, ** Bisogna coprirsi bene il viso inanzi che stuzzicare il vespaio*: adding, that it was necessary to arm and provide first, and then means would not be wanting to suppress the Conspirators.

1588.

Henry Prince of Conde poisoned at St. Jehan d'Angely by his own servants.

* He that will stir up a Wasps nest, had first need to cover his face well. A saying of the Queen-Mother.

Wherefore, after long consultations, they sent for the Abbot del Bene, with whom pondered the same things again, they concluded that the Duke of Espernon, under colour of taking possession of his Government of Normandy, should go presently into that Province, (bordering upon, and as it were joining to the Territory of Paris: It self:) That he should assure himself of Rouen and Havre de Grace, chief places of that Province, and which shut up the passage of the Ocean, and of the River Seine; and that upon that occasion he should draw some Forces together; wherewith he might be ready to come up in time of need: That on the other side they should endeavour by all means possible, as they had already begun, to draw Monsieur d'Entragues unto the Kings devotion, being Governour of Orleans, a City that stops the passage from Berry and Brasse unto the Territories of Paris: That the Swisses which were yet under the Kings pay, should be drawn to quarter at Lagny, and in other places adjoining, to shut up the River of Marne, (commonly called, The Nurse of the common people of Paris) and to cut off the passage from Champagne: for having Chartres already, whereof the High Chancellor had the Government, and Pontoise, because the Governour of it was Monsieur d'Alincourt Father to Secretary Villeroy, Paris would be blocked up, compassed and bridled on every side; so that bringing in afterward the greatest part of the Swisses, and reinforcing the Regiment of Guards, by calling all the Souldiers to their Colours, who are often wont to be absent in time of Peace, they might then securely take the Heads of the Conspiracy; and if the people should rise, it would be easie to tame them with the strength of the Swisses, and the powerful curb of hunger: in the mean time they concluded it was best for the King to dissemble, and abstain from publick Ceremonies, and from certain suspected places, to give no opportunity to the execution of that plot which the Conspirators sought to accomplish.

Resolutions taken to free themselves of the Conspiracy of the Parisians.

This resolution, grounded as it were upon necessity, was approved the next morning both by Secretary Villeroy and the High Chancellor, but most of all by the Sieur de Villequier, who still persisted in his opinion that the information was not true, but that the Enemies of the Duke of Guise and of the Parisians, had suborned Poulain to raise this calumny, thereby to stir up some enterprise against them. Whereupon the King having sent for Conty and Uxoloy, two Esquires that consented not to the Conspirators, would needs hear from them what they knew in that particular. Conty excused himself, that by reason of the report which was lately raised of him, that he was infected with the Hugonot Religion, and guilty of other crimes, he had not dared to tell any of those things he knew, for fear of being thought a malicious slanderer; and then laid open freely all that had passed about the Keys of the Port St. Martin: and Pierre Uxoloy relating many particulars that were come to his knowledge, confirmed

1588. firmed the same things: so that the information being partly proved, they went on to the execution of those resolutions which had been taken.

The Duke of *Espernon* departed two days after with a very small quantity, that he might not weaken the Court; and being come to *Rouen* the Metropolis of *Normandy*, took possession of the Government, confirming as well the Parliament as the *Sieur de Carrouges* Governour of the City, unto his devotion, and to the Kings party. But the same succeeded not at *Havre de Grâce*, because *André Brancasse* *Sieur de Villars* a Provençal, who had the Government thereof given him by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, had already taken part with the League; the Duke of *Guise*, who diligently watched all opportunities, having dealt with him, by reason of the importance of that place, and caused the Parisians to give him thirty thousand Crowns, under pretence of keeping the mouths of the Ocean shut, and the passage of the *Seine* open, to the end that the City might enjoy the traffick of the Sea, and the conveniency of bringing up the provisions which came from those parts; by which reward, and the protection of the Duke of *Guise*, he was won to side absolutely with the League. Wherefore the Duke of *Espernon* knowing that he could not draw that place to his devotion, and unwilling to hazard his reputation at the first, letting alone the Country of *Caux* where it is situated, he passed on the other side the *Seine*, to *Pontau de Mer*, *Honfleur*, and from thence by the shore of the Ocean to the City of *Caen*, where he was received with infinite applause, because the place was full of Hugonots, and most averse from the designs of the League.

In the mean time, the *Sieur d'Entragues* was treated with about the City of *Orleans*, by the means of Secretary *Villeroy*: in which Negotiation there arose many difficulties, nor could the King bring it to an end with all his solicitations. The most part of men were of opinion, that this business was not effected, because Secretary *Villeroy*, now an open Enemy to the Duke of *Espernon*, desired the Duke of *Guise's* party should prevail, that he might thereby be abased; not believing that ever the League would dare to pass on so far, as to plot against the person of the King himself, but that they only aimed at pulling down the Minions, and the destruction of the Hugonots, and that therefore he did artificially interrupt the treaty of *Orleans*, and protract the resolution of Monsieur *d'Entragues* with delays and difficulties; which was so much the rather believed, because the business was most easily effected afterwards in a time less opportune, and less favourable. But Monsieur *de Villeroy* excused himself for it with a long Apology, shewing that the protraction of the business was caused on the one side by the irresoluteness of Monsieur *d'Entragues*, and on the other, by that of the King himself; who would neither consent to dismember the Government of the City of *Orleans* from that of the Province as he required, lest he should discontent the High Chancellor, (who possessed it) nor to make satisfaction be given him by the Duke of *Espernon*, by whom he thought himself injured in the person of his Son; howsoever it were, the business went on so slowly, that they came not to a conclusion at *Orleans* time enough to block up the City of *Paris*; which the King prosecuting very carefully, caused the Marechal *de Byron* to bring the Swisses to quarter at *Lagny*, a place near the City seated upon the River *Marne*, disposing part of them into all the convenient neighbouring places. In the mean time the number of the French Guards was increased; for Commissions had been given out to all the Captains in ordinary, to summon all Souldiers to their Colours, and not to give leave to any to depart. The Archers who were wont to wait by the quarter, but three months in the year, had been all warned to attend in an extraordinary manner; the five and forty Gentlemen appointed by the King, stirred neither day nor night from his Lodgings and Person; and many Gentlemen were invited under pretence of other businesses, to reside at Court: which things being particularly observed by the Council of *Sixteen*, (who kept Spies in every place) and seeing the King (contrary to his custom) live retired from those exercises of devotion and recreation wherein he was wont to delight, began to grow very suspicious that he had been advertised by *Jehan Conty* and *Pierre Ugoloy*, whereupon they began to fear, and to look to themselves; yet not desisting from the enterprise, but rather providing for all things with greater diligence. But when they knew the Swisses were quartered at *Lagny*, they were assured that their Plot was discovered, and fell into wonderful confusion, their hearts all failing, as the custom is in popular designs, there being no man among them able for his authority and experience to manage so weighty an enterprise: wherefore finding they stood in need of a principal Head,

The Kings preparations to make himself sure of the Conspirators, to block up the passages about *Paris*, and keep victuals from thence.

The Council of *Sixteen* by the Kings preparations, began to suspect that their Plot is discovered, and the Heads being dismayed send for the Duke of *Guise* to *Paris*.

Head, whose wit, courage and reputation might give life unto the business, they dispatched *Pierre Brigard* in very great haste to intreat the Duke of *Guise* not to defer his coming any longer, to which they had often invited him; since by his presence the design might be happily brought unto an issue; whereas if they were forsaken by him, they saw they should become a prey unto the King, out of whose hands (to the total destruction of the City) they could not think of any possible way to save themselves. The Duke (who had some notice of the Kings intention, and also on the other side was not willing to suffer the foundation of the League to perish, nor to abandon those who had principally made their recourse to him, and thinking that his ruine would immediately follow that of the Parisians, if time were given for those remedies to work which the King had begun to put in practice) took a resolution to go to *Paris*, either perfectly to finish the design, (as they of the Kings party said) or at least (as he and his Adherents said) to save the City, and the Council of *Sixteen*, which he knew to be in manifest danger, and to free himself of the calumny which his Enemies and the Favourers of the Hugonots had raised against him. And that he might make no noise, but proceed with the same arts that were used by the King, he sent his Gentlemen by several ways, and a great band of old Souldiers, who entered scatteringly upon several days into the City, and lodg'd a part in several quarters; and he himself with but seven Horse in company took the way toward *Soissons*, where the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was, to confer with him, and go from thence to *Paris*. Yet Fame published his coming, (which was also spread abroad by the *Sixteen* to cheer up the sadness that had possessed all the people by reason of the preparations that were made) which being known unto the King, was the cause that he sent Monsieur *de Belieure* as far as *Soissons* to dissuade him from coming, and to let him know, that in such a turbulent suspected time, he should be displeased and offended at it. The Duke, who was not moved from his resolution by certain vain respects that use to disturb unsettled minds, but desiring to come unexpectedly, that he might neither be prevented nor way laid, answered the Kings message doubtfully, saying that his ambition was to serve his Majesty and Religion; that he knew he had been slandered by his Enemies, and therefore longed to vindicate himself; that his journey was exceeding private, and without any train that could make him suspected; that he was very desirous to satisfy the King in all occasions; that he would not disobey his Majesties commands; and added many other words, but all general and ambiguous; nor did he ever conclude in substance, whether he would obey the Kings command in that particular, or prosecute his intended journey to *Paris*; yet he seemed rather to infer that he would stay at *Soissons*, and expect another resolution. But Monsieur *de Belieure* was no sooner departed with his doubtful answer, but he took horse and followed him, making his journey out of the great highways, lest he should meet other Messengers from the King; so that *Philibert Sieur de la Guiche*, and *Charles Benoist* the Kings Cabinet-Secretary, who were dispatched one after the other to advise him not to come to *Paris*, could not find him any where, till he was at the Gate of *St. Denis*, a time when it was too late to forbid his coming. The Duke of *Guise* enters *Paris* upon *Munday* the ninth of *May*, when it was almost noon, with no greater train than seven horses, with his Gentlemen and other Servants together; but as a little snow-ball rolling down a high hill grows so big, that at last it becomes almost a mountain; so the people running out of their houses and shops, with applause and joy to follow him, he had not passed half thorow the City, but he had above thirty thousand persons about him, and the crowd was so great, that he himself could hardly make his way. The shouts of the people sounded to the Skies; nor they ever cry *Vive le Roy*, with so great acclamation, as they now cried *Vive Guise*: some saluted him, some gave him thanks, some bowed to him, some kissed the hem of his Garment; those that could not get near, with actions of their hands and gestures of their whole body shewed infinite signs of rejoycing; and some were seen, who adoring him as a Saint, touched him with their beads, and either kissed them presently, or else touched their eyes and foreheads with them; and even the very women, strowing leaves and flowers from their windows, honoured and blessed his coming. He on the other side, with a popular face, and smiling countenance, shewed himself affable to some in words, to some by courteously returning their salutations; others he requited with kind looks; and passing thorow that throng of people with his hat off, he omitted nothing that was behoveful to win absolutely the affections and applause of the people.

1588.

The King commands the Duke of *Guise* not to come to *Paris*, but he disobeys.

1588.

The Duke goes to wait upon the Queen-mother, who becomes pale and affrighted

In this manner, without staying at his own house, he went straight forward to St. *Eustache*, and alighted at the Palace of the Queen-Mother, who half astonished at his unexpected arrival, (for Monsieur de *Bellicure* being returned three hours before, had made a doubt of his coming) received him with a pale countenance, and (contrary to the ordinary custom of her nature) trembling and almost dismayed. The Duke's carriage was full of respective humility and profound submission; the words of the Queen ambiguous, telling him that she was glad to see him, but would have been much more glad to have seen him at another time: to which he answered with modest behaviour, but high words, that he was a faithful Servant to the King, and that having understood the calumnies that were cast upon his innocence, and the things that were in agitation against Religion, and against the honest well-affected men of that City, he was come thither to divert that mischief, and clear himself, or else to lay down his life at the service of the Church and the general safety.

Their discourse being interrupted, while he (as the custom is) saluted the other Ladies of the Court, the Queen called *Luigi Davila* her Gentleman-Usher, and commanded him to let the King know the Duke of *Guise* was come, and that within a little while she would bring him personally to the *Louvre*. The King (who was in his private Closet with Monsieur de *Villequier*, *Bellicure*, and the Abbot *del Bene*) was so wonderfully moved, that he was fain to rest himself upon his arm, hanging his head down almost to the table; and having examined *Davila* of every particular, commanded him to desire the Queen secretly to defer his coming as long as possibly she could. The Abbot *del Bene*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, a most trusty Servant of the Kings; and one that had deserved wonderfully well of the Crown, coming at that instant into the Closet, counselled him to receive the Duke of *Guise* in the same Closet, and cause him to be killed in that very place, the Abbot saying these words, * *Percutiam Pastorem, & dispergentur oves*. But *Villequier*, *Bellicure*, and the High Chancellour (who came in) were of another opinion, alledging that the commotion of the people was so great, that in such a case, contemning the Royal Majesty, and breaking all bounds of Law and Duty, they would run to a precipitate revenge; and that things not being yet ready to defend themselves, and bridle the fury of the City, the Forces of the Parisians were too powerful to be provoked.

* I will strike the Shepherd, and the Sheep shall be scattered.

Whilst the King stood doubtful what to resolve, the Queen-Mother came and brought the Duke of *Guise*: she was brought her self in a Sedan, the Duke going by her all the way on foot, but with so great a train, and such a confluence of people, that the whole City seemed to be crowded into the Court of the *Louvre* and the Streets thereabouts. They passed thorow a Lane of Souldiers: Monsieur de *Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was there present, who being a free Souldierly Man, and no very good Friend to the Duke of *Guise*, whilst he bowed courteously to every private Souldier, made very small shew of respect unto the Duke, who observed it very well, with some alteration of countenance, which increased to a great paleness when he saw the Swisses, who (standing to their Arms) made a Laue at the bottom of the Stairs, the Archers in the Hall, and in the Rooms above, all the Gentlemen gathered together to expect him. They entered into the Kings Chamber: who (while the Duke of *Guise* bowed himself with a low reverence) said to him with an angry look, *I sent you word that you should not come*. To these words the Duke with the same submission he had used to the Queen, but with more moderate words, answered, *That he was come to put himself into the Arms of his Majesties Justice, to clear himself of those calumnies that were cast upon him by his Enemies; and that nevertheless he would not have come, if he had been plainly told that his Majesty had commanded him to stay*. The King turning to *Bellicure*, asked him angrily if it were not true that he had given him Commission to tell the Duke of *Guise* that he should not come, unless he would be accounted the Author of the tumults and insurrections of the Parisians. Monsieur de *Bellicure* stepped forward, and would have given an account of his Message; but as he began to speak, the King interrupted him, saying it was enough; and turning to the Duke of *Guise*, said, *That he knew not that he was calumniated by any body, but that his innocence would have clearly appeared if his coming had produced no novelty, nor interrupted the quiet of the Government, as it was like to do*. The Queen well acquainted with the Kings nature, and seeing in his face that he was inclined to some bold resolution, drew him aside, and told him in substance what she had seen of the concourse of people, and that it was no time to think of any precipitate determination. The Dutchess of *Uzerz*, who

The King being visited by the Duke of *Guise*, shews himself angry both in words and looks, because he was come to Paris contrary to his command.

The Queen dissuades the King from his thoughts against the Duke of *Guise*; who perceiving in what danger he was, presently takes his leave and departs.

was

was close by him, confirmed the same: and the Duke of *Guise* attentively observing every little particular, as soon as he saw they were in an uncertainty, that he might not give the King time to deliberate, feigned himself weary with his journey, and taking his leave, returned with the same confluence of people, but not accompanied with any of the Court, unto his own house in the *Rue St. Anthoine*. Many condemned the King, because he did not then resolve to cut him off at that opportunity; and many knowing the strength and courage of the Parisians, and that he had many Adherents even in the Court it self, thought it a prudent and moderate determination to let him go.

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But the Duke of *Guise* having before his eyes the danger he had run, and condemning himself for his late venture, began presently to draw unto himself all his friends and dependents, which were spread in the several quarters of the City, so that he who at noon entered but with seven horses, had in his house at night above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders. At the same time he sent for the Council of *Sixteen*, and all the *Eschevins*; and after a long consultation, (wherein he was fully informed of all particulars) gave order that Guards should be kept in every Ward; that all men should be warned and prepared; and that upon any stir they should (according to the order already given, and under the Officers already appointed) all run to the principal places of the City, and chiefly to his house. Many Arms, Muskets, Drums, and other instruments of War, were carried the same night into his house, as well to arm great store of people, as to defend his own person, about which they kept Watches and Sentinels, no less than they use to do in Armies when they are near an Enemy.

The same diligence was used at the *Louvre*, and at the Queens Palace, whither she returned when it was very late at night: her Gentlemen kept Guard very carefully; and the whole night was spent in great suspicions on every side: and now all things were become publick; nor was any body ignorant that the King meant to bridle the Parisians, and suppress the Duke of *Guise*; and that he on the other side was come to make himself Master of the City, to drive his Enemies from Court, and to find means of transferring all the Authority of the Government upon himself. Among these reciprocal suspicions and publick scattered reports, *Poulain* being admitted the same night into the Kings Closet, told him that he had heard the Duke of *Guise* had said publicly, He would clear himself of those calumnies that had been raised of him; and offered himself again to be put in prison till he had made what he had revealed appear to be true: for the Heads of the Conspiracy being taken, he doubted not but the King would have a full assurance of all. Further, he said that before the Dukes coming, the Kings preparations had made every one wary and timorous; but that now he was present, their wonted spirits were revived: whereupon, that very night, in the most silent hours, the Council was to be held in the house of *la Chapelle*, where it would be very easie to take them all, and certifie themselves manifestly of the whole business. Upon this proposition, they continued uncertain what to do, and consulting the whole night without one wink of sleep, in the mean time day appeared, it being *Tuesday* the tenth of *May*, a day full of terrour and distraction. The City was full of Meetings and Conventicles; the *Louvre* guarded with an unwonted number of Soldiers; the Duke of *Guise's* Palace kept locked and full of Arms; the King in his Closet at secret counsel with the Queen his Mother, and his Counsellors; yet the Duke of *Guise* came in the morning to the *Louvre*, but with a train of above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders privately armed, (with Pistols under their Cloaks) and went to the lodgings of the young Queen to visit her, and from thence, having waited upon the King till he went to Mass, retired with the wonted concourse of people to his own house, where he spent the rest of the morning in consulting with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, who above all others, was his most interested Confident, because he was a bitter Enemy to the Duke of *Espernon*.

The King and Queen are strongly guarded for fear of the Duke of *Guise*; and he being fearful also, takes the same care.

The Duke of *Guise* goes (with 400 Gentlemen privately well armed) to the *Louvre*, to wait upon the King to Mass.

After Dinner he went to the Queen-Mothers house, whither the King came, and they discoursed together in the Garden a long time. There the Duke of *Guise* taking heart, as being in a place out of danger, because it was in the midst of the City, wherein he was the strongest, discoursed a great while of the causes of his coming, of the satisfaction which the Confederate Princes desired, and of the War to be made against the King of *Navarre*, accusing the Duke of *Espernon*, and Monsieur de *la Valette* his Brother, as authors of the discontents and divisions, and imputed to their practices that

Discourses that pass between the King, the Queen-mother and the Duke of *Guise*.

1588. the Hugonots were not rooted out, and *France* restored to its ancient splendor, and settled in a perfect Peace; and finally, he shewed that the minds of the sincere Catholics could not be at quiet, while they saw the King encompassed with suspected persons, and such as were of doubtful opinions in matter of Religion, while the ancient manner of Government used by former Kings was perverted, and while in stead of imploying his Forces against the Hugonot Faction, they were turned against the faithful people of *Paris*, who desired nothing else but the safety of their Souls and Consciences; wherefore it was necessary for whosoever would live in peace and tranquillity to change the course of proceedings and form of Government, to the end that the Catholick Faith, and the safety of good men being secured, every one might live quietly within their due obedience.

To these things the King answered with prolixity of words, shewing, that his mind was inclined to the extirpation of the Hugonots; but that it was needful to stay for a fit opportunity, and wait his pleasure, not going about to constrain him, by force, that the plots and machinations of those of the League had interrupted all good; for they had passed on so far, that they had disturbed the established order of Government; nor had that satisfied, but slanderous tongues had too much offended his patience both against truth and reason; that notwithstanding the clemency of his nature was ready to pardon all those that would see their faults, and serve him faithfully for the time to come: that no Prince in *Christendom* had more hated, persecuted, and trodden down Hereticks than he; that never any King had more loved and favoured any Subject, than he had done the House of *Lorain*, and the very person of the Duke of *Guise*; that all Offices and Dignities could not be conferred upon one man; and that as God bestows his blessings upon many according to the quality of their callings, so a Prince is bound to divide his gifts and favours among many, according to their deserts and his own inclination; that he had raised the Lords of *la Valette*, Sons of a most Catholick Father, valiant in War, and who had deserved very well of the Crown, having born Arms more constantly than any other against the Hugonots; that he found he was well served by them, as the diligence of *Espernon* had been seen in the defeat of the Germans, and the prosperous success of *la Valette* in making so great a slaughter of the Protestant Swisses that went into *Dauphine*: yet for all that he did not go about to equal them to the House of *Guise*, being neither alike in birth nor desert; but that places in Court are different, as there are different stations in Paradise; that it had ever been in the free power of all Kings to use and favour whom they pleased, and to chuse companions for their hours of recreation to their own liking and conveniency, for else that liberty would be debarred a Prince which private men freely enjoy, there being no man so mean but hath power to live and converse with whom he pleaseth, and to dispose of his own estate according to his own will and genius; that he had never received any counsel from the Lords of *la Valette*, nor any impediment that hindred him from making War with the Hugonots: yet if it could be proved, that they have not behaved themselves sincerely in any business, he was ready to punish them according to the quality of their fault; but that he would not banish them from Court for meer dislike of others: that he would observe what he had so often sworn concerning the Edict of the *Union*, and that his thoughts were more than ever bent upon the War against the King of *Navarre*, nor did any other respect withhold him from it, than that of burthening his people, which he must be forced to do to maintain Armies in so many several places; that it was only that which troubled; but yet that his Subjects had no reason to complain, since they themselves had been the Incendiaries of the War, and above all, the Parisians: that War could not be made without money, and money could not be raised without oppressing the people, by which means he was brought to bear the blame of a fault that was not his; for those that cried out against Impositions, were the very same who seditiously had forced him to make a War; that the City of *Paris* (to which he had done more good than ten of his Predecessors together, which had ever been his Favourite, wherein he had made his constant habitation, which caused the riches and plenty of the Citizens) had now declared it self his Enemy, and having derided and defamed his Name, had also gone on to conspire against his Person: that he knew very well that those Plots were contrived by strangers, and that the good people who were originally of the City consented not unto them, and that therefore he had resolved to turn all strangers out of the City, to take away the fuel from that pestilent fire which

which begun to spread; that he would not make use of foreign Arms to purge the City, whilst he should be faithfully served by the Citizens themselves; that he required his assistance in that business, and that he would give him that proof of the fidelity and sincerity he professed, for when he should once be assured of the obedience of his Subjects, he had nothing more to desire of him; and when once the strangers were driven out, and the City settled without tumult, in the condition it ought to be, he would cast away all former suspicions, and willingly consent to the moderation of future businesses. After he had ended his discourse, he called the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Eschervins* of the City, who were present, and commanded them to search all houses diligently the day after, with such other persons as he should appoint for that purpose; and that they should turn out all strangers who had settled themselves there without urgent necessity: That they should make no distinction of persons; for he was certified there were fifteen thousand who were set on to raise scandals, and come to stir up new commotions, to the danger of the lives and goods of the Citizens. With this Commission the Deputies departed, promising to serve him faithfully; and after many such discourses, the Duke of *Guise* departed also, having promised the same: For he had lull'd the King with his arts, and that his presence had so terrified him, that he should no longer need much Force: Whereupon he said to some of his familiar Friends, that he hoped without noise or difficulty to obtain an Assembly of the States General, wherein he doubted not but matters should go on according to his wish and design.

The King appointed Monsieur *de Villequier* and Monsieur *d' O* to make search for the strangers, which (the same Guards and jealousies continuing) was begun the next morning, but with obstinate backwardness, and most apparent dissimulation of the Parisians, who knew that those that were lodged in the City were all the Duke of *Guise's* dependents, and sent by him; nor were they willing that by expelling them their own Forces should be dissolved: Whereby the Kings Deputies perceived that they laboured but in vain, and that the intention of disarming and weakening the Duke of *Guise* could not succeed by that means, nor produce any effect; and therefore they let the King know so much; who angry and exasperated, resolved at last to tame the people by force, and endeavour to suppress the Conspirators without longer delay. To that end he presently dispatched the Marechal *de Byron* to bring the Swisses into *Paris*, and Monsieur *d' O* to fetch the Companies of his Guards which were lodged out of the City in the near adjacent places, and gave order that neither the Gentlemen, Archers, nor Souldiers of the Guards, should stir any more out of the Court, but that all should keep close about his Person.

This was not unknown to the Duke of *Guise*, who, to set the strength of the People against the Kings Forces, caused a report to be presently spread about the City, that the King had resolved to put to death Sixscore of the principal Catholics, and to put Garisons in the chief places to suppress the Citizens, and that therefore it was necessary for them to prepare for their defence. A counterfeit List was framed of the Sixscore names, the Copies whereof were dispersed abroad; the Duke of *Guise* being set down first of all, and President *Nully*, President *Maistre*, the Sieurs *de Buffy* and *la Chapelle*, *Hautman* the Receiver, and after them all the Curates, Preachers, Deputies, and *Eschervins*; and finally, all such as were beloved of the people; the fear of whose danger might stir them up to take Arms; causing this forgery to be divulged with so much vehemence of words and actions, and with so much feigned terrour, by cunning active persons, who were acquainted with the peoples humours, that they began to talk of rising that very night; the Commanders being ordered and chosen in every quarter, and the Dukes Gentlemen appointed to rule and moderate the rashness of the armed people.

But things were not yet fully ripe; and the night of the eleventh day was spent in these practices on every side, till in the morning upon *Thursday* the twelfth of *May*, they heard the Swisses Fifes and Drums; which beating their march, entered at the *Porte St. Honoré*, the Marechal *de Byron* on horseback leading them; and then the French Companies followed under their several Captains, with all their matches lighted. The King being also got on horseback, went out to receive them, welcoming the Souldiers at the entry of the gate, and commanded with a loud voice, repeating it many times, that they should all forbear to commit the least insolence, or do the least injury to the Citizens, upon pain of death without mercy! And having given order to Monsieur

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The King commands fifteen thousand strangers to be driven out of *Paris*; but the execution is hindered: whereupon he resolves to suppress the Insurrection by force.

The Duke of *Guise* makes the Parisians believe that the King meant to put Sixscore of the chief Catholics to death.

The Kings Soldiers come into *Paris*, and guard the *Levee*, with the streets about it, as also the Bridges and Market-places of the City.

1588. Monsieur d' O and the Marechal de Byron to possess and guard all the chief places of the Town, went back to the *Louvre*, where the Souldiers of the Guards were armed and in a readiness upon all occasions. The Marechal de Byron, perhaps not acquainted with the Kings design, thought it expedient first to possess those places which were nearest the *Louvre*; for the security and defence of the Court; and therefore first of all he possessed himself of *St. Innocents Church-yard*, being at the end of the *Rue St. Honore*, and there he placed nine hundred Swisses, setting the rest, to the number of one thousand six hundred, about the *Boucherie*, the *Marche-neuf*, the *Chastelet*, and *Townhouse*: Monsieur d' O took the *Pont au Change*, and the *Pont St. Michel*, placing Monsieur du Gast upon the one, and Monsieur Marivaut upon the other; the Companies of *Beauvais*, *Nangy* and Monsieur de l' *Archant*, being left to guard the Gate of the *Louvre* toward the *Rue St. Thomas*. But the business was very ill ordered in that manner, and it had been much better to have taken *La Place Maubert*, *la Place St. Antoine*, and the Streets near the *Bastile*, which are all in the furthest parts of the City, and near the Duke of Guise's Palace: for being besieged, so that he could not stir, and the *Rue St. Denis* and *St. Martin* being blocked up, to divide the people into two parts, that they might not easily draw together, the whole City would have been blocked up in the Kings power, and the tumult of the people restrained. But the Souldiers thus disposed of, were more fit to defend the *Louvre*, than to hinder the insurrection of the Citizens, which took its birth and beginning where the person of the Duke of Guise was, and where his spirit gave life to it.

At the entry of the Kings Forces, which was known to the whole City by the noise of the Drums, the people full of fear and terrour, and now assured that the report divulged of the Kings intention was most certain, began to gather together, shutting up their doors and shops, which (according to the custom used in that City of going to work before day) was already begun to be opened, and every one began to make ready their Arms, expecting directions what they should do.

It was already broad day light, when the Queen-Mother, desirous to know what the Duke of Guise did, sent Luigi Davila unto him, under colour of a ceremonial visit, (for she yet continued her wonted dissimulation) giving him charge to observe very carefully every little circumstance of whatsoever he should see or hear. He going to the *Hôtel de Guise* (so they call the Houses of the great Lords) contrary to the ordinary custom, found the Gates shut; and being let in thorow the Wicket, he saw two long rows of Gentlemen armed in the Court, and in the midst of them the Duke of Guise walking up and down alone, to whom he delivered the complement he was commanded: But the Duke finding the Queens intention, and desiring to shew that he was well prepared, took him kindly by the hand, and led him talking into the Garden, where a great number of Arms were laid together, and all the lower rooms full of Souldiers and Reformadoes; of whom Davila (as being acquainted with them) knew the greatest part. After two or three short turns in the Garden, the Duke, who notwithstanding was in great suspense, and as one might easily perceive, full of weighty thoughts, returning a complement, dismissed him, and he coming back strait to the *Louvre*, whither the Queen was already gone, and being brought into the Kings Closet, related distinctly all that he had observed: and added further, that as he passed thorow the City, he had seen them shut up their shops and houses, make ready their Arms, lay logs and set barrels before their doors, and many of the Dukes Gentlemen and Officers discoursing together, the chief Citizens very busie every where, and that especially in the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Antoine* the people gathered very fast together, and made greater preparations of Arms than in any other place. The King having caused him to make his relation twice over, presently sent Benoit his Secretary to Monsieur d' O, commanding him to advance beyond the Bridges, and cause the French Companies to possess the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Antoine*.

Monsieur d' O instantly sent Colonel Grillon to execute the Kings command; but he came too late: for the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin* with the Scholars of the University, and the Boat-men dwelling about *S. Jehan en Greve* had already taken that Post, which had till then been imprudently neglected; and having locked up the Streets with Chains, and shut up all passages with barricadoes of logs and barrels filled with dirt and earth, had made that their Rendezvous; wherefore Monsieur de Grillon was fain to retire, and going about to return to the place from whence he came, his way was stopt by the

the Count of *Brissac*, who with the People of the Quarter of *St. Germain*, had shut him up so in the midst, that he was engaged between the Bridges, nor could he stir any way at all, nor make the least resistance on any side, though he had with him the greatest strength of the French Souldiers.

1588.

All the rest of the City being already up, followed this beginning, crying furiously, *Arm, Arm*, and ringing the *Toquesaint* in every Quarter, made Barricadoes in the same manner within thirty paces of one another, in so punctual order, and with so much readiness, that the extent of so vast a City was all blocked up in a moment, and shut in every way, the Kings Souldiers beset on all sides with the Barricadoes, even to the very doors of all their *Corps de Garde*, and which was worst of all, Colonel *St. Paul* with the people of *St. Eustache* and *Mont-Martre* coming down with fury, and blocking up the Streets from place to place, made their last Barricadoes at the very Gates of the *Louvre*, right over against, and in the very face of the Kings *Corps de Garde*.

The Parisians raised at the ringing of the bell, make barricadoes cross the streets; and blocking up all the Kings *Corps de Garde*, come up to the *Louvre*, and begin to assault the Royalists.

After the Streets were blocked up and fortified on all sides, the word going every where about with fierce loud cries, that they should cut the Foreign Souldiers in pieces, the Swisses were presently assaulted in *St. Innocent's* Church-yard, where shut up and (as one may say) imprisoned, they could make no defence in the world, but six and thirty of them being slain in the first onset, the rest yielded themselves without resistance, and were pillaged by the people with very great violence and boasting. All the other Guards, of the *Chastelet*, the little Bridge, the Butchery, and the Town-house, were assaulted at the same time, the Swisses being in the same manner disarmed, and made prisoners at the peoples discretion. To the French Guards they had a little more respect; for having made them put out their Matches, and lay down their Arms, they kept them in that manner till they had further order.

In the mean time the King was perswaded by the Queen-Mother and Monsieur de *Villequier* to go forth of the *Louvre*, and shew himself unto the Citizens, thinking that the people would certainly be daunted with the splendour of the Royal Majesty, that they would acknowledge and obey him, and that laying down their Arms, and receiving security for their own lives and houses, they would suffer the Delinquents to be taken and punished: But the King thought it too dangerous an advice, and such an one as would expose all the remainder of his Dignity and Authority to the rashness of the people, without much assurance that the issue would be good; and which was worse, it seemed to him a counsel of such nature, as in case it should not succeed well, could no way be remedied, but the event at the same time would be certain ruine, and the loss of his life: wherefore he resolved to send out the Marshals of *Aumont* and *Byron* to talk with the people, and endeavour safely to appease them by fair means. But this determination was as vain as the other; for the Marshals words were answered with Musket-Bullets, and Stones, and they were fain to retire without doing any thing. There was now no other hope left, but of defending the *Louvre*, wherein (besides the wonted Guards, most forward to do their duty) there were above five hundred Gentlemen, who before all others had undertaken to defend the passage to the Gate.

But the Duke of *Guise*, either struck with the temerity of so high an enterprize, or not having prepared his designs from the beginning to go so far, or astonished in the execution by the greatness of the attempt, or thinking the business was brought to a head as soon as he saw the City in his power, the Kings Guards disarmed and taken, and the King with all his Friends shut up, and as it were imprisoned in the *Louvre*, and that he should attain to the rest of his desires, by way of composition, resolved to appease the tumult without using any more force; and going out of his house on horse-back, unarmed, with only a truncheon in his hand, to shew the greater contempt, rode thorow all the Quarters, and speaking to the people every where, exhorted them to stand upon their guard, since God had been so merciful to them as to secure their Lives, Families, Liberties, Religion, and the honour of the holy Church, but that they should depend upon him and not doubt, for all things were very safe: and coming to the place where the French Souldiers were beset and taken, he gave order to Colonel *St. Paul* to conduct them to the *Louvre*, and let them go. Thence he passed

The Duke of *Guise* seeing the City in his power, and the King as it

were a prisoner, ceaseth to prosecute the forcing of the *Louvre*, and appeaseth the people.

by

1588. by *St. Innocents*, and made the *Swisses Arms* be restored to them; and in the same manner caused the Count of *Brissac* to bring them to the entry of the *Louvre* and let them go. All the Souldiers without Drums, or being ranked in order went bare-headed, trailing their Arms as prisoners, and being conducted to the Gate of the *Louvre*, were there received by the *Marschal de Byron*, who caused them to be lodged thereabout: nor could the Duke of *Guise's* Victory have a prouder triumph, or a more remarkable spectacle.

Alessandro Farnese Duke of Parma his saying of the Duke of Guise.

Many thought, and particularly *Alessandro Farnese Duke of Parma*, (a Prince of incomparable valour and deep understanding) said, that the Duke of *Guise* had attempted too much, and done too little, not remembering the Proverb, that *Whoever draws his Sword against his Prince, ought presently to throw away the Scabbard*: for so bold an enterprise should either not have been undertaken, or being begun, should have been executed, whatsoever had come on it: But the Duke of *Guise*, either overcome by a sense of justice, whereof he took upon him to be the Protector; or desiring still to use the cloak of piety and religion to cover his designs; or else having never had any further aim than his own security, and the reformation of Government, and now promising himself that by his arts, and by a treaty he should bring the sum of all things into his own power, without taking it openly by force, he thought he had reduced the King to such extremity, that he must of necessity have been forced to yield to his will, and to grant those conditions he desired, which he doubted not afterwards to have confirmed by the universal consent of the people. There wanted not of those who suspected that the Duke of *Guise's* main end was to shut up the King in a Monastery, under pretence of disability and evil Government, and to assume unto himself the possession of the Crown: but certainly men generally believed, that as he aspired (after the Kings death) to exclude the House of *Bourbon* from the Crown, and to transfer it upon himself; so he never thought to deprive the King of it while he lived, and therefore believed it was sufficient, if aiming at the height of Authority and Government, he could make way for the excluding of his adversaries, and by degrees advance his own designs to such a point, as he might execute them boldly when occasion should serve; and this as the more gentle, was also the more probable opinion. However it were, the Duke supposing he had made himself Master of *Paris*, and encompassed the *Louvre* in such manner, that (as he writ the same day to the Duke of *Lorain*) he should be able to give account of all that was in it; he quieted the violence and uproar of the people, would not suffer them to proceed further towards the assaulting of the *Louvre*, made the Guards that had been taken and pillaged to be let go, but gave order that the barricadoes should be continued, that the people every where should be in a readiness with their Arms, that the Guards should be kept with infinite care, expecting some body to come from the King, besieged and brought into a hard condition, to make an overture of some agreement.

The opinion that the Duke of *Guise* made way for his designs to seize upon the Crown of *France*, and possess it after the death of *Henry the III.*

Nor did his expectation fail him in that beginning: for after many consultations in the Kings Closet, the Queen-Mother resolved to go unto him, and sent to demand passage of the Citizens, who (with intolerable insolence, but born by her with admirable dissimulation) denied to let her pass in her Coach, for fear of spoiling the barricadoes, but answered they would give her leave to go on foot. Whereupon she took her Sedan, and being attended by Secretary *Pynart*, Monsieur *de Belieure*, and a few of her Gentlemen, she went with infinite trouble to the *Hôtel de Guise*, and being fain to stay every minute till the barricadoes were opened, which were still shut again as soon as she was past, she was above two hours ere she got thither, by reason of the length of the way, and being stopt at so many several passages. At her first arrival, the Duke met her with exceeding great lamentations, complaining openly that the King, by going about to put a Garison unseasonably into the City of *Paris*, that had never had any in times past, had made the people jealous that he meant to take away the lives of the good Catholicks, which had been cause of that tumult, which all the wit of man could not remedy: That the King did very much injure him, (who by so many proofs was his most faithful Servant) and his good and faithful City of *Paris*, by using them in that manner: That nevertheless he bearing the affront patiently, had done what lay in him to take away the peoples fears, and to appease the tumult. To which arts the Queen answering with the like dissimulation, said, That the King intended nothing but to drive out strangers, for the security and quiet of the Citizens: and having been very ill served by some employed in that business, he had caused his

The Queen-Mother goes to the Duke of *Guise* in her Sedan, being denied passage in her Coach, confers with him; but brings back nothing but complaints and exorbitant demands.

Guards

Guards to enter for the safety and defence of the City, that afterward he himself in person might make the search, and by his labour and authority prevent the mischief that was ready to fall upon the inhabitants: That the suspicious people had taken Arms too suddenly; but that she hoped when the truth was once known, every one would be settled in quietness.

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After this discourse in publick, they went together into the Garden, where the Duke of *Guise* (making his pretence that he knew the Kings designs and intentions were to destroy the Great Ones, and suppress those that opposed his Favourites, and that therefore it was necessary for him to look well to himself, to secure both his own and the common safety) began to make infinite, high and exorbitant demands, and such as were truly proper for an absolute Conquerour: That the King should declare him his Lieutenant-General in all Provinces and places under his Dominions, with the same authority his Father had in the time of *Francis* the Second: That the States-General should be called at *Paris*, in which Assembly that power granted to him should be confirmed: That to secure the people from their fears of a Hugonot Prince, the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes of *Bourbon* his adherents, should be declared to have forfeited their inheritance to the Crown: That the Taxes and Impositions upon the people might be limited: That, to take away all hated and suspected Novelties, all Forms of Government should be reduced to a certain Rule, which it should not be lawful for the King to alter: That the Duke of *Espernon*, Monsieur *de la Vallerie* his Brother, the Marshalls of *Retz* and *Byron*, Monsieur *d' O*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, (suspected all to hold intelligence with the Hereticks, and every day to find out inventions of new grievances) should be deprived of all their Offices and Governments, and banished for ever from the Court: That, to take away all suspicion which every one had with reason, that the Hereticks were not proceeded against really and in good earnest, the absolute charge of the War should be given to him; which should be prosecuted with two Armies, one in *Poitou*, the other in *Dauphine*: That, to remove jealousies and fears of tyrannical proceedings, the King should dismiss his Guard of the five and forty Gentlemen, and forbid them to return to Court, reserving only the Guards which his Predecessors were wont to have: That he should take away the Regiment of Guards from Monsieur *de Grillon*, and give it to such a person as the Catholick Princes might confide in: That all the Fortresses of *Picardy* might be delivered up to the Duke of *Aumale*, as Governour of that Province: That the Duke of *Nemours* might have the Government of *Lyons*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf* that of *Normandy*: That the King should put into the hands of the Lords of the League six such Towns as they should name, in which they might keep Garisons, under such Governours as they should like: That a convenient assignment might be given to the Parisians for the payment of the Rents of the Town-house: And that the Government of the City might be given to the Count *de Brissac*, upon whom also should be conferred the Office of Colonel General of the French Infantry, held at that time by the Duke of *Espernon*: That the charge of Admiral should be restored to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and Monsieur *de la Chastre* made Marschal in the place of Monsieur *de Byron*.

Which Demands being carefully examined by the Queen, one by one, and the injustice and exorbitancy of them being shewn, she at last asked the Duke of *Guise* what he believed the people of *France* would say, and what the Princes of *Europe* would think, if with the Kings consent a Subject should accept, much less demand such conditions, and whether he meant not to put shackles upon the King, and take the Crown from his head? To which words the Duke answered freely, That he demanded no Place nor Office for any that was not very worthy of it; and that to drive away Incendiaries, Enemies of the publick good, Favourers of Hereticks, and Persecutors of the Catholick Religion, was to purge the Body of the State of a most dangerous poison, to the end that the King might afterwards enjoy that tranquillity and obedience that belonged to him; and that the Medicine indeed was bitter at first, but would be fruitful and healthful in the end. In sum, after many debates, and prolix contentious arguments, this was the Duke of *Guise's* conclusion, That since the King himself had at last laid open his secret intentions, and brought matters to that pass, he was resolved either to lose his Life, or to secure Religion and the Estate of his own Family.

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The Queen returned at night with this Answer to the *Louvre*, where they continued still in Arms; private persons discoursing and consulting no less than the Kings Counsellors in his Closet; among whom the variety of opinions was very great; private passions, and particular interests, contending no less than respect of the publick and the universal good: For the High Chancellour, Secretary *Villeroy*, and Monsieur *de Villequier*, who desired the abasement of the Duke of *Espernon*, and the ruine of the Hugonots, and hoping that they should not fall from their credit and authority, though the League should prevail, consented to the greatest part of the Duke of *Guise's* demands, to the secret dislike of the King, who could by no means endure them. On the other side, Monsieur *d' O*, Monsieur *de Rambouillet*, the Abbot *del Bene*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, argued that the greatest adversities in the world were to be suffered, rather than to yield unto them: Monsieur *d' O* nevertheless offering to lay down his Offices, and the Colonel his charge of Lieutenant in *Dauphine*, if that were the only means to appease the tumults. The Queen and Secretary *Pinart* kept the middle way, and hoped that the Duke of *Guise* would fall from a great part of his demands. The siege pressed very much on the one side, there being no provision of victuals in the *Louvre*; and it was feared that the people going out of the City, would likewise besiege it on the other side, and shutting up the passage towards the fields, reduce the King and the whole Court presently into their power; but then again the Propositions were such as the King could in no wise hearken unto.

The night was spent in this manner, full of terrour and uncertainty, the Duke of *Guise* being diligent in visiting the Guards of the City every hour, lest their carelessness and negligence should give the Kings Souldiers opportunity to recover those places they had lost before, and lest the darkness should give occasion to some disorder, or stir up some tumult.

In the morning after Mass, the King and Queen-Mother being shut up privately together, resolved that she should return to the Duke of *Guise*, and making some shew of consenting to the Agreement, should draw the Treaty out in length, whilst the King should secretly get out of the new Gate on the back-side of the Gardens of the *Louvre*, which was in his power, and escaping from *Paris* before the Enemies had time to block it up, should go to the City of *Chartres*, the Governour and people whereof were at his devotion. The Queen with the same difficulties, went again to the *Hôtel de Guise*; and by the way one of the City coming close up to her, gave her notice that fifteen thousand men were preparing to enclose the *Louvre* on the other side: Wherefore having begun the Treaty with the Duke, though she found him more obstinate than at first, yet she continued with infinite patience treating about matters of Agreement: in the mean time the King feigning to go out to walk in the Garden of the *Tuilleries*, (as he was wont to do) went forth with a very few, and walked on softly talking, till he came into the Gardens which were very near his Stables, where (having caused the doors to be shut, and put on a riding sute) he presently took Horse with sixteen Gentlemen, being followed only by twelve Foot-men; and going out of the New Gate, rode with all possible speed to *Chartres*; where the people received him with as much affection as the Parisians had done the Duke of *Guise*.

Two long hours after the Kings departure, the *Sieur de Meneville* came close to the Duke of *Guise's* ear, who was yet treating with the Queen, and told him that the King was gone suddenly from *Paris* by the New Gate; at which news the Duke being unexpectedly surpris'd, turned toward the Queen, and cryed out with a loud voice, *Al Madam, I am quite undone, and while your Majesty holds me here in delays, the King is gone away to ruine me.* The Queen seeming ignorant of that resolution, answered, she believed it not; and that the King had not told her of any such intent, but it might be some determination of his Council; and taking her Chair, she made her self be carried back to the *Louvre*, where she found that the Companies of the Guards led by *Grillon*, together with the Swisses led by the *Sieurs de Dampierre* and *Tinteville*, were already marched away, to whom she presently dispatched a Gentleman, with command not to lose any time, but march continually day and night; which being obeyed by them, they came to the same place not many hours after the Kings arrival. The next day all the Court came up scattering, and amongst the rest *Nicholas Poulain*,

While the Queen returns to the Duke of *Guise*, & treats with him, the King with sixteen Gentlemen leaves *Paris*, and retires to *Chartres*.

Poulain, Jehan Conty, and Pierre Ugoly fled from *Paris*, every one rejoycing that they had miraculously escaped the fury and insurrection of the *Parisians*; to whom the Kings departure was so unexpected, that they knew neither what to do; nor had any preparation to follow him; which is not much to be wondered at in the common people; but that the Duke of *Guise* should not have foreseen that blow, gave great occasion of talk to many at that time; and considering his vivacity and wariness, may beget wonder in whosoever shall apply his mind solidly to think upon it; this most important oversight being to be attributed to one of those marvellous works of Providence wherewith God uses often to mock the craft and subtilty of worldly policy.

The King being departed, the Duke of *Guise*'s design (of obtaining from him (as a prisoner) those conditions he pretended) vanished of it self; and therefore it was necessary to think upon some other course: Wherefore after he had been a good while vexed and angry with himself, knowing he had let slip so great an occasion, he turned his thoughts to secure his absolute power in the City of *Paris*; for seeing a War ready to break forth between him and the King, he knew he could have no surer foundation than the forces and assistance of the *Parisians*. His first thought was to make himself Master of the *Bastille*, which was kept by *Lorenzo Testuto Chevalier du Guet*, who commanded there in the Kings Name; nor was the attaining of it very difficult; for though he might have made an honourable defence, yet as soon as he knew the Artillery was taken out of the Arsenal to batter it, he gave it up into the peoples hand, and they presently delivered it to the Duke of *Guise*, who not losing any longer time, having called the people together, upon *Sunday* the fifteenth, caused *Hector Perose Prevost des Merchands* to be put out, as one depending upon the King, and clapt him up prisoner in the *Bastille*, making *la Chappelle Martel* (the principal instrument of the League, and first *Boutefeu* of the people) to be elected in his place: *Conty* and *Ugoly* were also put out of their Offices as fugitives, and in their places were chosen *Com-pans* and *Roland*, both of the Council of *Sixteen*, and chief among the Conspirators. Upon *Munday*, the Streets were cleared, the Barricadoes were taken away, and the Shops and Houses opened, but the Guards were continued with extraordinary care day and night, many rumours of danger being spread abroad, which served to keep the people in fears and jealousies, and not to let their first motions cool.

The City being secured, the next business was to open the passages of the River in respect of victuals; the Duke of *Guise* being assured that hunger would quickly cause repentance among the people: Wherefore Forces being already come out of *Picardy*, and two Regiments of Foot listed in the City, siege was laid to the *Bois de Vincennes*, which yielded without resistance; and the same did *St. Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Charenton*, with all the other neighbouring Towns; and *Pontoyse*, though it feigned to continue under the Kings obedience, yet hindered it not the passage of the River *Seine*, for the bringing up of such provisions as were wont to come from those parts; *Corbeil* remained to be taken, into which *Jehan de Villiers* was entered with good hope to defend it, by reason of the peoples being well-affected, and of the Kings being so near at hand, who might easily relieve it from *Chartres*; nor did he so much value the tumultuous Forces of the *Parisians*, but thought though he had no Souldiers in pay, he should be able to hold out of himself for many days, which begun also to succeed prosperously, he having at their first arrival skirmished with advantage, and in great part repressed the boldness of the *Parisians*. But the King, who had laid his designs another way, and who (all other passages being already opened) would not in a matter of no great consequence give beginning to a tedious War, wrote to *Villiers*, that leaving the people at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, he should return to Court; whereupon, as soon as he was gone, the people opened their gates, and willingly gave themselves up to the *Parisians*.

All these things were done in the very face of the Queen, who very much afflicted inwardly, did yet strive to dissemble so great injuries, and not stirring from *Paris*, (under pretence that she doubted not of their obedience, but indeed that she might be present and see how all businesses were managed) expected to receive directions from the King what she should do.

He being come to *Chartres*, was not only uncertain in himself, but found also the same variety of opinions among his Councillors; for *Villeroy* and his Adherents, still constant to their first advice, argued that a War with the Duke of *Guise* was by

1588. no means to be undertaken, lest it should separate and divide the Catholick Party into open dissention, and give the Hugonots an evident occasion to overthrow Religion; that many things ought to be dissembled and born withal to obtain a greater good; and that reason counselled to make an agreement with the Duke of *Guise* upon honourable conditions, since the foundation of the Kings Authority consisted in the Catholicks, and therefore it was not good to destroy, or at least weaken it by division. But Monsieur d' *O*, Monsieur de *Rambouillet*, *Alfonso Corso*, and the rest, urged on the contrary, that to assent to the Duke of *Guise*'s demands, was to lay down the Crown, and give it to the House of *Lorain*; which having rooted out the House of *Bourbon* and the Hugonot Party, born up by the favour of the people, and the greatness of its forces, would presently think of deposing the King, and shutting him up in a Monastery, as the report was generally divulged already: that whatsoever should be done against the Hugonots would be attributed to the Duke of *Guise*'s industry, and that to consent unto it, was but to authorise and confirm his ambition so much the more, and even to increase the peoples affection towards him; for it would be manifest that the King condescended to his demands out of pure fear, and as being constrained by his force and power; and that therefore it was better to venture upon any thing how difficult and dangerous soever, rather than do such an unworthy thing as to deprive the lawful Successors of the Crown, and put himself into slavery and subjection. They on the other side replied again, That the King by doing well would recover the love of the people which he had lost, and that his giving satisfaction to the Heads of the League, by putting away his *Minions*, and making them partakers in the honours of the Government, would quiet all businesses, and dissolve the Union with very great facility, nor would any body dare to turn against the sacred Majesty of the King when that so specious pretence should be taken away. That if this were really a matter of Religion spurred on by Conscience, as soon as the cause should cease by proceeding against the Hugonots, the effect without doubt would do the like; and if it were a spirit of ambition, the King by giving a little convenient satisfaction to the Great Ones, might also settle all commotions: and finally, that he could not confound his Enemies by any more sure, nor more ready way, than by doing that of himself, which the League violently endeavoured to make him do by force; for to try the hazard of War was too disadvantageous, too precipitate a resolution, having neither Forces, Adherents, nor money to put himself into so weighty, so dangerous a business, being deprived of the strength of the Catholicks, who for the most part followed the fortune of the Duke of *Guise*, and being divided from the Hugonots by ancient hatred, and most open distrust: That it was a thing commended by all wise men, to wait for the opportunity of times, and to bend rather than be pulled up by the roots. The Kings mind was in very great doubt and suspense between these opinions; not only by reason of the variety and weight of their reasons, but also because he began to suspect that they who counselled him were moved rather by interests and particular respects, than the regard of his service, and care of the general good.

The cause of
dissention be-
tween the
Duke of *Esper-
non* and *Villeroy*.

The enmity between Monsieur de *Villeroy* and the Duke of *Espernon*, was already commonly known: for the year before, when the King went forth with his Army against the Germans, being lodged in a Town called *St. Aignan*, and the means of finding money to make the *Grand Prevost* march with his Archers, (who for want of pay had left following the Court, and were very needful in the Camp) being spoken of in the Kings Cabinet, Monsieur de *Villeroy* told him, that the Council thinking how to remedy that want, had given him order to put his Majesty in mind, that some certain Treasurers who were imprisoned, having been fined about the sum of twenty thousand Crowns, they all or part of them, might serve for the *Grand Prevost* and his Archers. To which words the Duke of *Espernon* answered angrily, That that money had been promised to Monsieur de *la Valette* to pay the Souldiers that were with him in *Dauphine*; and that it could not be disposed to another use, without doing him injury, as he saw many took pleasure to do, to offend him; but that he was resolved one day to resent it in such manner, that those malicious men should be glad to let him alone. To which *Villeroy* going about to reply, saying that it was only a *Memo-randum* of the Council's, and not any intention of his, the Duke of *Espernon* gave him the lye in the Kings presence, adding many very injurious words, as Knave, Rascal, and malicious Fellow. To which *Villeroy* beginning to answer, the King rising up, commanded him to hold his peace: whereupon he went out of the room without any satisfaction,

satisfaction, and the next morning asked the Kings leave to lay down his Office, not willing to serve any longer, if he must suffer such unworthy wrongs: which the King refused to grant, and yet on the other side did not much care to make the Duke of *Espernon* give him fitting satisfaction, till time of it self afforded him an occasion to use some courteous words by way of complement, in excuse of the passage at *St. Aignan*; which though it shew it appeased the outward difference between them, yet were their minds never after settled in sincere friendship. Wherefore the King doubted, and not without great reason, that Monsieur de *Villeroy* favoured the Duke of *Guise*'s designs; and fomented his pretensions, in hope to see the Duke of *Espernon* excluded from the Court, deprived of his greatness, and utterly ruined: and though he disssembled it, yet seeing that *Pontoyse*, which was governed by the *Sieur d'Alincourt*, hindered not provisions from being carried to *Paris*, had secretly displeased him, and made him very suspicious of his counsels. Likewise Monsieur de *Bellevue*, having been deceived by the Duke of *Guise* at *Soissons*, when the King sent him thither to forbid his coming to *Paris*, was not only lessened in his opinion, but had also left some doubt that he had not proceeded sincerely in the business; the oversight of so wise and so experienced a man being interpreted infidelity. Nor was the High Chancellour any better thought of than these: for it being already known that the King treated about the dismembering of the Dutchy of *Orleans* from his Government, to give satisfaction to *Entragues*, he was suspected to desire peace, to the end that the King might have no more need of working the revolt of that City, which was still in agitation by the means of Monsieur de *Chevreaux*.

On the other side, Monsieur d'*O* and Colonel *Alonso Corso* were suspected by the King in this business, as Enemies to the Duke of *Guise*; who signified plainly that he would not hear of Peace, if they were not put out of their places, and banished from the Court: Whereupon he was jealous that they, to avoid that rock, endeavoured to persuade the War. And he was so apt to these suspicions, (as is the custom of men in adverse fortune) that not only others, but even the Queen his Mother seemed to him too much inclined to the demands and pretensions of the League, which thing though far from truth, (for the Queen had always loved him most tenderly, above all her other Sons, and in the troubles of so many years had always laboured constantly for the conservation of his Crown) yet it had been obliquely imprinted in his mind by the Duke of *Espernon*, insinuating by little and little that the Queen (seeing he had no Son) desired the House of *Bourbon* should be excluded from the succession, and particularly the King of *Navarre*, who in respect of Queen *Margaret* was very much hated by her: and that on the other side she desired (without sticking at the Salique Law) to have the Kingdom pass to the Duke of *Lorain* her Son-in-law, and the Marquess *du Pont* her Grand-child, both extremely beloved of her; and that for that purpose she had from the beginning secretly fomented the League; and at that present favoured all those things that tended to the destruction of the Blood-Royal, and to the establishment and greatness of the Family of *Lorain*, wherein her Son-in-law and Grand-child held the chiefest place. And it was true, that the Queen had always loved her Grand-children of *Lorain*, who observed her with all kind of reverence; wherefore she had taken the Princess *Chrestienne* to be bred up with her, and never ceased to sollicite the King to call to Court either the Marquess *Du Pont*, or the Count *de Vaudemont*, or some one of the other Brothers, and make use of them in his greatest affairs. It was also true, that she was not well pleased with the greatness of the Duke of *Espernon*, esteemed by her as a stone of scandal, and an Enemy to her power, which she doubted would with the weight of old age decline in time, as the custom is. But there was a great deal of difference between a desire that the King should advance her Grand-children, and an endeavour to promote the greatness of the Duke of *Guise*, who did eclipse and depress that of the Duke of *Lorain* and his Sons; for though he ever seemed to observe and reverence the Head of the Family, yet he did work and labour for himself; nor would he ever have suffered the fruits of his arts, pains, and dangers to redound wholly to the exaltation and benefit of the Duke of *Lorain*: and likewise to strive to make the King weary of favouring *Espernon*, and to put him from Court, thereby to remove the seeds of discord, was a very different thing from consenting that the King should be despised, and constrained by force to receive the Law from the Duke of *Guise* his will. And yet the force of jealousy was so great in the Kings melancholly distrustful nature, that after so many proofs, though he still observed his

1588. his Mother very much, and never resolved any thing without her knowledge and advice, yet he was fallen into a doubt, that she was drawn by interests to favour the Catholick party, and that she desired in great part the very same things the League demanded.

Being with these thoughts become more sad and austere than he was wont to be, (as those about him easily observed) his sleeps were broken, and he spent the nights either studying and contriving by himself, or else hearkening to the discourses and consultations of others, balancing and pondering them warily; wherein he began to trust *Francois Sieur de Rambouillet*, a Gown-man by profession, indued with much learning, wisdom, and singular vivacity, and *Jehan Marechal of Aumont*, a man of an open nature, but a generous spirit, and exceeding great valour in the profession of Arms; yet not having altogether left the *Marechal de Retz*, and the *Abbot del Bene*, though he esteemed the first to depend too much upon the Queen-Mother, and the other to be too intimate with *Espernon*. With this diffidence and anxiety having put the whole sum of businesses upon dissimulation, he feigned outwardly to consent to the opinion of those that perswaded him to unite himself to the Duke of *Guise*, and commended it as the most pious advice, and most agreeing with a specious appearance; but inwardly he utterly abhorred it, not being able to bend his mind to yield to the *Guises* greatness, nor to lay aside the fence of that affront he had received, which being continually before his eyes, and concluding within himself, that he could never be secure of his life, nor absolute Master of his Crown, while the Head of that Faction was alive, and the Union of the League maintained, at last he resolved to try all possible ways to ruine him; but because he thought that of War too difficult and dangerous, nor would his Conscience suffer him to join with the Hugonots, he thought to supply all wants by cunning; and consenting to the Dukes propositions, to draw him at last into some place where he might make an end of him by the same means which he remembred had been used in the reign of his Brother *Charles* the Ninth, against the *Admiral de Coligny* and his Adherents.

With this intention he writ very moderate Letters to the Governours of Provinces, excusing himself dexterously about the Insurrection of the Parisians, yet neither laying much fault upon the people, nor upon the Duke of *Guise*, but only endeavouring to keep the Towns and Provinces firm under his obedience. After the dispatch of which Letters, which by every body were thought necessary, he first sent *Myron* the Physician to the Queen-Mother, and a few days after *Gaspard Count of Schumbergh*, giving her directions to strive by all means to make a composition and agreement with the Duke of *Guise*, being resolved not to make War with his Catholick Subjects, but to turn his Arms resolutely to the utter extirpation of the Hugonots; and because he saw the great inclination of *Villeroy* to that advice, and knew that he would labour effectually to conclude a Peace, he sent him also at last to *Paris*, giving him most ample Commissions to satisfy the Duke of *Guise* his desires, so that he might but thereby pacifie discords, and re-unite the Catholick party into one indissoluble body, as *Villeroy* himself counselled and advised.

The Duke of *Guise* having in this time made himself Master of *Paris*, and opened all the passages that served to furnish the City with provisions, was diligently busie in getting possession of many other convenient places, and therefore had caused siege to be laid unto *Melun*, a Town near *Paris*; and having left the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to govern the City, was gone to *Meaux* and *Chasteau-Thierry* to make himself Master of those places.

His Brother the Cardinal of *Guise* at the same time, neither wanting wit nor courage, but boldly following his steps and counsels, had stirred up the people, and made himself strongest in the City of *Troye*, which from the beginning had declared that it would continue under the Kings obedience; and the Duke of *Anmale* with the Forces of *Picardy* had laid siege to *Boulogne* by the Sea side, a very principal Fortrefs of that Province, and the Adherents of the League laboured on every side to surpris Towns and Castles, to gather Horse and Foot, and to draw the greatest number of followers they possibly could unto their party; yet the Duke of *Guise*, after he saw the King had escaped the net, and that he could not so easily bring his first design to perfection, desirous to make that seem to have been done purposely, which indeed was only oversight, with writings cunningly framed, and reasons eloquently set forth, directed to the King and the whole people of *France*, he endeavoured to perswade that his actions
only

only tended to the benefit of the Kingdom, the obedience of the King, and to the general service and benefit: that the Insurrection of *Paris* had (without his consent) been stirred up by the peoples fear; and that his intention was ever to yield such obedience as he ought to do, desiring only that evil Counsellors might be put away, and that sincere thought might be taken to secure Religion: And though his deeds were for the most part very contrary to his words, yet the colour of Religion was so powerful and plausible, and he knew so well how to behave himself, that the multitude thought him a faithful Servant to the King, and believed he was only moved by zeal to Religion, and most ardent charity toward the good of the whole Kingdom.

While they proceeded in this manner on both sides, the Duke of *Espernon*, who was in *Normandy*, having heard the success of the Sedition at *Paris*, went with a good number of Gentlemen to the King, who being already resolved to dissemble with all, and to trust none but himself, received him neither with his accustomed intimacy, nor his wonted demonstrations of favour, but made small shew of valuing him, seeming to desire his departure from Court, to put an end to all those scandals which were said to arise from his extraordinary greatness. And indeed, having determined to give outward satisfaction to the Duke of *Guise* and the League, and knowing that Peace would never be concluded unless he consented to remove him from the Court, his intention was to do it before the Agreement, that it might seem a voluntary act, and not constrained by force: wherefore he began by the means of Monsieur *de Belieure* and of the Abbot *del Bene*, to desire him (in respect of the distractions of affairs, and to remove the occasions of them) that he would lay down his Government of *Normandy*, give up the Fortresses of *Metz*, *Loches*, *Angoulesme*, *Xaintes*, and *Boulogne*, and only retain his Government of *Provence*; wherein, for his greater security, his Brother *la Valette* should continue his Lieutenant: That he should retire thither far from the clamour that was made about his person, and wait for a more quiet and fitting season to return to Court. The Duke of *Espernon* (a man of exceeding great understanding, and bred up by the King himself among the stratagems of State) perchance ghesing at the Kings secret intentions, by having been so conversant with him, was contented without contradiction to quit his Government of *Normandy*; wherein he saw himself not well settled, by reason of the resistance many Governours made against him: But for the rest, though in words he promised to satisfy the King in all his demands, yet was he resolved not to part with any of the strong Holds, wherein he hoped to defend himself from the storm of fortune which he saw coming upon him: Whereupon, while he treats about the manner of delivering them into the Kings hands, and to whom and which way they should be resigned, (shewing still more care of his Masters security than of his own good) and while the King cannot so readily resolve in whose power it was fit to trust them, he departs suddenly from Court, feigning that he would give way to Fortune; and being accompanied with the Abbot *del Bene*, who was no less persecuted by the League than he, went with all speed to *Angoulesme*, where, by reason of the strength of the Castle, and the nearness of the Hugonots, he thought he might stay more securely, and from whence, thorow the Towns of *Languedoc* held by the Marechal *d'Anville*, it was easie for him upon any occasion to retire into *Provence*.

This retreat clipt the wings of the pretensions of the League, and removed all impediments that might have hindered Peace; and it was likewise a prudent determination of his side: for already the Duke of *Guise* and the people of *Paris* turning all their Forces against him, had divulged many Writings, wherein he was accused to be a sower of discord, and a principal cause of so great mischiefs: which though he had caused to be answered with many reasons, shewing that the mischief proceeded from the ambition of the House of *Lorain*, and not from the modesty and obedience of him and his Brother, who receiving the Kings favours with a thankful and loyal mind, did use their uttermost endeavours to serve him so as might be for his advantage and their reputation; yet he saw that the cloud would undoubtedly break upon him; whereupon he chose rather by retiring to keep his most important Governments, than by staying be forced by one means or other to give them up. Many doubted that the King was privy to his departure, and so much the rather, because the Abbot *del Bene*'s going with him made it to be suspected: nor was the suspicion without ground; for the Duke of *Guise* demanding that he should resign those four principal Fortresses, and the King not willing to deprive himself and the Duke of *Espernon* of them at the same time,

1588.

The Duke of *Espernon* coming to Court, is not received by the King with his wonted favour, by his order quits his Government of *Normandy*, and retires to *Angoulesme*.

1588. time, to give them into the hands of such persons as he could not confidently trust, it was necessary the Duke should feign to go away discontented without the Kings knowledge, and that he should shew that he would not quit them but by force; to the end that the King might be excused afterward, if he did not presently demand them, and that the Duke of *Guise* might not constrain him to take them from him, since he shewed they were withheld against his will. But whether they understood one another by signs, or whether the King imparted his design unto him by the means of the Abbot *del Bene*, or whether the Duke took that resolution of himself, it was unknown to every one at Court, and the Kings most intimate Counsellors knew nothing of it: Yet this I affirm, that the Duke, after his return from *Normandy*, was no more so freely admitted to the secret consultations as he was wont to be; but the night before he went away, the Abbot *del Bene* was a great while in secret conference with the King in the most silent hours of the night, which was not known to any but those that lay in the Kings Ante-chamber.

The King seemed wonderfully angry and troubled at his departure, and at his going toward *Angoulesme*; and caused Secretary *Villeroy* to write presently to the *Sieur de Tagens*, who commanded the Forces in those parts, and to the Citizens and Deputies of the Town, that they should neither receive nor obey him: but the dispatch went so slowly, that the Duke had made himself Master of it before the Kings Letters were come: for he being with very great speed got thither before he was suspected, presently sent *Tagens* with his Forces to the Confiners, under colour of defending them from the frequent incursions of the Hugonots; and putting out the old Governour of the Castle, placed a person there whom he trusted; and taking up his lodging in the strongest part, had made himself absolute Master of it before his possession could be disturbed, or taken from him by new orders.

After the Duke of *Espernon* was gone from the Court, the King gave the Government of *Normandy*, one of the greatest and most important Provinces in all *France*, unto *Francis* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, lest it should be demanded by the Duke of *Guise* for any of his dependents; being minded to grant all appearances, but not the substance and force of those things that were required by the Heads of the League. The Duke of *Espernon* being removed, the conclusion of the Peace was easie: For on the one side the King granted all that the League asked for, or pretended to; and the Duke of *Guise*, the authority of the Minions being taken away, which had been a sharp spur to stir him up, and the King shewing himself ready to make War against the Hugonots, which was the foundation of all his pretences, he could no more lay hold of any excuse, and had no occasion at all to continue the War; wherefore Secretary *Villeroy* and *Myron* the Physician having gone often from *Paris* to the King, and from the King to the Queen-Mother, the Treaty of Agreement began to go forward, being managed by the King himself alone, since neither the Marechal *d'Aumont*, nor the *Sieur de Rambouillet* were perfectly acquainted with his most hidden and admirably dissembled intentions.

In the mean time the King believing his stay at *Chartres* was neither safe nor honourable, thought of going to *Rouen*. But because he was not very well assured how that Parliament stood affected, nor which way Monsieur de *Carrouges* Governour of the City was inclined, he sent *Jaques Auguste de Tou* President of the Parliament of *Paris*, to certify himself of the minds of the Citizens, and to reduce them wholly to his devotion. President *de Tou* performed the Kings command, yet rather with outward flourishes than substantial foundation; having spoken in publick to the people and those that governed, with great shews of eloquence, but neither touching the secret interests of the first President, who was a creature of the Duke of *Joyeuse's*, nor of the Governour and the Count de *Tilleres* his Son, who had some dependance upon the Duke of *Guise* and the League; whereupon the King presently dispatched *Jehan d'Emery* Seigneur de *Villiers* with more absolute orders, he not only being a Gentleman of the same Province of *Normandy*, but, which imported more, a particular Friend of the Governours. He having shewed the removal of the Duke d' *Espernon*, who was not very acceptable to that City, from the Government of the Province, and the election of the Duke of *Montpensier* a Prince of the Blood-Royal, did very much settle the humours of men in the general: and having afterwards conferred in private with the Governour, to whom he promised that his Son should have the reversion of his Government; and with the first President into whom he infused great hopes of the Kings favour,

favour, and of the principal Offices of the Crown; he brought matters so to pass, that the Parliament and People sent a very respective Message to invite the King unto their City; and the Governor sent his son to Court, as it were for an Hostage. After which demonstrations, the King resolved to go without delay to *Rouen*: the report whereof being come to *Paris*, the Parliament there being troubled, that the other Courts should prevent them in readiness and devotion, being perswaded by the Queen-Mother, sent a dutiful Message to assure him of their fidelity; and a while after, by the Duke of *Guise's* advice, the Parisians also sent unto him, to excuse the late passages, with many reasons; but this was when the Peace was in a manner already concluded; which, while it was in agitation, the Count of *Schomberg* finished the agreement with Monsieur *d'Euragues*, which had so long been treated of in vain; for he being satisfied with the Duke of *Espernon's* removal, turned to the King's party with the City of *Orleans*, upon promise that the Government thereof should remain to his heirs; and that the Government of *Chartres* and *Beaufe*, then held by the High-Chancellor *Chiverny*, should be added to it. But this Treaty could not pass so secretly, but the Duke of *Guise* was advertised of it; who, to delude that Agreement, brought to an end after so many endeavours, began in the treaty of Peace to demand the City of *Orleans* for one of the places of security, which he required in hostage of the Kings Promises. This demand put a rub in the conclusion of the Peace, but it was presently removed by Secretary *Vilheroy's* earnest desire of it, who either having received power from the King to conclude the business, or pricked with envy that others had brought the Treaty of *Orleans* to perfection, or because he so thought fit, would not discompose the whole matter by denying that particular, but when he saw the Duke of *Guise* obstinately resolved that he would have it, at last he granted it to him without the Kings knowledge; who afterwards alledged, that the Town of *Dourlans* in *Picardy* had been demanded of him, and not that of *Orleans* in *Beaufe*, made great difficulties and long delays about the assigning of it.

1588.

The Conditions of Peace were almost the same that were contained in the Writing framed at *Nancy*, with the privity of the Duke of *Lorain*, which had been presented to the King in the beginning of the year. That the King should again declare himself Head of the Catholick League, and would swear to take up Armes, and never to lay them down till the Hugonot Religion were quite destroyed and totally rooted out: that by a Publick Edict he should oblige all Princes, Peers of *France*, Lords and Officers of the Crown, Towns, Colledges, Corporations, and the whole people to swear the same, and bind themselves with a solemn oath never to suffer any one to Reign that was not of the Catholick Religion, and far from all suspicion of Heresie: that for the time to come none should be admitted to Offices, Places and Dignities in any part of the Kingdom, but such as were Catholicks, and made profession of their Faith according to the Doctrine of *Sorbon*, and the belief of the Roman Catholick Church: that all past things, revolts of Cities, insurrections of the people, taking of Fortresses, levying of Soldiers, withholding of the King's Revenue, and whatsoever else had been done upon occasion of the late commotion, should be pardoned and remitted, and that the King should command a total oblivion of them, as things done for the service of Religion, and the general good: that two Armies should be raised against the Hugonots; one in *Poitou* under the command of the King himself, or whomsoever he should best like; the other in *Dauphine*, under the command of *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Mayenne*; which should never be recalled, but still paid and recruited, till the work were perfectly finished: that the Council of *Trent* should be received and observed through the whole Kingdom, being only dispensed with in those parts which are contrary to the privileges of the *Gallique* Church, which within three Months were to be declared by a Congregation of Prelates, and the King's Counsel: that the King should permit the Lords of the League to retain yet for the space of six years the Cities and Fortresses formerly granted for their security in the year 1585. and that *Dourlans*, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, and *Montreuil* should be added unto them: that the King should give the Duke of *Guise* a Patent to command the Forces of the whole Kingdom, being to be superiour unto all in Arms, and all men subject to his obedience: that the King should take a course to remove the *Sieur de Bernay* (enemy to the Duke of *Aumale*) from the Government of *Boulogne*, which should be put into the hands of some such Gentleman of the Province as was mistrusted by neither party: that *Valence* in *Dauphine*, and the Castle thereof, which had been seized upon by

The Conditions
of Peace be-
tween the King
and the League.

1588. Monsieur de Valette, upon occasion of the late commotions, should be restored to the Sieur de Jéssan the former Governour: that the Deputies chosen by the Parisians after the tumult, should be approved and confirmed by the King: and finally, that in October next ensuing, the States-General should be assembled at Blois, to cause the Edict of the Catholick Union to be Sworn unto, to receive the Council of Trent, and confirm the authority granted to the Duke of Guise. Concerning Monsieur d'O, Colonel Alfonso Corso, the Marechal de Byron and the rest, there was no mention at all made: for the Duke of Espernon, and his Brother la Valette being removed, these seemed not to have either strength or authority sufficient to oppose the so formidable power of the Duke of Guise, who thought already that he ruled and governed all things, nor did he design any longer to reflect upon any that were not his equals.

The Articles concluded and confirmed, the King, impatient of any delay that might retard the effects of his secret counsels, presently sent forth his Letters patents into all Provinces and several Bailages, to appoint the Assembly of the States in October following at Blois, which place he thought more fit for his purpose then any other, as well because it was far from Paris, and near those Towns which were held by the Hugonots, as for the conveniency and greatness of the Castle, but most of all because the people were at his devotion, far from any commerce or intelligence with the League: and that his example might invite the Deputies which were to be elected not to delay time, he departed from Rouen a very few dayes after, and went toward Chartres, that from thence he might go afterward to the place appointed. Being come to Maure, a Town upon the Road from Rouen to Chartres, the Queen-mother and the Queen his Wife met him, with whom, having stayed there the space of two dayes, the Queen-mother returned toward Paris, to bring the Duke of Guise to Court, and the King continued his journey toward Chartres, to stay there till the rest of the Court came up to him.

The Duke of Guise goes with the Q. Mother to Chartres to the King, and is received by him with great demonstrations of honour in appearance.

Not many dayes after the Queen-mother came thither with the Duke of Guise, attended by a more sumptuous then numerous Train, with shew of great humility towards the King's Person, but with a presumptuous heart and countenance, puffed up with spirits of a most assured power; and which imported most, by those things he had achieved and obtained, become not onely glorious among his own friends, but also admired and terrible to those that held and followed the King's party: which, as it was not unknown to the King, by reason of his quick-sightedness, and the suspicion of his nature, so did it with wonderful impatience increase his desire to see him ruined: but covering his thoughts with quite different words and gestures, he seemed both in small and great matters to be sincerely reconciled to him, and that for the time to come he would proceed according to his Counsels, and lay the whole foundation of his Government upon his valour and prudence; so which end he presently caused the Edict of the Union to be published in his Council, and sworn to by every one, and the War against the Hugonots to be openly proclaimed: for the prosecution whereof, according to the Articles of Peace, two several Armies were appointed; one in Dauphine, under the Duke of Mayenne; the other in Poitou, whereof the King declared Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of Nevers his General; and for both, the necessary Commissions were instantly dispatched, to raise Regiments of Horse, and to draw Foot-forces together. After this first point, followed the other of greater consequence: for without delay the new power of the Duke of Guise was established in the Council, published in the Parliament of Paris, and summed up in his former title of Grand Maître, which (except the express name of Lieutenant-General) contained all that power which is wont to be attributed to that dignity, the command of all Armies wheresoever he should be in person; the authority of High-Constable in mustering and paying the Militia, the power of limiting and putting the price upon Provisions, the protection of the common People, the Punishment of outrages committed by Soldiers, and other circumstances of this nature: which, after the King's own Person, placed the Duke in the highest authority of command, and settled him in that Power which the Masters of the Palace were wont anciently to have in the times of those Kings that were of the Stock of Mercurie. Nor did the King fail to shew the same inclination to the Cardinal of Bourbon; for by the consent, and with the Authority of his Council, he declared him First Prince of the Blood, granting him the Privilege of creating Masters in all Arts, and that his servants should enjoy the same exemptions as the King's, which things did in this manner as it were declare him the lawful Successor to the Crown.

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To these great and important matters, others of less consequence were added also; the King's Familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, his veneration of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the favours, which by their means, he daily granted to divers persons; the alienating of his old favourites, his secret and confident discourses with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the *Sieur de la Chastre*, *Bassompierre*, and other intimate friends of the Duke of *Guise*, and principal followers of the League, and many other such like things, which, as evident signes of the King's good inclination, served, in the mean time, to cover the hidden web of his more real designs; to the continuance whereof he was much excited by the Pope's demonstrations, who moved with the Duke of *Guise*'s success, in driving the Germans out of the Kingdom, and dissipating their Army with so much facility, had written Letters to him full of infinite praises, comparing him to those holy *Maccabees*, the defenders of the People of *Israel*, so highly extolled in the Sacred Scripture, and exhorting him to continue successfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Which Letters, to increase the Duke's fame and reputation, were by his Dependents caused to be printed and divulged in *Paris*, with as much applause of the people, as anger and trouble in the King, who could no way be pleased that another should have more credit and authority in his Kingdom than he himself; and therefore the expressions of the Pope, and opinion of the Court of *Rome*, kept his mind beyond measure in perplexity, as well in regard of his Conscience, as for other important respects and consequences. From the displeasure received by those Letters, he began to proceed to a remedy, not onely to divert the Pope's deliberations, but also to bring to pass, that in the belief of the World he might not be esteemed to have so little correspondence with the Apostolick See, and to be in so little awe of the holy Catholick Church.

The Pope desired to have to do in these businesses that passed in *France*, and as much as possibly he could, to promote the enterprize of the Catholicks against the Hugonots: for which purpose he was minded to chuse a Legat, who might be present at that famous Convention of the States, and (understanding what concerned the interest of the Apostolick See, with the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*) might sollicite the King about the assembling of them, about the declaring of the War against the King of *Navarre*, but most of all, that he, and all those of his Family, as being manifestly guilty of Heresie, might be judged incapable of ever coming to the Crown: yet because he thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of that Kingdom, and was not very sure what the ends of the League might be, he was doubtful unto what person he should commit the charge of that business, desiring neither utterly to alienate the King's mind, nor to displease the Duke of *Guise*, and thinking it a matter of so great importance as required a man of singular prudence and ability to manage it. But he was not resolved of his choice till the King being advertised beforehand by the Ambassador *Pisani*, sounded the bottom of his design: whereupon, desiring to have such a one as he might trust, and not one wholly devoted to the pleasure of the League, he used all possible endeavours, trying the most powerful means of that Court, to procure that *Giovann Francesco Moresini*, a Senator of *Venice*, Bishop of *Brescia*, who then resided in the Kingdom as the Pope's Nuncio, might be chosen Legat; a man truly of so much worth, as being well informed of the present affairs, was not a little acceptable to the King, and yet not altogether distrusted by the Duke of *Guise*, in regard of the dexterity wherewith he knew how to behave himself with every body. The Pope disliked not the Nuncio, because he knew him, and esteemed him a man of singular wisdom, and because having been employed in the Government of his Republick, he believed him no less experienc'd in State-affairs; and besides, that being a Noble *Venetian*, and by consequence well-affected to the Crown of *France*, he thought he would not cast himself inconsiderately as a prey unto the League, the Pope desiring he should hold the balance even, and not favour the Duke of *Guise*'s designs more than the service of the Catholick Religion, and of the Roman Church required. But though the King was much pleased with the person of the Legat, who at that very time was created Cardinal; yet was he beyond measure displeased that the Pope gave account of his Election to the Lords of the League, exhorting them to communicate and consider of their counsels with him; and that the Letters concerning it were printed and published by the League, with their usual pride: and yet this consideration had not so much power over his mind, but that dissimbling his disgust, he sought by all possible ways to gain the Legat, to the end that that by his means he might be the better

1588.

Pope Sixtus
wrote
congratulatory
Letters to
the D. of *Guise*
full of high
praises.

The Pope
thought he
saw not clearly
into the af-
fairs of the
League.

The Pope
chuseth *Giovann
Francesco Mo-
resini* Bishop of
Brescia, Le-
gat to the
Congregation
of the States,
he being much
desired by the
King, to whom
he was Nuncio
At the same
time he is
made Cardinal.

1588. able to justifie his own actions to the Pope, and by degrees to take off the favour and assistance which he seemed to lend unto the enterprize of the League.

The Duke of
Espernon is
conspired a-
gainst at An-
goulême, Secre-
tary Villeroy fo-
menting the
business upon
a secret order
from the King.

These things busied the Court, when news was brought of a Conspiracy against the Duke of *Espernon* at *Angoulême*, whereby he was very like to have been suddenly ruined: for the King's Letters being come (though late) wherein he commanded, that he should not be received nor admitted into the possession of that Government, some of the City, who (as mens affections are different) were not much pleased to see him there, and who were easily perswaded they should do the King acceptable service, if they could drive him from that possession, dispatched one of their confidants straight to Court unto Secretary *Villeroy*, to know the King's intention more particularly, and to give notice that they would venture either to drive him out of the City, or take him prisoner, though he stayed continually in the Castle, a place very secure, and well fortified. This man's Proposition was not unpleasing unto *Villeroy*, who, by reason of his enmity with the Duke, and because he had received commission to write the aforesaid Letters, thought that the occasion complied exceedingly with the King's desire, and therefore spake of it to the King himself; who beginning to distrust *Villeroy*, of whom he was very jealous, would not declare his pleasure openly in the business; but to the end he might not sound into his most secret thoughts, wherein he still loved and trusted the Duke of *Espernon* as much as he was wont, said that he should not be sorry to see him driven out of *Angoulême*, or brought prisoner into his power, so that his life might not be in danger: which words being spoken coldly by him, were hotly urged by the Secretary to the Messenger of the Conspiratours, who being a while after admitted into the King's Closet, and known by him, had Commission to be referred to such Orders as he should receive from the Secretary; who, though he would not give him any thing in writing, yet he commanded that they should endeavour without fail to get the Duke of *Espernon* alive into their hands, or drive him from the City, affirming, that it was his Majesties effectual desire, and that by so doing they might very much oblige him. The Conspiratours much quickned, both by the relation of *Villeroy*, different enough from the King's coldness, and by the addition which (as the custom is) the Messenger made both of words and actions; to shew themselves able executors of their promise, talked not onely of taking the Duke alive, but of killing him if they could not get him otherwise; and having conferred of the business with the *Sieurs de Mere, de la Messeliere*, the Viscount of *Aubeterre*, and some other Gentlemen of the Country, upon the tenth day of *August*, being the Feast of *St. Laurence*, they ran suddenly to the Castle, and having taken possession of the Gate, the Guards not having the least suspicion, they went on to the Duke's most private lodgings, and there fell upon his servants that were in the ante-chamber, while he in the Room within was talking with the *Sieur de Marivaux*, and the Abbot *del Bene*. Here the resistance of a few, stopt the violence of many: for *Raphaello Gieronimi* a Florentine, defended the entry of the door a great while, with the death of three of the Conspiratours, till he lost his life, being shot with a Pistol: when he was dead, *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion, opposing the Enemies most stoutly, though he were grievously wounded, and with a loud voice calling up the Family (which was in the lower Room) to joyn in the defence, stayed the fury of the assailants, while the Duke, and they that were with him, having shut the door of the Chamber, and made it up with Trunks and Chests which they found there, had time to defend their lives against so sudden a violence. In the mean time, while these fought at the Chamber-door, the Duke's Gentlemen (among which *Lancillotti di Nares* a Cyprian, first of all) having heard the noise, and taken Armes, recovered the Gate of the Castle; where the *Sieurs d'Ambleville* and *l'Artiques* staying to defend it, the rest ran armed upon the staires, and having found the Conspiratours, who strove as much as possibly they could to get into the Chamber, cut them all in pieces, except one of the Consuls of the City, whom they laid hands on and took alive. The Duke having put on his Armes, came forth of the Chamber, and with his servants stood undauntedly upon his defence; and being come into the Court, where the clamour increased, he with his own hand slew the Consul's brother, who was got thither, having scaled the Castle-walls, with some others that had armed themselves to relieve their Friends. There they took five more of the chief Citizens prisoners, who were got in by the same means; and in that manner the furious assault of the Conspirators

was

was repulſed. In the mean time, at the ringing of the *Toqueſaint*, all the People in the City were raiſed, the chief whereof ran to ſeiſe upon the Duke's Lady, who, not ſuſpecting any thing, was gone to Maſs in the great Church. The Conſpirators received new ſupplies every minute by the Gentry, who knowing the buſineſs, came in to them; wherefore being increaſed in ſtrength and courage, they preſently ſet things in order to aſſault the Caſtle. But the Duke and they that were with him defended it valiantly, and by threatening to kill the priſoners that were in their hands, who were perſons of note, and principal men among the Citizens, they kept the people in awe till the *Sieur de Tagers* came up with his *Gens d'Armes*, who being quartered hard by, made haſte preſently at the noiſe which was heard a great way off in the Fields: at his arrival the people were affrighted, and the Heads of the Conſpiracy being diſmayed, at laſt, by means of the Biſhop of the City, and of the Abbot *del Bene*, they agreed that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Dutcheſs likewise reſtored, the Gentlemen that were of the Conſpiracy put out of the City, and the Duke as before acknowledged Governour for the King, who ſhewing much courage in defending himſelf, and much moderation after the Agreement, did quickly extinguiſh that fire which had like ſuddenly to have conſumed him.

The news of this buſineſs put Secretary *Villeroy* abſolutely out of the King's favour, who would not believe, if the Meſſenger from the Citizens of *Angoulême* had been answered as doubtfully and coldly in that matter as he intended, that ever they would have dared to go ſo far as to attempt even againſt the Duke's life, he having expreſſly forbidden them to do any ſuch thing, but thought for certain that Secretary *Villeroy*, laying hold of that occaſion, had made uſe of it to wreak the open enmity and bitter hatred which he bore the Duke of *Eſpernon*; wherefore fretting within himſelf, believing that he was ſurrounded on every ſide by Miniſters, that were ſway'd with paſſion and intereſts, and condemning their too much wiſdom, whereby they ſearched even into the marrow of his thoughts, he remembred the example of his Grand-father, who in the later times of his Reign had put away from him all thoſe old Miniſters of State which were become ſuſpected for their too much wiſdom, and had imployed men of great integrity, but ſuch as were not of too high an underſtanding, from whom he had received better and more fruitful ſervice, then from thoſe that were grown old in the prudence and experience of affairs. With this thought, as ſoon as he was gone from *Chartres*, to continue his journey towards *Blois*, where he had determined to accompliſh the end of his deſigns, he diſmiſſed from Court the *Sieurs de Pinart*, and *Brulart*, his old Secretaries of State, and ſent *Benois* his truſty Cabinet-Secretary, to tell the High-Chancellor *Cbiuerny* *Monsieur Bellicure*, and the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who were gone to their houſes to order their affairs, and return, that the King ſatiſfied with the pains they had already taken, commanded them to return no more to Court; which order was received and executed by *Bellicure* with great moderation; the High Chancellor laboured in vain to juſtifie himſelf, and to get leave to return; and the *Sieur de Villeroy*, though he obeyed, ſhewed nevertheleſs a great ſenſe of grief, thinking that his long toil and ſervices happily performed, were unjuſtly deſpised, and too ungratefully requited. In the place of the High-Chancellor, the King (as the cuſtome is) choſe *François de Mombelon*, his Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be * *Garde des Sceaux*, a man of great integrity and honeſt intentions; but not much accuſtomed to matters of Government, wherein, till that time, he had had very little or nothing to do: *Martin Ruzay*, *Sieur de Beaulieu*, and *Louis de Rouel* were made Secretaries of State, both men of unblemiſhed reputation, faithful, diſ-intereſted, and bred up in his ſervice from their youth, but not eſteemed to have too great a reach in affairs of Government and matters of State. On this manner he thought he had taken away from about him (as he ſaid) the prying Foxes eyes, and that he had aſſured himſelf he ſhould receive faithful and ſufficient ſervice, ſo that his Miniſters ſhould not ſearch deeper into his deſigns, then he of his own voluntary accord was pleaſed to impart unto them.

By this novelty the whole Court was transformed not onely in ſhew, but alſo in the form and manner of Government; for the Duke of *Guiſe*, who formerly was wont to have but ſmall ſhare in the Council, ſeemed now to moderate all the reſolutions of it; and together with him the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, and the *Sieur de la Châtre* his near Dependents were held in very great eſteem; and, in the Cabinet-Council, where the Queen-Mother was wont to bear all the ſway, now,

1588.

The King, according to the example of his Grand-father, diſmiſſed many old ſervants for their too much wiſdom.

In the place of the High-Chancellor *Cbiuerny*, *François* *Sieur de Mombelon* is choſen *Garde des Sceaux* * *Lord Keeper*.

by

1588. by reason of the King's suspicions, her part was not very much; and all the old Confidants being excluded, onely the Mareſcal *d'Aumont*, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, and the Sieur *de Rambouillet* had the King's ear, and were the onely partakers of his moſt intimate determinations. The Duke of *Nevers* alſo, who, in former times, had been ſuſpected and hated by him, had now great power with the King, who was now become different from himſelf. Nor was he ſo much moved to it by the fame of his wiſdom, and experience, which was generally known, as becauſe he was an emulator, and a ſecret enemy of the Duke of *Guiſe's* greatneſs; in ſo much, that though they were Brothers-in-law, their Wives being Siſters, yet could not the one brook the others advancement; and now the Duke of *Nevers* his inward animoſity was ſo much the more increaſed, by ſeeing that the Duke of *Guiſe*, having obtained the power of Lieutenant-General, ruled all, and commanded every one: which being known unto the King, and he deſiring reciprocally to blow the fire of their hatred, had declared the Duke of *Nevers* General of the Army that was to go into *Poitou* and *Guienne*, to ſet them ſo much the more againſt one another, and, to the end that their emulation might grow from thoughts to deeds, becauſe on the one ſide, he knew *Nevers* would never endure to obey *Guiſe*; and on the other, that *Guiſe* (to tread down *Nevers*, and becauſe he was jealous of him) would not fail to go unto the Army: Whereupon their ſecret heart-burnings would break forth into open diſcord and diſſention. To avoid which, though the Duke of *Nevers* foreſeeing the ſame, tryed by all excuſes, of his age, indiſpoſition, and other occaſions, to decline that charge, yet the King would never conſent to confer it upon any other; thinking alſo, that was no convenient time to truſt the Command of an Army in the hands of a perſon whom he ſuſpected. By theſe Arts the mindes of both parties being more kindled againſt each other, the King was ſtill ſecretly informed by the Duke of *Nevers* concerning all particulars that might make to the Duke of *Guiſe's* diſadvantage, whereby it came to paſs, that he who before was ſuſpected, became now his abſolute Confident.

With theſe practices the Court arrived at *Blois* the ſeven and twentieth day of *September*, where the Deputies of the Provinces were already met together; in whoſe election, though both parties had taken much pains, yet the dependents of the League did much exceed; for the Order of the Clergy, drawn by the intereſts of Religion, did, in a manner, wholly incline to that ſide, and the Order of Commons, exaſperated by the heavineſs of impoſitions, and whoſe end it was to cauſe them to be removed, did willingly joyn with the King's Enemies, who promiſed, nay profeſſed, they would eaſe the people of the exceſſive weight of Contributions, and among the Nobility were many neerly intereſſed with the Houſe of *Lorain* and the League; whereby the King perceived plainly at the very firſt; that in this Congregation the Duke of *Guiſe* would captivate all mens opinions, and obtain all his own deſires. But being diſpoſed to go another way, and deſiring to ſatiſſie all humours, having received the Deputies indifferently, with great ſignes of apparent good will to all, he compoſed his mind to make ſhew, that he had ſetled all the hope of his own quiet, and of the ſafety of the Kingdom in thoſe remedies which were to be applied by the States. Wherefore, intending to begin a buſineſs, which he ſained to eſteem of ſo great conſequence, with wonderful great ſtate and preparation, upon Sunday the ſecond of *October* he cauſed a ſolemn proceſſion to be made, in which he himſelf being preſent, with all the Princes, all the Court, and all the Deputies of every order in their places, the Sacrament was carried with exceeding pomp through the Streets, which, for that purpoſe, were all hung with *Tapiſtry*; high Maſs was ſung with ſhew of profound and ſincere devotion in every one; and the Sunday after, being the ninth day of the Moneth, the King himſelf and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all the Deputies received the Communion publickly in the Church of *St. Francis*, confirming, by that holy pious action, the correſpondence, and reciprocal intelligence which they ſhewed, to perfect the happineſs of the Kingdom, for which end they profeſſed that the States-General were come together.

The Aſſembly of States-General ſetled at *Blois*, upon the agreement between the King and the League begins with extraordinary preparations.

The Aſſembly began upon the third Sunday, being the ſixteenth day of the moneth; when preſently after dinner, all thoſe being met in the Great Hall of the Caſtle, who ought to be preſent at ſo ſolemn a Convention, the King ſate down in a Throne raiſed by many ſteps from the earth, and covered with a very rich Cloath of State; the Queens; Princes, Cardinals, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, ſate upon ſeats fitted for that purpoſe, in two long rows, on the right hand, and on the left; and between them, in the inner

inner part of the Theater, fate the Deputies, according to the antient preeminence of their degrees; and the Duke of *Guise*, as *Grand Maître*, with his Staff of Office in his hand, fate down upon a stool at the foot of the State on the right hand; and on the left fate the *Sieur de Montbelon*, who represented the person of the High-Chancellor of the Kingdom.

When every one was settled in his place and order, the King accompanied with a Royal Majesty and singular eloquence, gave beginning to the assembly of the States with a long elegant Oration; wherein, attesting his most earnest desires of the good and welfare of his People, and shewing the dangerous troublesome condition wherein intestine discords and private interests had involved the Crown, he exhorted every one of them effectually to lay aside their passions, to forget their enmities, to avoid the animosity of Factions; and, providing by convenient remedies for the publick need, and the quiet of all men in particular, to reunite themselves sincerely and principally under his obedience; forsaking all Novelties, condemning all Leagues, Practices, Intelligences, and interessed Communications, which both within and without the Kingdom, had disturbed both him their lawful and natural Sovereign, and the mind and tranquillity of all good men: for as he pardoned and would forget all that was past; so for the time to come he would not endure it, but account it as an act of absolute Treason: And insisting upon that Proposition, he enlarged himself a long time; concluding with grave and effectual words, That as he sincerely laboured for the good of his Subjects, and resolved to persecute and tread down Heresie, to favour those that were good, to restore the splendour and force of Justice, to advance Religion, to uphold the Nobility, and to disburden the common people: so he earnestly prayed and conjured every one of them, to assist him with their good Counsels and sincere intentions, in that so necessary regulation of all things: for if they should do otherwise, minding intelligences and particular practices, and consenting to the interests of factious men, they would stain themselves with perfidiousness and Treachery, and would be brought to give an account of it before God's Tribunal, making themselves guilty and blame-worthy to humane justice, with the perpetual infamy of their names unto posterity.

This Speech of the King's stung the Duke of *Guise* to the quick, and all those of his party; and so much the more, when they saw him resolved to have it Printed: wherefore the Archbishop of *Lyons* endeavoured to dissuade him from it, saying, that it was better to lose a few words, though never so elegantly composed, then to lose the hearts of many of his Subjects, who felt themselves injured, thinking that he had not forgotten what was past, but would tax them in the presence of all *France*, and condemn them of perfidiousness and Rebellion. Yet notwithstanding that, the King would have it known to all men what he had said to the Congregation of the States; and caused his Speech to be Printed, which served wonderfully afterward to excuse those things that followed. Some have written, that the King, perswaded by the Archbishop of *Lyons*, had cut off many things from the Press, and taken away many words which he had spoken in his Oration: But I my self, who was present, and heard every word very near, can certainly affirm, that as much was Printed as was spoken; but the expressions being quickened by the efficacy of his action and tone of his voice, were much more sharp and moving then when they came forth in Print, wanting that life and spirit with which they were delivered.

After the King's Speech followed the Oration of Monsieur de *Montbelon*, *Garde des Sceaux*, who, according to the ordinary custom, praising the King's intention, repeated at large the same things which he had spoken: To which, with demonstrations of great humility and obedience, the * Archbishop of *Bourges* answered for the Order of the Clergy; the Baron de *Saussebay* for the Nobility; and the * *Prevost des Marchands* of *Paris* for the third Order of Commons: After which Replies, the Assembly was dismissed, and the second Session adjourned till the Tuesday following.

That day was famous for the Oath which the States took, to receive for a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, that Edict of the Union which the King had published in the Moneth of *July* before, whereby reuniting to himself all his Catholick Subjects of the Kingdom, he swore to persevere till death in the Roman Catholick Religion, to promote the increase and preservation of it, to employ all his Forces for the rooting out of Heresie, never to permit that any Heretick or favourers of Heresie should Reign; not to elect into Places and Dignities any but such persons as made constant profession of the Roman Catholick Religion, and would have all his Subjects to swear and

The King begins the Assembly with a fine Speech, which stings the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents.

Montbelon the *Garde des Sceaux* professes and amplifies the King's Speech; * *Archevêque de Bourges*. * *Prévôt des Marchands de Paris*.

promise

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The King and the States swear in solemne manner to perform the Edict made before, of persevering in the Catholick Religion.

promise the same; who being so reunited unto him, he forbade to joyn themselves in League or company with any others, under pain of Treason, and being held violaters of the Oath they had taken; with other particulars, wherein, abolishing the memory of all things past, he made himself Head of the Catholick League and Union, and incorporated all the Orders in their proper natural obedience. The circumstances of this Oath were remarkable; for the King himself spoke concerning it with grave and fitting Speeches, and the Archbishop of *Bourges* made an Exhortation to the States, shewing the greatness and obligation of the Oath which they were to take; *Beaulieu* the new Secretary of State inrolled an Act of that Oath, in memory of so solemn an action: after it was done, they gave thanks to God publicly in the Church of *St. Saviour*: all which demonstrations, which many thought were used to extinguish the memory of things that were past, served after to excuse and authorize those things that were to come: for notwithstanding all these obligations, whereby the adherents to the League bound themselves to forsake all former attempts and machinations, and to tie themselves sincerely in obedience to the King, and notwithstanding all his Protections in the publick Assembly of the States, to forget what was past, but severely to revenge the future, they did not at all slacken their pretensions and contrivances, but pursued them with effectual practices; and the Duke of *Guise* aspired to the express name of Lieutenant-General, which he had not been able to obtain from the King, though he had gotten almost the same power to be joyned to his former title of *Grand Maître*; and the rest ceased not to treat with the States, that the Government might be reformed in such manner, as leaving unto the King only the name and outside of a Prince, the sum of businesses might be managed by the Duke and his Dependents of the League: and even the Deputies of the States mingling themselves in the interests of the Factions, plotted and laboured for the same things, without any regard to so many and so solemn Oaths, and with manifest scorn and contempt to the King's Name, Person, and Majesty: Wherefore the event plainly shewed the art the King had used in the Assembly of the States: for knowing the obstinacy of the Confederates, he by the bonds of publick Oaths, Acts and Ceremonies (which, in appearance, redounded all in favour of the League, but secretly contained a most sharp sting against it) cunningly spread the net to catch them in those faults and crimes where-with they had protested not to stain themselves for the time to come, and which he had declared that he would severely punish and chastise.

There wanted not many who believed, that if the Duke and the Deputies, with the other Heads of the League, had, after these Oaths, given over the enterprise they had begun, and having laid aside their private interests and old passions, had proceeded sincerely for the future; the King, alwayes of a good intention and milde nature, would yet at that time have forgotten all that was passed, and have let alone the House of *Guise*; But the Duke, either not discovering, or despising that policy, being transported with the prosperity of his affairs, and seeing the greater part of the Deputies were inclined and ready to favour his greatness, strove with all his utmost forces to bring matters to that point, which from the beginning he had propounded to himself. The constant report was, that he inwardly aspired to that power, which the * *Masters of the Palace* in old time were wont to have; while the Kings standing but for shadows or ciphers, and leading a soft idle course of life, left the Authority of the Government wholly unto them: whereby it came to pass, in process of time, that King *Chilperic*, a man of an effeminate nature, being deprived of his Crown, and put into a Monastery to lead a private life, *Charles Martell*, and afterwards his son *Pepin*, *Masters of the Palace*, (in whose hands the Government and the Forces did reside) at last assumed the name and Majesty of King, robbing those of it, to whom of right it did belong. Those that were interested, openly said, that the example of things past, was very apposite for the present affairs; for the King seemed to have shewed no less tokens of an effeminate minde, and of a soft idle nature, then *Chilperic*; and the Duke of *Guise*, by his late Victories, and the height of his understanding, was esteemed not inferiour in worth and valour, to what *Pepin* or *Charles Martell* were in those times: and though he was not of the Blood-Royal, (as the *Masters of the Palace* formerly were wont to be) yet the interests of Religion, to which his designs were nearly united, gave him a marvellous opportunity to deprive the House of *Bourbon* of the Succession of the Crown, and to transfer it upon himself or his posterity, under colour that necessity so required, lest the most Christian Crown should fall into the hands of Hereticks and

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The common opinion, that the Duke of *Guise* aspired to the authority which the *Masters of the Palace* were wont to have. * *Les Maitres de Palais*.

Chilperic King of France, of an effeminate nature, put into a Monastery by *Charles Martell*, and *Pepin* *Masters of the Palace*.

excommunicated persons. To this end it was whispered that he aimed to be declared Lieutenant-General, not by the King, but by the States, with supreme Authority, that he might make use of it no less to bridle the power of the King himself, who he doubted would return unto his custom of Governing, than to suppress the House of *Bourbon*: for causing the King of *Navarre* to be declared incapable of the Crown by the States themselves, and by consequence the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be lawful Successour, it came jointly to pass, that he who was decrepid with old age, dying within a while, the Royal Line would thereby be extinct, and the rest of that House excluded as suspected of Heresie, and incapable; and then that the Duke, born up by the applause of the people, and strengthened with those Forces which would be in his power, could have no obstacle in obtaining the election of his own person, and his posterity to the Crown, either during the life of the King himself, or at least after his death, if to shew the greater modesty he would defer it so long: howsoever, the King being a man of a dissolute life, a profuse nature, a suspicious humour, and not beloved of the people, they talked among themselves, that by degrees he, as another *Chilperic*, might be shut up for ever within the walls of a Monastery.

These things were spoken in a manner publicly. But the Kings nature and inclination were so different from that of *Chilperic*, that the Duke of *Guise* was deceived by them, whether he really had such thoughts, or that his aim was only to secure himself and Religion, which he could not do, if he did not settle himself in a certain permanent greatness: wherefore having directed all his counsels to that end, that he might perfectly win the love and affections of the people, he laboured before all other things to set the business on foot of lessening the Taxes and Impositions, making himself the author of that most important motion. The King opposed it, as did also not a few of the wisest among the Deputies, alledging that they were contrary things, To settle so frequent resolutions of making an obstinate War, of raising so many Armies, of daily entering new Souldiers into pay, with perpetual protestations never to lay down arms without an absolute Victory; and on the other side, by weakning and destroying the Kings revenues, to cut the sinews of the War, and after so many brags, to reduce themselves to a necessity of condescending, for want of money, to a disadvantageous dishonourable Peace. But the interest of the Order of the Commons was so great, their inclination so precipitate, and the Duke of *Guise*'s authority so powerful, that notwithstanding that so evident reason, it was at last resolved that they should demand of the King a moderation of the Taxes, an abatement of the new Impost, which amounted to the sum of two millions of Gold *per annum*, the reformation of many Offices erected to bring in money, and the total taking away of many other grievances.

But the Duke of *Guise* having tried his own strength, and found his power with the Deputies, being much augmented in courage, and grown in favour, by that resolution which he had luckily carried against the Kings will, propounded to himself for a second attempt, to make the States receive the Council of *Trent*, as a most powerful engine not only to destroy and exclude the Hugonots for ever, but also to cause the King of *Navarre* and the rest of the House of *Bourbon* to be declared incapable of the Succession: but this was no such plausible matter as the other was, but suspected, not only to the Nobility by reason of the liberty of their lives, but also to a great many of the Clergy, who feared to lose the immunities and priviledges of the Gallique Church. Wherefore though the King, by nature an Enemy to Heresie, consented willingly unto it, hoping also thereby to gain the Popes good will, which he suspected by reason of those things he intended to put in execution; and though the Cardinals who were there present stickled much in the business, and that the Duke of *Guise* applied all his endeavours to it, yet the contradiction of the Deputies, and of many of the Clergy, was so great, that it being impossible to be carried, the resolution was referred till another time.

But the Duke of *Guise*, not at all discouraged, considering that the reason why that Proposition had not taken effect, was because every one feared to be constrained in their Consciences, would needs (without that previous preparation) venture boldly upon one step higher, and caused to be propounded in the States, that the King of *Navarre* and the rest of his Family being guilty or suspected of Heresie, should by a Declaration be made incapable of ever coming to the Succession of the Crown. And indeed, contrary to the opinion of many, who esteemed it an impossible business,

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The Proposition of receiving the Council of *Trent* made in the Assembly of the States-General, is rejected with great contradiction.

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1588. by reason of the veneration which was wont to be shewed to the *Salique Laws*, and to the Line of the Blood-Royal: this determination proved very easie; for though the Archbishop of *Bourges*, one of the Presidents of the Ecclesiastical Order, did obliquely oppose it, as an unreasonable proposition, while the King in the flower of his age might yet possibly have a Son; yet the Clergy concluded, that the King of *Navarre* by name, and all others suspected of heresie, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and that this was conformable to the meaning and doctrine of the holy Canons, and expedient for the safety of mens souls, and for the preservation of the Church of God: this being so resolved, the other two Orders of the Nobility and Commons (the followers of the League using their utmost power) determined likewise that in this matter it was good to refer themselves to the Clergy, and that therefore they should consent to their decision, which as soon as it was concluded, *Guillaume d'Alancon* Archbishop of *Ambrun*, with six Deputies of every Order, presented this Vote of the States unto the King, insisting that his Majesty would make it a publick Decree, causing it to be read and confirmed in the Assembly, which should receive it, and swear to it as a fundamental Law: But the King utterly averse from that inclination, knowing that this was the last stroak of the Duke of *Guise* and the League to establish their designs absolutely, seemed to praise the zeal of the Clergy, and the piety and modesty of the other Orders in things that concerned Religion; and in stead of an Answer, gave unto the Deputies a Protestation which had been presented to him from the King of *Navarre*: Who having called a Congregation of those of his party at *Rochele*, had caused a Writing to be printed, wherein he demanded the execution of those Edicts and Grants which had been so often made to those of his party; the Convocation of a National or Universal Council, wherein he might lawfully be instructed in those things that were controverted in matter of Faith; and finally he protested to count null and invalid whatsoever should be determined against him in that Assembly at *Blois*; he that having been called to clear himself of those things whereof he was accused, and that Assembly not being composed of all the Orders and sorts of people in the Kingdom, since those of his party were not called and admitted to it: nay, he argued that he could never be condemned for an Heretick, as he was openly declared by his Enemies, whilst he offered to submit himself voluntarily to the determination of a free and lawful Council, either National or Universal. To which Propositions of the King of *Navarre*, the most Christian King added, That if Justice requires no man should ever be sentenced nor condemned without being summoned, or without hearing his defence, which (by consent of all learned men) is according to the Law of God, it was not good to decree so heavy a sentence, without giving him warning to answer for himself, and without hearing his reasons whatsoever they were; for if the sentence of an hundred Crowns would be censurable, nay void and of no effect, where the party had not been cited and warned to answer; much more would a Decree be invalid which concerned so weighty, and so important a matter as the Succession of a Kingdom. That many of the King of *Navarre's* reasons, if they were not altogether true, were at least apparent and specious, which ought not to be pretermitted in a matter of so great consequence, without being particularly discussed and pondered: That he alledged he had ever offered to submit himself to the determination of a Council, and to the instruction of grave and learned men: That he claimed the privilege of Liberty of Conscience granted to all Frenchmen, from which he ought not to be excluded more than others: That he excused the imputation of being relapsed, by the powerful fear, or rather by the violence of the Massacre at *Paris*, wherein to save his life he had condescended to go to Mass; And that he urged many other things, which were not so much to be slighted, if for no other reason, at least that the Decree of the States might not appear to have been precipitate, and interested, confused, disordered, and void of those respects which the ordinary course of Justice requires even in the smallest things, much more in the condemning of a person of so great quality, and in the inheritance of a whole Kingdom: That there was time enough to warn him, and appoint him a hearing, and convenience sufficient to proceed legally, since that (by the mercy of God) he found himself in such a condition of age and health, that the dangers were not urgent, the business should be so suddenly determined: Wherefore it befitted so grave an Assembly, composed of the most eminent men of the Kingdom, to proceed warily, and go forward in such manner as might not appear to be an indiscreet, disorderly zeal, but piety accompanied with judgment and constant prudence.

The King is requested to declare the King of *Navarre* incapable of the Crown, and all others suspected of heresie; after much opposition he consents coldly unto it.

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The Deputies returned the Kings answer to their several Orders but in vain; for the Clergy answered, that the King of *Navarre* had many times been admonished, called, and summoned by the Queen-Mother, and by messengers from former States: that new Councils were not necessary, where the universal one of *Trent* had condemned the Doctrine which he followed for heretical: that he had been instructed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle, so grave a personage, and so near him in blood, and yet had returned to his first opinions in Religion; that finally the Pope had declared him a relapsed Heretick; wherefore it was needless to give him any further warning, or to make new discussions and examinations, and that the determination in hand was not so much a determination as an execution; and that therefore neither doubt nor delay was to be interposed. To this Declaration of the Clergy the other Orders consented; and therefore the Archbishop of *Ambrun* with the same Deputies related to the King, that his Answer having been debated by the States, they persisted in the same opinion, and therefore beseeched his Majesty to enact it presently.

The King seeing the obstinacy of the States, and being resolved to another conclusion than what every one believed, answered, That he agreed to the general Vote, and that he would think of causing the Decree to be framed: and in the mean time, to weaken in some part the hopes of that attempt, he wrought with Cardinal *Morefimi* the Popes Legat to obtain from *Rome* the absolution of the Prince of *Conry* and Count of *Soissons*, Brothers to the Prince of *Conde* deceased; who having lived in the Catholick Religion ever since the Massacre, had yet gone over to the King of *Navarre*, and had born Arms for him, one in the Battel of *Contras*, the other in the Conduct of the German Army; but having since repented their following of that party, by reason of its weakness, and for other respects, were returned unto the Kings obedience, by whose persuasions they very submissively asked pardon of the Apostolick See; which humiliation being forwarded by the good assistance of Cardinal *Morefimi*, who to please the King and favour the Blood Royal took great pains in the business, and being helped by the earnest solicitations of the Marquis *de Pisani* the Kings Ambassador at *Rome*, it was hearkened unto by the Pope, and those Princes received absolution; which cast some rubs and difficulties in the Duke of *Guise's* hopes, and did partly weaken the specious reasons of the League.

But while these things were in agitation, the mind of the King of *Navarre*, of the Duke of *Guise*, and of the States, were all much troubled at the news which was brought unto them, that *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, having entred in an hostile manner with an Army into the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, had made himself Master of it, driving out the Kings Garisons and Officers. The Duke of *Savoy*, a Youth of a most high spirit, and much raised in his thoughts by his new union with the Catholick King, having married the Infanta *Catherine* his Daughter, had taken a resolution to possess himself of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, to which his Ancestors by ancient succession pretended to have much right; wherefore seeing the troubles of *France*, and particularly the last attempt of the League in the Insurrection of *Paris*, wherein the Royal Majesty seemed trodden under foot, and the power of that Name quite overthrown, would not neglect such an opportunity, but partly by intelligence, partly by open force, had gotten into his hands *Carmagnola*, and the other Strong-holds of that State, together with great provisions of Artillery and Ammunition, which as in a Magazine had been left in many of those places since the late Wars of *Italy*. But having boldly executed his design, and doubting on the one side that the French would resent it, and on the other, that the Princes of *Italy* would not be well pleased, he presently dispatched a Messenger to Court to let the King know he had been constrained to take that resolution, not with a thought to offend the Crown of *France*, but to provide against the imminent ruine of his own State, in case the Hugonots should get footing in the Marquessate, as *Les-digueres* earnestly endeavoured; who having made himself Master of *Castel Delfino* in the Alps, had a strong inclination to seize upon the Marquessate, from whence would have ensued the infecting of *Piedmont*, and those calamities unto himself wherein he saw *France* involved by the poison of Heresie; and therefore he would keep the Marquessate until such time as that danger were past; and that Justice had weighed his reasons, being ready to restore it when the Hugonots of *Dauphine* being rooted out, he should be free from those just fears into which that imminent danger had drawn him, and in case his reasons should be found to be unjust. He caused the same

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The King seeing the resolution of the States against the King of *Navarre*, procures an absolution at *Rome* for the Prince of *Conry* and Count *Soissons* of the House of *Bourbon*, which much troubles the Duke of *Guise*.

Charles Emanuel Duke of *Savoy* possesseth himself of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*.

Causes alleged by the Duke of *Savoy* in excuse for his surprisal of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*.

1588. things to be presented to the Venetian Senate, to whom as Moderator of the Peace, he knew any such novelty in *Italy* would be infinitely displeasing: and the same at large were alledged by the Pope; adding to appease him the more, that this was the prologue of a War against the City of *Geneva*, as he desired; and to work upon him, urged the confederacy and intelligence which the King of *France* held with that Commonwealth.

But it was a wonderful thing how much mens minds were disturbed, and the affairs of the States of *Blois* altered by it: for the King and his adherents said publicly that the Duke of *Savoy* had been encouraged to that boldness by secret intelligence with the Duke of *Guise*, who thought by this means to deprive Monsieur de *la Valette* of the Marquessate, who was Governour of it: That by that price he had bought the friendship of the Duke of *Savoy*, and satisfied the Spaniards, who desired to have that Gate shut, thereby to cut off the passage of the French Forces into *Italy*: and many among the Nobility believed it constantly: so that men began to murmur that it was too unjust and too unworthy a thing to persist obstinately wallowing in the blood of Civil Wars, and in the mean time to suffer the honour of the Nation to be trodden under foot, and the possessions of the Crown to be violently taken away by foreign Enemies: That already too much had been done to satisfy the ambition of the Great Ones, and to glut the greediness of the Factions: That it was now high time to reunite their minds, and join their Forces together, to defend themselves against the insulting of Foreigners; and that this injury was so great, that they ought by no means to defer the taking of a speedy and exemplary revenge. From which popular plausible reasons, carried by the favour of the Nobility, who were moved with exceeding great anger, the other Orders also resented it very much: so that they seemed inclined to lay aside the thoughts of Civil War, to turn their Forces against the Duke of *Savoy*. Many of the most understanding men thought the Duke of *Guise* was not privy to that intent of seizing upon the Marquessate, in that conjuncture of affairs; for the time was not seasonable; and this accident alone disturbed his designs, which were already prosperously on their way to the desired end: yet Fame reported him the Author of that enterprise, and the States were resolved to decree a Foreign War, and to slacken or defer their home-bred quarrel with the Hugonots.

This did much afflict the Duke of *Guise*, whether he were partaker or no in the surprisal of the Marquessate: for he perceived that the diverting of those humours, and employing them in a Foreign War, would settle the intestine passions of the Kingdom, and that by consequence Liberty of Conscience, Peace, and the Establishment of the Hugonots would ensue, whereby so many designs would be frustrated, and so many plots so long beforehand contrived to suppress the Calvinists, and to establish his greatness upon the ruines of the House of *Bourbon*, would come to nothing; but the War being turned against his own Confederates, which were *Spain* and *Savoy*, he saw he should by little and little fall from his authority, and that the name and credit of the Princes of the Blood would rise again, since the flourishing age of the King might give time to infinite (not yet thought of) changes. But if on the other side this thought tormented him, on the other, the reports spread abroad by the King struck him very deeply; the universal inclination of the States troubled him; and as the Head of a popular Faction, he could not oppose nor contradict so just reasons, and so popular a Cause; thinking that the whole foundation of his affairs would fall, if he, having always professed to protect the general good and reputation, should now be seen either to assent unto, or to make small reckoning of so great an injury done to the Crown. Wherefore being by the affliction of his mind brought into a deep meditation, he resolved (making use of the same arts the King did) to feign a consent to the inclination of the States, to shew himself an eager revenger of the offence committed against the Crown, and by other means to frustrate the effect of the Foreign War, which he thought not very difficult by his arts to bring to pass: with this design he began to raise a rumour, that the taking of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* had been procured and plotted by the King himself, to cross the good resolutions of the States, and to hinder the Decrees against the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonots; and that none could more deeply resent the boldness of the Duke of *Savoy*, nor was more ardent against him than he and his Family. And in effect, seeming wonderfully solicitous for the loss of the Marquessate, he caused some of his Dependents to propose unto the States, that they should resolve to make a War with *Savoy*, and that not being able to go in person upon

upon that enterprize, because he could not be so far from Court, he desired the Duke of Mayenne his Brother might, who being appointed to follow the War in Dauphine, was already come as far as Lyons. This proposition gave great satisfaction, and did very much settle the minds of such as were troubled, so that without much delay it was by general consent resolved, that they should turn their Forces against the Duke of Savoy, for the recovery of the Marquesate, and that the Duke of Mayenne should go thither in person.

In the mean time, observing those ceremonies with strangers which they observed not with the King of Navarre, they determined to send *Jehan Sieur de Poigny* to the Duke of Savoy, to demand the restitution of those places he had taken; and if he restored them not, to denounce War against him: after which absolute Orders were given, both to the Marquis de Pisani the Kings Ambassador to the Pope, to Monsieur de Metz Ambassador at Venice, and to the other Ambassadors every where, to make grievous complaints against the Duke. The ardour of mens spirits being by degrees qualified with these determinations, this so important affair was set in such a way, as was not likely to do much harm to the principal intentions of those of the League. At that time many doubted how the business of Saluzzo had really come to pass; for though the most common report was, that all had been done with the secret intelligence of the League, because every one knew the correspondence, that was between the Duke of Guise, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy; and though they of the League on the other side laboured to make it be believed that it had been the Kings invention; yet the wisest opinion held for certain, that it was meerly a motion of the Duke of Savoy himself, who of a ready courage, and high thoughts, would not omit that desirable occasion which offered it self: which he himself made more credible; for after the taking of the Marquesate, he caused a coyn to be stamped, in which a Centaur trampled a Crown under foot, which lay overturned upon the ground, with this word, *Opportunè*; which was interpreted, that he would not pass by the opportunity of that conjuncture, while the Crown of France was overturned and weakened by inward divisions. True it is, that men generally believed the Duke of Savoy's forwardness had been excited by the King of Spain's exhortations, desiring by the possession of the Alps to cut off the passage into Italy from the French Army.

At this very time the Duke of Nevers, General of the Kings Army in Guienne, having begun the War with the King of Navarre, had taken Mauleon, and Montant, and though retarded by the rains of Autumn, and many other impediments, had laid siege to Ganache, a very strong place upon the confines of Poitou and Bretagne, defended by a strong and valiant Garrison put into it by the Hugonots; the Favourers of the League raised a report that he had cunningly besieged Ganache, (a very strong place, but of no advantage to the main business of the War) only to protract time; whereas with those Forces fresh and entire he might presently have destroyed the King of Navarre; who ill provided of men, and utterly unfurnished of money, had not force enough to make long resistance: nor was this report altogether vain, or at least improbable. Whereupon the Duke of Guise intended when the States were broken up, and his power of Lieutenant General confirm'd, to go in person to the Army, and forward the business of the War. But the determinations of the States proved more long and difficult than at first it was thought they would have been; for the affairs of Savoy, though in great part settled again, had yet left mens minds unquiet, and had put many designs out of frame; and which imported most, the King intent upon the ripening of his secret thoughts, did in all matters interpose long artificial delays. It is a strange thing how chance alone was accidentally almost like to have produced that bloody issue of the States, which the King was secretly contriving in himself; for the Pages and Lackies of the Princes and Lords no less divided than their Master into two different factions, and quarrelling openly every day with the plain names of *Royalists* and *Guise's*, it happened upon the thirtieth of November at night, while about nine of the Clock they were waiting for their Lords, being all together in the low open Galleries and Courts of the Castle; that the Pages of the Cardinal of Vendôme and of the Duke of Montpensier killed one of the Pages of the Duke of Guise; at the noise whereof all the rest taking arms, every one for his party, the King's, the Cardinal of Vendôme's, the Duke of Montpensier's, the Prince of Cony's, the Count of Soisson's, the Marshal de Bays's, and others standing on the one side; and on the other, the Duke of Guise's, the Prince of Joinville's, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of

1588.

They send to the Duke of Savoy to demand the restitution of Saluzzo, and upon his refusal to denounce War.

A fray happens among the Lords Pages; one of the Duke of Guise's is slain the uproar riseth to that height, that the whole factions are divided under the names of *Royalists* and *Guise's*; the King himself being armed, goes to the quarrel.

1588. of *Elbeuf's*, the Count of *Brissac's*, and many others, they began a most cruel bloody fray, wherein the other Servants mingling themselves by little and little, and at last the Souldiers, and some Gentlemen, the business proceeded so far, that the party of the *Guisards* prevailing, the fight was reduced into the great Hall joining to the Kings lodgings, and above those of the Queen-Mother, where all the Lords of the Court were together. The noise was wonderful great, and the enraged voices sounded so loud, that they were heard into the Town, and wakening those that were asleep, the general opinion was, that the Princes themselves were fighting, and that they should be all cut in pieces in the Castle, the Gates whereof were already locked; wherefore the Cardinal of *Guisé*, who lodged in the Town, having put off his Cardinal habit, and drawn all his dependents together, was gone armed up thither; and on the other side, the Marechal d' *Anmont*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, having assembled the Kings adherents, went the same way, and were not far from meeting one another, all the Deputies being also in arms, some for one side, some for the other; and so great was the terrour and the assurance that there was a bloody conflict in the Castle, that many who fled away for fear carried the news abroad, and the report came to *Paris*, that all the Court were cutting one another in pieces among themselves, the event not being yet known. The King having put on his arms, went out of his private lodgings, (doubtful that the Duke *Guisé* endeavoured by that means to prevent him) and all his followers that had wherewithal did the same, and so being armed, they expected with more assurance to turn their assistance whither most need required. On the other side, the Duke of *Guisé* who sat talking with the Queen-Mother, neither moved his place nor countenance, but thinking it to be what indeed it was, said so often to the Queen; and perceiving that some of his Gentlemen seeing the advantage of their party, expected some token from him to proceed further, he kept his look still firm upon the ground; turning toward the fire, and gave no sign at all of his intentions, either not assenting to the business, or desiring they should go on, but without his fault or order. In the mean time the *Sieur de Grillon* having commanded the Souldiers of the Guard to stand to their arms, made the quarrel be parted; the fire being easily extinguished, because there was no fuel added to it by the Heads of the two parties, and so in the space of little more than an hour, the whole uproar was appeased, and settled in the former quietness; an accident that had a terrible beginning, and a ridiculous end; but shewed evident marks of the most ardent hatred, kindled more than ever between the Factions.

But things were now brought to their full maturity; for the Duke of *Guisé* having sufficiently tryed the Deputies both in general and particular, and being grown more secure and bold by these late tryals, began to get the business introduced of his being made Lieutenant-General, at the request, and with the authority of the States, which was the last aim of his present hopes; and the King losing his power and reputation every day more and more, and seeing that billow which he had so often avoided now coming to break upon him, his long patience was at length turned into fury, so that the course of so many contrivances could no longer be withheld from breaking forth to their appointed end. The King had from the beginning intended to put the Duke of *Guisé* to death, with all his chief adherents and dependents, being thereunto incited by the sense of past injuries, and the apprehension of future dangers: he was only withheld by the respect he bore to the Catholick Religion, and his fear lest the Pope (who besides his being of a fierce resolute nature, he saw was infinitely inclined to favour the League) should make use of Spiritual weapons against him, and stir up all the Princes of Christendom to do him mischief, whom (by reason of the divisions of his Kingdom) they knew to be in a weak and dangerous condition. But because he was assured that the Catholick King and the Duke of *Savoy* would most certainly be against him, and that the Queen of *England*, the *Swisses* and Protestants of *Germany* would be for him; and that the other Princes were so far off that they could do him but little harm, he turned his mind wholly towards the Princes of *Italy*, among which the Pope was chief, by reason of the authority of the Apostolick See, and of the Spiritual Arms that were in his power; and then the Venetian Senate, as well for the eminent opinion of their wisdom, as for the supplies of money which he might hope for from them in time of need: and finally, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, from whom he remembered King *Charles* the Ninth had in the heat of War received considerable assistance both of men and money.

To

To win the Pope, and make him his Friend, besides a most propense inclination which he had shewed to cause the Council of *Trent* to be received by the States, and the great respect which upon all occasions he had shewn to the Ecclesiastical Order, he had also sent *Jehan Marquis of Pisani* his Ambassador to *Rome*; a man of long experience, and of a dexterous mature wit, who (his Wife being a Roman of the Family of *Savella*) was wonderfully versed in that Court, and acceptable to the Pope himself, and to the whole Consistory of Cardinals; by whose means he laboured not only to keep *Sixtus* favourable unto him, by all the demonstrations of duty and confidence, but also to dive into the affections of his Nephews and Favourites, by all those ways which his sagacity could invent. And because he conjectured that the relations of the Cardinal Legat (as one who was upon the place, and was both by the Pope and the whole world esteemed a man of singular wisdom) would have great power which way soever they should incline, he used all his endeavours to make him his Friend and Confident, which was not very hard to do, as well because the Cardinal being a Venetian by birth, was naturally inclined to the good and greatness of the Crown, and because his particular genius abhorred the new turbulent Counsels of the League. Wherefore the King trusting him with many secrets, and seeming to depend much upon his advice and authority, he had by his means not only obtained absolution for the Prince of *Conty* and Count of *Soissons*, to the prejudice of the League, but also having made him acquainted with many hidden things, which were managed under the name of Religion, had perswaded him to withdraw his hand from favouring the Duke of *Guise*: for the prudence of the Cardinal, being there present, had sounded to the bottom of those things which always came to *Rome* covered with the specious title of Religion: whereupon, by his relations opportunely introduced, the Popes mind was brought into so much doubt and suspense, that he often told the Spanish Ambassadors, and the Agents of the League, he could not see clearly into the affairs of *France*.

It was more easie to gain the Venetian Senate: for besides the many acts of friendship, shewed by that Republick to *Charles* the Ninth in the greatest exigencies of his Kingdom, and besides the real welcomes wherewith the present King had been received in the City of *Venice*, which had produced a reciprocal and confident friendship between them: the proceedings also of the Senate were very much averse from the Disturbers of quietness, and from Conspirers of new designs; and their own interests made them to desire the peace and union of the Kingdom of *France* under the obedience of the natural King, to the end that being united in strength, it might counterpoise the excessive greatness of other Christian Potentates: wherefore, though the King at first had made some difficulty of admitting *Giovanni Mocenigo*, (chosen Ambassador to him from the Senate in the place of *Giovanni Delfino*) because he was not of the Colledge of the * *Sanii de Terra Firma*, (out of which number the Ambassadors to Kings are wonted to be elected) yet having in the end admitted him, he was so pleased with his discreet silence and prudent behaviour, that he contracted a great intimacy with him, and with him and the Senate passed business of very great trust and confidence.

But with *Ferdinandi de Medici* Grand Duke of *Tuscany* he proceeded further: for he having newly succeeded his Brother *Francesco* in that State, and having renounced the title of Cardinal to take a Wife, it was at that time concluded to give him *Christienne* the Duke of *Lorain's* Daughter, and Niece to the King, who had been bred up with the Queen-Mother; and hastening the Ceremonies of the Marriage, *Charles* the Bastard Grand Prior of *France* contracted her in the name of *Ferdinando*, and the Bride made her self ready to take her journey.

Things being ordered in this manner, the next business the King had to think on, was to contrive which way to catch the Duke of *Guise*, surrounded with so many Guards, and with so great a number of adherents: for though he had cunningly drawn the States to *Blois*, a City depending upon him, and far from the assistance of the Parisians, yet was the Duke come thither so strong, and so many of the Deputies depended upon his will, that it was no easie matter to set upon him. The Queen-Mother was so ill of the Gout, that she kept her bed; and the King troubled with his wonted suspicions, had not, nor did not intend to impart that design to her; and therefore having taken occasion upon Sunday the eighteenth of *December*, while they were feasting in her lodgings for the Marriage of the Great Dutchess, and the whole Court was busied there, he called into his own Closet the *Mareschal d'Annon*, and

1588.

The King admits *Gio. Mocenigo* Ambassador from *Venice*, though he were not one of the *Sanii de Terra Firma*. "Magistrates so called at *Venice*, because they have the principal administration of affairs by land, and the care of matters belonging to Peace and War.

Christienne de Lorain, which should have been given to the King of *Navarre*, is married to *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*.

Nicholas

1588. The King desiring to free himself of the Duke of Guise, propose his design to four of his most trusty Confidants, who after long consultation resolve to have him killed.

* Le porche aux Bretons.

The answer of Grillon Captain of the Guards.

Logie promised the King that the Duke of Guise should be slain.

Nicholas d' Angenay Sieur de Rambouillet, whom he accounted most trusty, one for the profession of Arms, the other for the Gown; and discovering his whole design, desired their counsel in that particular. Their opinions were not very different; and all agreed that things were brought to that pass, that now necessity forced a resolution to bridle the attempts of the Duke of Guise; but about the means which were to be used, they were not so well resolved: for the Marechal d' Anmont consented to have him resolutely killed; and Rambouillet, alledging the breach of Faith, and the Law of Nations, counselled to take him prisoner, and then to proceed against him in a legal way: Whereupon, not knowing how to resolve among themselves, they called the same night unto them Colonel Alfonso Corso, and Lewis the Brother of Rambouillet, to have their opinions; they all thinking it a very hard matter to be effected. After many hours consultation, it was at last determined that he should be slain, and that the business should be ordered in this manner following. Upon the top of the stairs in the Kings Palace, there was a great Hall in which commonly the Council was wont to be held, and which (except upon such occasions) stood open and free for the ordinary passage of the Courtiers: at the upper end of the Hall was the door of the Kings Ante-chamber; upon the right hand whereof was his Bed-chamber; and on the left, the Wardrobe; and just over against the door of the Ante-chamber, was the door of the Closet; from whence there was a way out into a fair room; and thence a back-stairs that went down into the Queen-Mothers lodging. When the Council was held, the Gentlemen and Courtiers were wont to accompany the Lords that went in, to the Hall-door at the top of the stairs, and there they stayed, because the door was locked and guarded by the Keepers of the Council-chamber: then they used to return back into the Court, which being spacious, was commonly called, * *The Bretons Porche*, because they coming often to Court about their frequent Law-suits, were wont for the most part to walk and entertain themselves in that place. The King and his Counsellors resolved that the deed should be done upon a Council-day: for the Duke being then left alone without his train, with the other Lords and Counsellors in the Hall, he might be called by the King into his lodgings, which at such times were wont to be shut, and without company; and being there apart, and deprived of any help, might be dispatched out of the world: for he being once dead, they feared not those dangers and tumults at Blois, which they should have done if they had been at Paris. Then treating of the persons that should execute the business, the King chose to trust Grillon the Colonel of his Guards; a fierce bold man, and for many occasions an Enemy to the Duke of Guise. Having therefore sent for him, he unfolded his design unto him with fitting words, and gave him to understand that he had appointed him to be the man that should perform the enterprize wherein consisted all his safety. Grillon answered with short and significant words: "Sir, I am really your Majesties most faithful and devoted Servant; but I make profession to be a Souldier and a Cavalier: if you please to command me to challenge the Duke of Guise, and fight with him hand to hand, I am ready at this instant to lay down my life for your service; but that I should serve for an Executioner, while your Majesties Justice condemns him to die, is a thing futes not with one of my condition, nor will I ever do it whilst I live. The King did not much wonder at the liberty of Grillon, whom he and the whole Court knew to be a plain honest man, and one that spoke his thoughts freely without fear of any body; and therefore replied, that it was enough, provided he kept the matter secret, for he had not communicated it to any body else, and if it should be divulged, he would accuse him for the revealing it. To this Grillon answered, That he was a Servant of honour and fidelity, and one that would never discover the secret interests of his Master, and so going away, left the King very doubtful what he should do; in which perplexity he continued till the one and twentieth day, when having trusted the business to Lognac, one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, who had been brought first into the Court by the Duke of Joyeuse, and by his graceful fashion, discreet carriage, and gentle behaviour began to rise into the place of the Minions; he without much difficulty promised with some of the five and forty who depended nearly upon him, to do the deed most readily. The King having settled his mind, resolved to put it in execution upon the morning of the three and twentieth day, being Christmas Eve's Eve; and being come personally into the Council the two and twentieth day, he told them he desired some business that concerned him might be dispatched the next morning, that with a quiet mind he

he might retire himself to perform his exercises of devotion for the holy Time that was at hand; and therefore he intreated all of them to come early to the Council.

1588.

In the mean time the suspicion of this business, no body knows which way, was crept so far, that a confused knowledge of it came unto the ear of the Duke of *Guisé* himself; who being in private with the Cardinal his Brother, and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, consulted whether he should give credit to that report, and whether believing it he should go from the States to avoid that danger. The Cardinal said, It was better to fail in believing too much, than in being too confident, and that it was good to lean to the securer side, and perswaded his departure so earnestly, that the Duke set his affairs in order to go away the next morning; but the Archbishop of *Lyons* opposed that resolution so stiffly, that he caused it almost at the same time to be altered. He shewed what a lightness it was to believe a rumour of fame not grounded upon any certain proof; that it might be a plot of the Kings to make him go away and leave the States, to the end that all hopes, designs and practices falling at once, he might be left free from that yolk which he saw preparing for him by the consent of the States; and he being gone that should order and moderate the affections and promises of the Deputies, who should withstand the Kings authority and cunning? Who should hinder the State from coming to a contrary end from what they had designed? For he being absent, the Deputies seeing themselves forsaken and left alone, would fall under the Kings authority, and in reverence to the Royal Name, would make their determinations according to his pleasure, and revoke those already past, disturb matters already established, and reduce the Government to the former, or perhaps to a worse condition, to the total ruine and utter destruction of the League; that all those of his party would with reason complain that they had been betray'd, and meanly forsaken by him, and every one by his example would think of their own interests, and to make their peace with the King, so that in the end he alone would be left forsaken and abandoned; in conclusion, that it was better (though the danger were certain) to hazard only his life by staying, than certainly to lose both life and honour at once by going away. His departure being deferred, the Duke of *Elbeuf* came in, who being made privy to the business in debate, confirmed the opinion of the Archbishop of *Lyons*, adding many things to prove that the Duke of *Guisé* was so well accompanied with faithful Friends all fast united, that the King would not dare to think of so rash an enterprise; and that he wondered they should now be in so much fear of those forces, which till then they had ever undervalued and despised. Whereupon the Duke of *Guisé* taking courage, resolved not only to stay till the end of the Assembly, but shewed also evident signs of slighting those rumours that ran about the Court.

The King's resolution against the Duke of *Guisé* comes to the ear of the Duke of *Guisé* himself.

A consultation between the Duke of *Guisé*, the Cardinal his Brother, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf*.

The evening of the twenty second being come, the King commanded Monsieur *de Larchant* one of the Captains of his Guard to double them the next morning, and to keep the Hall-door, after the Lords of the Council were gone in; but that he should do it in such a manner as the Duke of *Guisé* might not suspect any thing: Wherefore having staid with a great number of his Souldiers the same night, till the Duke came from his own Lodgings to the Kings, he went to him in the middle of the way, and beseeched him, that he would be pleased to speak a good word for those poor Souldiers, who had wanted their pay a great many months; that they made their address to him as the Head and Protector of all Souldiers; and that the next day he would wait upon him with the same Company in the morning, to put him in mind to speak in their behalf to the Council: The Duke answered courteously, and promised the Captain and the Souldiers to take great care for their satisfaction. The same night the King gave order to his Nephew the Grand Prior of *France*, to make a match at Tennis the next morning with the Prince of *Jainville*, Son to the Duke of *Guisé*, and to keep him in play till he received further order from him. In the morning the King made himself ready before day, under colour of going personally to the Council, and pretending he should stay there many hours, dismissed all his Servants, and in his Closet there remained only *Revol*, the Secretary of State, Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and Monsieur *de la Bastide*, a Gascon Gentleman of very great courage, who were all commanded by him to stay there: In his Chamber was *St. Priu*, one of his old Gentlemen-Waiters; in the Wardrobe the Count *de Termes*, * Great Chamberlain, who was a Kinsman of the Duke of *Espernon's*; and in the Ante-chamber two Pages, an Usher that waited at the Council-Chamber-door, and *Lognac* with Eight of the Five and forty, to whom

The order taken by the King, for the killing of the Duke of *Guisé*.

The Captains invention to double the Guards, and not be suspected by the Duke of *Guisé*.

* The French Translation says, Grand Maître de la Garde robe.

1588.

Pelican the Dukes Secretary sends him a Note in a Handkerchief, to bid him save himself, but it comes not to his hands.

The Duke of Guise swoons in the Council-Chamber: An ill omen of his approaching death.

The Duke of Guise is slain as he lifts up the hanging of the Closet-door.

The Cardinal of Guise and Archbishop of Lyons are made prisoners, as also all the Lords and other chief adherents of the Duke of Guise.

** The ordinary Judge of the Kings bench, his command extends to all places within six leagues of the Court.*

It was reported, that the Duke of Guise had received from Spain the sum of two millions of Crowns.

the King had with very great promises signified his pleasure, and found them most ready to obey his command. It was about break of day when the Counsellors met, and there went into the great Hall, Cardinal *Gondy*, the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, the Marechals of *Aumont*, and *Retz*, *Montbelon* the *Garde des Seaux*, *Francois* *Sieur d'O*, *Nicholas* *Sieur de Rambouillet*, the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and at last appeared the Duke of *Guise*, to whom Captain *Larchant*, stepping forward with a greater number of Souldiers than the night before, presented him a Petition for their pay, and with that excuse accompanied him, and brought him to the Hall-door, where being entered, and the door shut, the Souldiers made a long lane to the bottom of the stairs, seeming to stay there to wait for an answer of their Petition, and at the same time Monsieur *Grillon* caused the Gates of the Castle to be locked, whereupon many suspected what would be the event, and *Pelican* the Dukes Secretary writ a little Note in these words, *My Lord, save your self, or you are dead*: And having put it up into a Handkerchief, gave it to one of the Dukes Pages, to carry it to the Keeper of the Council-Chamber-door, pretending, that the Duke had forgot to take it, when he went forth of his Chamber; but the Souldiers would not suffer the Page to pass. In the mean time the Duke being come into the Council, and set near the fire, fell into a little swoon, whether it were that he remembered himself of the danger in which he was, being separated from all his dependents; or that Nature (as it often happens) prefiguring his future misfortune, did of her self give that shew of resentment; or whether (as his ill-willers said) it was because he had weakened himself too much that night with *Madam de Marmontier*, whom he extremely loved; but being quickly recovered, Secretary *Revol* came into the Council out of the Ante-chamber, and told him, that the King asked for him, and would have him come to him into the Closet: The Duke arose, and having with his accustomed courtesie saluted all the Counsellors, entered into the Ante-chamber, which presently being locked after him, he saw not that store of company which was wont to be there, but only those eight Gentlemen of the Kings Guard, which were well known to him; and as went from thence into the Closet, the hanging at the door not being held up for him as it was wont to be, he stretched forth his hand to lift it up, and at that instant *St. Malin*, one of the eight, stabbed him into the neck with a Dagger, and the rest presently fell upon him on every side; he striving to lay hold of his Sword, was never able to draw it above half way out; and after many wounds given him in the head, and all the other parts of his body, being at last struck by *Lognac*, (upon whom he had most violently thrown himself) he fell down at the door of the Wardrobe, and there he breathed forth the last groans of his life, without being able to speak one word. The Cardinal of *Guise*, as soon as he heard the noise in the Ante-chamber, was certain that they were about his Brother; and rising up suddenly with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, they ran both to the Hall-door, to call for the help of their Servants; but having found the door shut, they were staid by the Marechals of *Aumont* and *Retz*; who giving them notice that they were the Kings prisoners, led them up a little pair of stairs into an upper room, where they were shut up and diligently guarded. At the same time the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, by reason of his age and weakness being yet in bed, was seized on in the Castle; as also *Charles* Prince of *Fainville*, *Charles* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Charles* of *Savoy*, Duke of *Nemours*, and *Anne d'Estre*, Dutches of *Nemours*, and Mother to the *Guises*. Then having opened the Castle-Gates, and redoubled their Guards very strongly, Monsieur *de Richelieu*, * Grand Provost de l'*Hôtel*, went into the Town, where he took President *Nully*, *La Chapelle Martel*, the Provost of Merchands of *Paris*, *Compan* and *Cotteblanche*, Deputies for that City, the Lieutenant of the City of *Amiens*, the Count *de Brissac*, the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*; and at last *Pelican* the Duke of *Guise's* Secretary was likewise taken, with all the Writings which belonged to his Lord; among which, they found many Letters containing divers practices within and without the Kingdom, the accounts of moneys which he had received from *Spain*, which were reported to amount to the sum of Two millions of Ducats. The rest, which the King desired to get into his hands, were either favourably hid by their Landlords in whose houses they lay, or by their Friends in the City, or saved themselves by several ways and means; so that they escaped the fury of that present revenge. The body of the dead Duke being laid up in a Green Cloth, was carried by the Door-keepers into the great Room beyond the Kings Closet, and there it was laid till further orders. These businesses were performed without much noise or tumult, every one being amazed and

astonished at what was done; and the most fierce and daring among those of the League, with down-cast looks and dejected countenances, professed most perfect obedience and profound submission.

The first thing the King did, was to send *Revol* the Secretary of State to the Cardinal Legat, to give him notice of all that had passed, and to intreat him to meet him at Mals: And at the same time he sent also to give account of it to the Venetian Ambassador, shewing how great a desire he had to be excused to the Pope, and how much he esteemed the opinion of the Venetian Senate; and then having walked a turn or two in the Closet, he thought it time to lay off the Foxes out-side, which for so many years he had worn with infinite patience contrary to his own *genius*, and to take up again the generosity of the Lyon, which in his younger years he had shewed in so many famous actions: And having caused the doors to be opened, and every one to be admitted into his Chamber, he said with a loud voice, That from thence forward he would have his Subjects learn to know, and to obey him: For since he had known how to resolve to punish the Heads of Insurrections, much more resolutely would he proceed against the Members: That every one therefore should from that time, forget stubbornness and rebellion: For he would be a King, not only in words, but in deeds also; and it would be neither a new nor difficult matter to handle his Sword again. So with an angry look, and a frowning countenance, he went down the stairs into his Mothers lodgings.

The King admitting every one into his presence, speaks very resolutely.

The Queen lying in her Bed, and very much troubled with her pain, had heard the bustle that was above in the Kings lodgings, and had often asked what noise it was; nor had any body courage enough to tell her the news. Now the King appearing, he first asked her how she did; to which she having answered, that she felt herself something better, he replied, And I also now find my self much better; for this morning I have made my self King of France; having put to death the King of Paris. To which words the Queen replied, You have made the Duke of Guise be slain; but God grant you be not now made King of nothing: You have cut out work enough, I know not whether or no you will be able to make it up as well: Have you foreseen the mischiefs that are like to follow? Look carefully to that: Two things are necessary, Speed and Resolution. After which words, being exceedingly tormented with the Gout, and much afflicted in mind, she held her peace; and the King went to meet the Legat, that they might go to Mals together.

The King says to his Mother, Now I am King of France, for I have put to death the King of Paris.

They met before Mals, and walking up and down, conferred a great while together; in which discourse the King laboured to persuade him that he had been forced by necessity to take that resolution. He told him, that the ends, practices, designs, leagues and negotiations of the Duke of Guise, were better known to his wisdom than to others; That by them he had been brought to such extremities, that he could not save his own life and Crown, without his death; which as by Gods assistance, it had been happily enough effected, amongst a thousand unconquerable difficulties; so was it conformable to the Justice of all the Laws in the World: That the heinous offences were notorious, and manifest to every one, which had been committed by him a natural Subject, against the Majesty of the Royal Name, and against his lawful Prince, without any reasonable occasion; which he had long born withal and dissembled, out of his desire of the general quiet; and out of the gentleness of his own disposition: But that after the last Pacification, in which he had profusely granted more to the League, than they knew how either to demand or desire; notwithstanding the Act of Oblivion of all things past, and the Prohibition of all such-like practices for the time to come, the Duke of Guise, persisting obstinately in his first designs; violating so many Oaths, so many Promises, and so many Sacraments reiterated among the holy Ceremonies, and in the presence of the Assembly of the States, which represented the majestick face of the whole French Nation, had both begun again, and continued the same things, leagues, and intelligences with Foreign Princes, receiving of moneys and pensions from Spain, agreements with the Duke of Savoy to the prejudice of the Crown; factions, and practices with the States to tie up the liberty of his Prince, to exclude the rightful Successors of the Crown, and by seditious wicked acts to transfer the whole Government upon himself; by which things he made himself guilty of High Treason, and had often manifestly incurred the crime of Rebellion; inasmuch as Justice neither could nor ought to forbear to punish him, thereby once to remove the perpetual danger and unquietness in which he kept the whole Kingdom and all good men. That

The King discourseth a long while with the Cardinal of Moresini about the Duke of Guises death.

588. the ordinary forms of judging and sentencing could not possibly be observed : For no Prisons were secure, nor Bonds sufficient to restrain his power ; that no Officers would have dared to examine him, no Judge to sentence him, nor no Power would have been able to execute the sentence : That the King himself was Justice, and that he had so many proofs as did more than abundantly condemn and convince him to be guilty : That he was assured he had satisfied God's Justice, his own Conscience, and the good and quietness of his Kingdom : and therefore he intreated the Legat to represent the truth as it was unto the Pope, to the end, that the arts of his Enemies might not by their false relations, transform the face of so necessary, so just an action. These things were no news unto the Legat, being fully informed of the reports already divulged ; and the Kings reasons contained peradventure what he thought himself : And because he firmly believed, that, the Shepherd being struck, the flock would easily be scattered ; the greater part of the Heads being taken, and the rest much unprovided of strength and force to resist the Kings power in so sudden an accident, not much valuing the popular commotion which he foresaw might ensue, because he thought the seditions of the people were like a fire of straw, which riseth with great violence, but presently ceaseth, and is extinguished ; he judged it not fit to alienate the Kings mind from the Apostolick See, but to confirm and establish it to the protection of Religion, and with a gentle rein, and moderate respect, to withhold him from agreeing precipitately with the Hugonots : Wherefore, seeming to believe that the Pope, as disinterested and as a common Father, would kindly give ear unto his reasons, he only exhorted him to shew that his words and excuses were true, by a firm and principal argument, which was, To persevere in the resolution of protecting the Catholick Religion, and extinguishing Heresie ; that by that means he might perswade the Pope, and the whole World, that he had been constrained by necessity, and not drawn by hatred to the Catholick party : Whereas, not persisting in that safe, Christian determination, he should authorize the false reports of the League, and give occasion to have it thought that his inclination to favour the King of Navarre, and uphold the Hugonots, had moved him to put to death the Head, and imprison the principal Members of the Catholick party. This point seemed so important to the Legat, that he enlarged himself long upon it, till the King gave assurance by an Oath, that if the Pope would unite himself with him in mind and Forces, he would endeavour the extirpation of Heresie with more fervour than ever, and that he was firmly resolved to suffer only the Catholick Religion in his Kingdom : After which asseveration, accompanied with effectual words and gestures, the Legat made no scruple of treating with him with the same intimacy and confidence as before, thinking he had obtained that point which would serve to satisfy the Pope, since the King, though exasperated with the injuries of the League, did yet confirm himself in his wonted obedience and veneration of Religion ; and that though the Duke of Guise were removed, he yet continued the Catholick Union, and the determination of making War against the Hugonots : wherefore he gave the King no doubtful hope, that the Pope would be satisfied with his reasons : Nor did he think fit to pass any further at that meeting, but believing he should have time enough afterwards to speak about the enlargement of the Cardinals, he would not (in a time of so great distraction, and in a conjuncture wherein the Kings mind might waver) anticipate businesses unseasonably, but proceed with well-pondered counsels, first settling the publick, and then private interest.

The King seeing that the Legat shewed no trouble at the imprisonment of the Cardinals, commands that Lewis of Barrois, Cardinal of Guise be also put to death.

But the King having entertained great hopes by the Legats words, and seeing that he seemed not much troubled at the imprisonment of the Cardinals and other Prelates, resolved to go forward, and to free himself from the Cardinal of Guise, a no less fierce and terrible Head of the League than his Brother had been : To which end, having found the Five and forty unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Cardinal, he commanded *de Gaff*, one of the Captains of his Guard, that he should cause him to be put to death the next morning by his Souldiers. So upon the Four and twentieth day, being Christmas-Eve in the morning, Captain *Gaff* being come into the Chamber, where he was with the Archbishop of Lyons, and where they had been all night in most terrible fear, confessing one another, and watching in continual prayer, he had the Archbishop come along with him, for the King called for him : At which words, the Cardinal believing that he was led to death, said to him, My Lord, think upon God : But the Archbishop guessing better than he, and not willing to fail in the same Office, replied, Nay, rather do you think of him, my Lord ; and going away, he

he was brought into another room. A while after, *du Gast* returned, and told the Cardinal that he had Commission to put him to death. To which he only answered, that he desired time to recommend his Soul to God: And having kneeled down, he made a short Prayer; and covering his head with the lower part of his Robe, he undauntedly bad him execute his Commission; when presently four Souldiers armed with Partezans, slew him with many wounds; and his body was carried to the same place where the Dukes Brother lay. The King doubted, that if the bodies were seen, they might occasion some tumult; and therefore having by the counfel of his Physitian caused them to be buried in quick Lime, within a few hours all their flesh was consumed, and afterward the bones were secretly interred in an unknown place; removing in that manner, those tragical Objects, which use to work strange and sudden motions in the common people: neither had he himself the heart to look upon them; nor did any of the Court see them after their death, except those few who of necessity were present; the King not desiring that so sad a spectacle should argue him guilty, either of cruelty, or ambitious pomp of ostentation.

In this manner died *Henry of Lorain*, Duke of *Guise*; a Prince very remarkable for the height of his Extraction, and for the merit and greatness of his Ancestors; but much more conspicuous for the great eminency of his own worth: For he abounded with many excellent endowments; vivacity in comprehending, wisdom in resolving, boldness in executing, courage in fight, magnanimity in prosperity, constancy in adversity; popular in behaviour, affable in conversation, infinitely industrious in gaining the minds and affections of every one, liberality worthy the most plentiful fortune, secrecy and policy equal to the greatness of his designs; a spritely turning wit, readily stored with determinations and resolves according as occasion required, and just proper for the times in which he lived. To these qualities of the mind were joyned ornaments of the body no less commendable; patient sufferance of labour, singular sobriety, a venerable, yet gracious aspect, a strong souldierly constitution, agility of members so well disposed, that he was often seen to swim in all his arms against the stream of a swift River; and wonderful activity, whereby both in Wrestling, Tennis, and Military exercises, he did far exceed the ability of all other men; and finally, such concurring union in the vigour of his mind and body, that he gained not only an universal admiration, but extorted praises from the mouths of his very Enemies. Yet were not these vertues without the defects of humane frailty: For doubleness and dissimulation were in him turned into nature; and vain-glory and ambition were so powerful over the temperature of his disposition, that from the very beginning they made him embrace the command of the Catholick Faction, and in process of time, from the necessity of defending himself from the Kings subtil policies; put him easily upon the precipitate design of attaining by most difficult hidden ways to the succession of the Crown: and finally, the boldness of his own nature, and his usual contempt of all others, brought him unadvisedly to utter ruine.

Lewis the Cardinal, though he came far short, imitated the courage and vertue of his Brother: for he always shewed a ready wit, a lively spirit, a constant mind, and magnanimity equal to his birth; but the turbulency of his thoughts, and precipitate boldness of his nature, took off very much from the opinion which at first was conceived of him: for his too much ardour, his desire of new things his despising of dangers, and his unquietness of mind, (which have some kind of lustre in a Military profession) seemed not to have the same decency in a Spiritual life, and an Ecclesiastical habit.

The execution of the two Brothers being past, the others that had been imprisoned were diversly kept and guarded. The Duke of *Nemours* either having corrupted his Keepers with money, or taking opportunity by their negligence, or by the Kings assent and connivance, (as many thought, because knowing his nature, he believed him rather more apt to hinder and disturb, than to favour and compose the affairs of the League) escaped the fourth day from the place, where he was not very strictly looked to, and by unknown ways, with only one Servant, went secretly toward *Paris*. *Anne d'Este*, Mother to him, and to the dead Princes of *Lorain*, was also voluntarily freed by the King, having shewed her many demonstrations of compassion; whether he was moved with the pity of her age, or that the splendour of her blood, or her being born of one of the Daughters of King *Lewis*, made him give her the more respect. *La Chapelle*, *Compan*, *Cotteblanche*, the Lieutenant of *Amiens*, the Count de *Brissac*, and the Sieur de *Boir-Dauphin*, because they were in the number of the Deputies, (the Assembly of the States

1588.
Du Gast, a Captain of the Kings Guard, causes the Cardinal of *Guise* to be slain by four Souldiers.

The bodies of the two Brothers were burned in quick Lime, and their bones buried in an unknown place.

The Duke of *Guise's* Vertues and Endowments, both in body and mind

having

1588.
The Archb-
shop of Lyons
being often
examined,
would never
answer; al-
ludging that as
Primate of all
France he had
no other Super-
iour but the
Catholick
Church.

The Cardinal
of Bourbon, the
Prince of Join-
ville, now cal-
led Duke of
Guise, the Arch-
bishop of Ly-
ons, and the
Duke d'Elbeuf,
are all put in-
to the Castle of
Amboise.

Charles Duke
of Mayenne,
third Brother
to the Guises,
being adverti-
sed of his Bro-
thers death,
flees from Ly-
ons.

1589.
Katherine de
Medicis Wife
to Henry the
Second, died
on Twelfth-
Eve, in the 70th
year of her
age, thirty
whereof she
spent in the
Regency, and
in the manage-
ment of the
greatest affairs
and troubles
of the King-
dom of France.

having made an appeal, complaining that the Law of Nations was violated, forasmuch as the Deputies were Ambassadors and Messengers from their several Provinces) were set at liberty. But the same happened not to the Archbishop of Lyons, though he was one of the Deputies, nay President of the Clergy: for the King often desired to have him examined by the Archbishop of Beauvois, as a Peer of France, sometimes by the Cardinal of Condé, sometimes by the Judges of the Great Council, he had always refused to answer, lest he should prejudice the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, wherein, as Primate of all France, he said he had no other Superiour but the Apostolick See; though the King and his Ministers alledged that they impeached him not as Archbishop of Lyons, (though so in cases of Rebellion and Treason the King pretended to have Jurisdiction over him) but as a Counsellor of State: for which cause the King being exasperated, and thinking that his refusal to answer proceeded from a foul, guilty Conscience, would not consent to his enlargement, though his Nephew the Baron de Lux took much pains about it, and though the Deputies were much troubled at the Kings denial. Pelicart the Secretary of the dead Duke, and some others of his nearest Ser- vants, were often examined; and having drawn as much from them as they could, by the Kings command (who scorned to defile himself with mean blood) were set at liberty. But the Cardinal of Bourbon, who wept like a Child for the death of the Lords of Guise, and was much afflicted for his own misfortune; the Duke d'Elbeuf, who by despair was fallen into an excess of melancholy, so that he would neither endure to change his clothes, cut his hair, or use wonted decency about his person; the Prince of Joinville, who by the death of his Father began to be called Duke of Guise; to- gether with the Archbishop of Lyons, were (after not many days) brought by the King himself to the Castle of Amboise, and there, under the command of Captain du Gess, were left in several Lodgings, but with a good Garison, and strict order to keep them fast.

At the very instant of the Cardinals death, Colonel Alfonso Corso went away post to Lyons, where Charles Duke of Mayenne the third Brother of the Guises stayed, being appointed for the War in Dauphine, with order to take him there upon the sudden, and make him prisoner: but he was prevented by Camille Tolomei, and the Sieur de Chastillon, who being gone secretly from Blais the same day the Duke was killed, and got unknown to Orleans, took the way towards Lyons with infinite speed; so that upon Christmas-day in the evening, about Sun-set, the Duke left the City to retire to Dijon, a place under his Government, at the same time the Colonel entered the City by another Gate, to execute the Commission he had received; and so of the three Brothers he escaped free from danger, into whose valour and wisdom all the foundations and hopes of the League were now reduced.

The death of the Queen-Mother shut up the last act of the Tragedy of Blais, who in the 70th year of her age having been long afflicted with the Gout, and at last op- pressed with a slow Fever, and extream abundance of Catharrs, departed this life upon the fifth day of January 1589. being the Eve of the Epiphany of our Lord, a day which was wont to be celebrated with great joy by the Court, and the whole Kingdom of France. The qualities of this Lady, conspicuous for the spacious course of thirty years, and famous thorow all Europe, may better be comprehended by the context of things that have been related, than described by any Pen, or represented in a few words. For her prudence always abounding with fitting determinations to remedy the sudden chances of Fortune, and to oppose the machinations of humane wickedness, (wherewith in the minority of her Sons she managed the weight of so many Civil Wars, contending at once with the effects of Religion, with the contumacy of her Subjects, with the necessities of the Treasury, with the dissimulations of the Great Ones, and with the dreadful engines raised by Ambition) is rather to be admired dis- tinctly in every particular action, than confusedly dead-coloured in a general draught of all her virtues. The constancy and greatness of courage wherewith she, a Woman, and a Stranger, durst against so potent Competitors, aspire to the whole weight of Government, having aspired, compass it; and having compassed, maintain it against the blows of art and fortune, was much more like the generosity and courage of a man, versed and hardened in the affairs of the world, than of a woman accustomed to the delicacies of the Court, and kept so low during the life of her Husband. But the patience, dexterity, suffiance and moderation, with which arts in the suspicion which her Son (after so many proofs) had conceived of her, she knew still how to maintain the authority of Government in her self, (insomuch,

(inſomuch, as without her counſel and conſent he durſt not reſolve of thoſe very things wherein he was jealous of her) was as it were the higheſt pitch and moſt eminent proof of her great worth. To theſe virtues, which appear plainly in the courſe of her actions here related, were added many other endowments, wherewith baniſhing the frailties and imperfections of the Female Sex, ſhe became always Miſtreſs of thoſe paſſions which uſe to make the brighteſt lights of humane prudence wander from the right path of life; for in her were a moſt elegant wit, royal magnificence, popular courteſie, a powerful manner of ſpeaking, an effectual inclination, liberal and favourable to the good, a moſt bitter hatred and perpetual ill-will to the bad, and a temperate, never exceſſively intereſſed in favouring and advancing her dependents. Yet could ſhe never do ſo much, but that being an Italian, her virtue was deſpiſed by the French pride, and thoſe that had a deſire to diſturb the Kingdom hated her mortally, as contrary to their deſigns; wherefore the Hugonots in particular, both in her life-time, and after her death, blaſted and tore her Name with poiſonous Libels, and with malicious Narrations and Execrations: and a certain Writer (who deſerves rather the name of a Satyrift than a Hiſtorian) hath laboured to make her actions appear very different from the truth; attributing often either ignorantly or maliciously the cauſes of her determinations to a perverſity of nature, and an exceſſive appetite to govern; abaſing and diminiſhing the glory of thoſe effects which in the miſt of ſo certain dangers did more than once ſecurely produce the ſafety, and divert the overthrow of the Kingdom. Not but among ſo many excellent virtues, ſome weeds of worldly imperfections did alſo ſpring up: for ſhe was eſteemed of a moſt deceitful Faith, a condition common enough in all times, but very peculiar to that age; greedy, or rather prodigal of humane blood, much more than became the tenderneſs of the Female Sex; and it appeared in many occaſions, that to attain her own ends (though good) ſhe thought no means unfit which ſeemed conducing to her deſigns, though of themſelves they were unjuſt and perfidious. But the eminence of ſo many other virtues may certainly, to reaſonable Judges, cover many of thoſe defects which were produced by the urgency and neceſſity of affairs.

The King was preſent with demonſtrations of extream griefs, at the laſt gasps of her life, which ended very Chriſtianly, and her death was honoured with his tears, and with exceeding great lamentations by the whole Court, though the preſent diſtractions did in the haſty Funeral of the Mother very much hinder the wonted Magnificence of the Son. Her Heirs were *Chreſtienne de Lorain*, Wiſe to *Ferdinando* Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and *Charles* Grand Prior of *France*, Baſtard-Son to *Charles* the Ninth, who was therefore called the Count of *Auvergne*; and to her Servants ſhe left many Legacies, but the unquietneſs of the times that followed, and ſome debts contracted by her liberality, did by divers ways ſwallow up in great part both the Inheritance and the Legacies.

The End of the Ninth BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The TENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

IN the Tenth Book are related the Insurrections caused by the death of the Cardinal and Duke of Guise; the Union renewed in Paris, and many other Cities of the Kingdom: The Authority of command, and Title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown given to the Duke of Mayenne. The King commands process to be made against the actions of the dead Princes; he continues the States, but breaks them up at last, the Deputies being variously inclined. The King strives to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of Guise's death: He dispatcheth the Bishop of Mans to Rome for that purpose; but the Pope persists, and makes grievous complaints in the Consistory: The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of Mayenne; but neither doth that design take effect: The Duke goes to Paris, and begins several ways to take up Arms; he establishes the General Council of the League, and the particular one of the Sixteen at Paris: He dispatches Ministers to Rome to confirm the Popes inclination; who afterward publisheth a Monitory against the King of France, and foment the League exceedingly. The King being necessitated to make War, agrees with the King of Navarre, and concludes a Truce with him: The Spanish Ambassador leaves the Court, and goes to reside in Paris with the Heads of the League; the Popes Legat departs also, and not having been able to persuade the Duke of Mayenne to consent to peace, goes out of the Kingdom. The war is begun furiously in every place. The Duke of Montpensier defeats the Gautiers in Normandy. The Kings of France and Navarre meet in the City of Tours. The Duke of Mayenne takes the Duke of Vendosme, and the Count de Brienne prisoner; he assaults the Kings Infantry in the Fauxbourgs of Tours, and takes and possesseth himself of many Posts. The King of Navarre comes up with his Army, and the Duke going away, takes many places in his march toward Normandy. The Duke of Aumale besieges Senlis, fights with the Duke of Longueville and Sieur de la Noue, and loses the day. The Duke of Mayenne to recover this loss marches towards Paris. The King

King with his Army follows the same way, takes Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Estampes, Montereau, Poissy, and other places: he joyns with the Duke of Montpensier. The Swisses and Germans raised for his assistance, arrive; He takes the adjacent Towns, and layes siege to Paris; where the Duke of Mayenne and the People (having but small hopes to defend themselves) resolve to stand it out to the utmost. Frier Jaques Clement a Dominican goes out of the City, is brought into the King's Chamber, and stabs him into the belly with a knife; the King dying, declares the King of Navarre his lawful successor, and perswades him to turn Catholick. The Army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their resolutions, at last they resolve to acknowledge the King of Navarre, provided Religion might be secured. He makes them a promise in writing to imbrace the Roman-Catholique-Faith. He rises from Paris by reason of the wasting of his Army, makes shew as if he would besiege Rouen, and goes to Diepe. The Duke of Mayenne much encreased in strength follows him; they fight at Pollet, at Arques, and under the Walls of Diepe. Supplies come to the King from many parts. The Duke of Mayenne marches off and goes into Picardy; the King enlarges himself towards the Isle of France: He takes and sacks the suburbs of Paris, goes directly to Tours, and by the way seizeth upon many places: He enters into that City; is received with great pomp; sits in the Parliament; excuses to the Nobility his delay of changing his Religion; Marches into lower Normandy, and reduceth all that Province into his power.

1589.



After the bloody Tragedy which ended the year 1588, followed a dreadful, terrible alteration of the Scene: for the news of the death of the Lords of *Guise* being come the same day to *Orleans*, the next to *Paris*, and from hand to hand into all parts of the Kingdom, it is not possible to believe how much it troubled, and disturbed the mindes, not onely of the common people (inclined by nature and custom to embrace all emergent occasions of change) but of all degrees, and all qualities of persons; and, which seemed very strange, of many also, who, in times past, had been esteemed prudent, moderate men. This so great perturbation of mens minds, produced in their first fury rash precipitate effects: for the City of *Orleans*, which for a long time before had held the party of the League, and moreover had been wont, in all the course of the Civil Wars, to be first up in Armes, having heard of the Duke of *Guise's* death, and the imprisonment of all the rest, by them who fleeing hastily from *Blois*, were gotten thither at the first stage, and particularly by the *Sieur de Rossienx* one of the Counsellors of the League; without any determinate resolution, and without staying for a Head to order them, they took Arms openly the very same night; and having driven away or suppressed the King's Magistrates, who endeavoured to hinder the Insurrection, they went all confusedly to assault the Fortrefs, in which Monsieur d' *Entraques* his Lieutenant was for the King, with a very few Soldiers, and (as in a sudden accident) in want of all those things which are necessary to make good a place. The Citizens of *Chartres* did the same, though in the late Commotions it had been of the King's party; and having taken Arms, thrust out all that favoured the King's name, or that would have opposed the Insurrection, and began to govern it self without the consent of the Magistrates. But the news being come to *Paris* upon Christmas-eve, at the shutting in of the day, brought first by a Post dispatched from *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, and afterward by Captain *Hippolito Zanzala* of *Ferrara*, one of the Captains entertained by the Duke of *Guise*, the Shops were hastily shut up, and the multitude in their wonted tumult, ran some to the *Hostel de Guise*, where were the Dutcheffes of *Guise* and *Montpensier*, the Dukes Wife and Sister, and some to the City Gates to look for more certain news, and more distinct particulars of the business; which when they had learned by the arrival of those, who, having fled from *Blois*, came all running without stay to *Paris*; the people sometimes with howlings, sometimes with lamentations, sometimes with

The Insurrection of the Parisians, at the news of the Duke of *Guise's* death.

C c c

exceeding.

1589.

exceeding fierce cries, wavered in their resolutions, there not being yet any one ready to govern the violence, and direct the determinations of the confused giddy multitude: For the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, with a Womanish ſoftneſs, was all in tears; and the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, a Lady of a haughty mind, and full of bold manly ſpirits (who had torn the Kings name and credit more with her Tongue, than her Brothers had done with their Swords, and all their practices) being from her birth lame of one foot, and ſubject to frequent infirmities, was then lying in her bed, and had already been indispoſed for many dayes: Wherefore the Council of the League being come together in the miſt of the tumultuous people, reſolved to ſend for *Charles of Lorraine*, Duke of *Anmale*, who fleeing from the States at *Blois*, out of a certain prefaging fear, had ſtaid in *Paris*, and that very day was retired to his devotions to the Covent of *Carthuſians* hard by the City; at whoſe arrival, though late at night, all the multitude ran to his houſe, but onely ſpent the time in bewailings and lamentations.

The next day, the whole City being in grief, they diſpatched Divine Service quickly, without their wonted Muſick and Singing, and from the Churches being come to the Town-houſe, the ſame Council met again there; at which were preſent the moſt noted Citizens, and alſo many of the Magiſtrates; ſome drawn by an anxious curioſity, ſome driven by the fear of being torn in pieces by the fury of the multitude, and ſome came with a deſire to find remedy againſt the unbridled raſhneſs of the common people. But it was all in vain: For in ſtead of Counſels, there being nothing heard but bitter Invectives, and Injurious Threats againſt the King's name, they reſolved in the firſt place, that till a further determination, the Duke of *Anmale* ſhould be declared Governor of the City, and that under his obedience they ſhould from new advertisements, expect new occaſion of taking another reſolution: Yet he not having power to do or determine any thing without the Council of *Sixteen*, and becauſe every one cried out tumultuoſly, that the City ought to be kept from the machinations and violences of the *Hugonots* and *Politicks*, who upon occaſion of the ſlaughter of *Blois*, might plot againſt the general peace and ſafety; the Duke having taken the name and authority of Governor, put the people in Arms, and under their Commanders diſtributed them to the keeping of the principal places, taking care that the goods and houſes of the Citizens might not be pillaged by the Seditious Rabble.

Charles of Lorraine, Duke of *Anmale*, being made Governor of *Paris* by the City, armes the people, and orders them regularly under Commanders. The Preachers detraſting from the King, celebrate the Duke of *Guiſe* his Martyrdom with exceeding high praifes.

The ſame evening, and the next day, the Preachers thundered from their Pulpits the praifes of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Martyrdom, and deteſtations of that ſlaughter, moſt cruelly committed by the King; in ſuch manner, that not onely the mindes of the baſer people, but alſo of the moſt noted Citizens, were won by their perſwaſions, and kindled with an infinite deſire to take revenge: Which boldneſs both in the Preachers and People was doubled, when they heard the news of the Cardinals death alſo, which brought them to the higheſt pitch of rage and madneſs; ſo that upon the Eight and twentieth of *December*, being Innocents day, the Council of *Sixteen* cauſed a Writing to be preſented to the Colledge of Divines called the *Sorbonne*, in the name of the *Provoſt* and *Eſchevins* of the City, wherein relating how much the Lords of *Guiſe* deſerved of the Catholick Church, and their being murdered by the King as Proteſtors of the faith; they demanded whether he might not lawfully be ſaid to have forfeited his Crown; and whether it were not lawful for his Subjects (notwithſtanding their Oath of Allegiance) to withdraw their obedience from him, as an Hypocrite Prince, an open favourer of Hereſie, and a perfecutor of the holy Church, who had bloodied his hands in the ſacred Order and eminent Perſon of a Cardinal. The Colledge of *Sorbonne* being aſſembled, there was no great debate about the matter: For though *Jehan Fabray*, Dean of the Colledge, a man of profound Learning, followed by *Robert Vauvarrin* and *Dennis Sorbin*, two of the Senior Doctours, argued, that though it were true, that the buſineſs had paſſed as the Writing related (which was doubtful) yet neither for all that could the King be ſaid to have forfeited the Kingdom, nor was it lawful for his People to withdraw their obedience from him; ſo great nevertheless was the ardour of the younger men, excited by the Preachings of *Guillaume Roze* Biſhop of *Senlis*, of the Curats of *St. Paul*, and *St. Eustache*, of *Jehan Vincestre*, *John Hamilton*, Father *Jaques Commolet*, a Jeſuit, Father *Bernard*, a *Fuillant*, and of Father *Francois de Fen-ardant*, a Franciſcan; that they unaniſouſly concurred to determine both the points, and with concurring votes declared, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his ſubjects not onely might, but ought to caſt off their obedience; and that, providing for the Government, they juſtly had power to make confederacies,

The Colledge of *Sorbonne* declares Henry the Third to have forfeited his Right to the Crown, and his Subjects free from their Oath of Allegiance.

confederacies, to impose Subsidies, raise Soldiers, dispose of the Revenues of the Crown, and to do all other things which were opportune or convenient for the defence of Religion, and their own security. They added, with the same universal consent, that the Decree of this Declaration should be sent to the Pope, that he might confirm it, and make it so authentick, that the validity of it might not at all be called in question for the time to come; after which Declaration, the people as it were loosened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken the rein of Modesty, ran violently to the breaking down of the King's Armes and Statues, wheresoever they found them, and began furiously to seek out all those which could be accounted dependents of his party, by them called *Nobarrists* and *Politicks*; which insolent tumultuous search forced many quiet men, and such as were averse from those turbulent wayes, to leave their houses to save their lives; many others were fain to compound with money; and some (notwithstanding the Duke of *Aumale* took great pains to prevent it) lost their lives unfortunately in the business: while which things were done with infinite disorder, all the streets were full of Arms, noises, and confusions; and the meanest people raging against the marks of Royalty, committed scandalous and intolerable insolencies: all Churches echo'd with voices of the Preachers, who aggravated the Parricide committed by *Henry of Valois*, no longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant, and persecutor of the holy Church; and all places were full of Libels, both in Verse and Prose, which contained and amplified the same things several wayes.

But the Council of *Sixteen* desiring to reduce the City totally into their power, and seeing the Parliament divided, part being inclined to follow the popular commotions, part disposed to persevere in their obedience to the King, determined, that the Presidents and Counsellors which held the King's party, should, as enemies to the publick good, and adherents to the Tyrant, be not onely removed from their Offices, but also shut up close prisoners in the *Bastille*; foreseeing well, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to manage their affairs, it would infinitely cross their designs, and with very great danger interrupt the union and concord of the other Citizens. Wherefore, having resolved among themselves what was to be done, and brought all the Heads of the people to their opinion, upon the Sixteenth of *January*, they, with a great number of armed men, beset the Palace-Hall, where, according to the custom, the Counsellors of Parliament were met together, and having made good all the passages, and set guards at every door, they called forth *Achille de Harlay* first President of the Parliament, and all the rest by name, whom they had determined to lay hold on, who being come readily forth to know what they would have with them, already presaging very well what would come to pass, the *Sieur de Bussy*, deputed to execute that business, gave them order to follow him; which command, grounded rather upon force than reason, being by them obeyed without resistance, they were led thorough the cries and injurious usage of the people, to the *Bastille*; onely *Pierre Segrier*, and *Jaques Auguste de Thou*, by the help of fortune secretly saved themselves; who depending upon the King's party, had laboured stoutly to keep the Parliament from meddling in the Insurrection. The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the opposers of it terrified by this vehement resolution, the remaining Presidents and Counsellors chose *Barnabe Briffon* first President and Head of the Parliament, a man of deep learning and singular eloquence, but of a violent various inclination, and therefore very subject to alter his opinions easily; and afterward the Parliament being solemnly assembled to the number of 160, they, with a publick Declaration assented to the deposing of the King, and to the freeing of the City; and substituted new men in the places of those whom they had put out and imprisoned. Nor did the business end there; but to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament being assembled again upon the Thirtieth day of *January*, they made an ample Decree to unite and combine themselves for the defence of the Catholick Religion, the safety of *Paris*, and those other Cities that should enter into that League, to oppose the power of those, who having violated the publick Faith, had, in the Congregation of the States, taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes, and defenders of the holy Church, to take just revenge for their murder, and do justice to those that were injured, and finally to defend the Liberty and Dignity of the States of France against all persons whatsoever, without exception; which Decree was subscribed and sworn to by the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, by the Duke of *Aumale*

1582.

The King's Armes and Statues are thrown down, the Nobarrists and Politicks persecuted and slain.

All the Counsellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King are imprisoned in the Bastille.

A Decree is made to combine themselves for the defence of Religion, and it is called the Holy Union.

1589. Governour, the *Prevost des Marchands*, the *Escheyins* of the City, and afterwards by a great number, as well of the Gentry and Clergy, as of the common people; and this confederacy, with the wonted name and title of the League, was also called the *Holy-Union*. After this Decree, *Madam de Guise*, the late Duke's Wife came to the Parliament; where, having in her wonted form made her complaint, and demanded Justice for the Murther committed upon her Husband, and the Cardinal her Brother-in-law, reckoning up all the services which the House of *Guise* had done to the Catholick Religion and to the Crown; and exaggerating the cruelty of that slaughter, under the Publick Faith, and in the presence of the States-General of the Kingdom: The Parliament (all the several *Chambers* being solemnly assembled) decreed, that Justice should be done her; and chose two Counsellors, who with the publick solemnities should form the Process; forbidding all other to meddle about taking any information in that business, which they added, because they knew that there was diligent inquiry made by the King's order concerning those things which had been done by the Princes of *Lorain* in their life-time.

The Dutcheſs of *Guise* comes to the Parliament and demands justice; they determine to do it her, and chuse those that should form the Process.

Places and Cities which rise and unite themselves with the Parisians.

* Rather in *Laugues*.

At the Insurrection of the Parliament and City of *Paris*, as at a Beaton or signal of War, the greatest Cities, and most warlike people of *France* took arms likewise, and rose with a very great and universal commotion; for as the news of the death of the Princes of *Lorain*, and of the resolutions of the Parisians was divulged from hand to hand, so like a dangerous fire spreading all abroad, did this popular tumult successively dilate it-self, in such manner, that not onely *Orleans*, and *Chartres*, which had taken Arms from the beginning, but *Meaux*, *Crespy*, the Castle of *Pierre-font*, *Corbeil*, *Melun*, *St Denis*, *Pontoyse*, *Senlis*, *Creil*, *Clairmont*, and all the Towns about the Isle of *France* joyned themselves to the Union of the Parisians; with the same inclination revolted the City of *Rouen*, with the greater part of the Parliament of *Normandy*, *Louviers*, *Maute*, *Vernon*, *Lisieux*, *Pontau-de-Mer*, *Haute de Grace*, *Honfleur*, *Eureux*, *Fongeres*, *Falaife*, *Argentan*, *Montivilliers*, *Dreux*, and except *Caen*, and the Country of *Constantino*, all the Cities and strong places of that rich spacious Province. *Picardy* followed the same example; where *Amiens*, *Cambray*, *Abbeville*, *Spissons*, *Laon*, and many other places sided with the Union. *Champagne*, a Province governed by the Duke of *Guise* did the like; for *Rheims*, *Troye*, *Vitry*, *Chateau-Thierry*, and all the other Towns except *Chalgn*, took part with the League without any demur. Nor were mens minds any quieter, or the people more moderate in *Bourgogne*; for *Dijon* with the Parliament of that Province, *Mascon*, *Lux*, and many other Towns betook themselves to the same party. The like did the Parliament of *Ain*, the head of *Provence*, which was follow'd by *Marseilles*, *Caracassonne*, and *Narbonne*, as also by the City of *Bourges* (where the Law is chiefly studied) *Mans*, a principal Town in the Confines of *Anjou*, and many other lesser Villages. In * *Gascogne*, the Parliament and City of *Tholouse* took Arms violently, to which many other places joyned themselves. In *Auvergne* the Count de *Randan*, with *Clairmont*, *Montferrant*, *St Porcin*, *Iffire*, and other Towns and Fortresses followed likewise the party of the Union. In *Bretagne* the Duke de *Mercaur* Governor thereof, forgetting that he was Brother-in-Law to the King, and by him enriched, exalted, and put into that Government, being drawn, not onely by the interests of his Family, but his own private pretensions, which by his Wife he had unto that Province, took part with the League; *Names*, a City of great consequence, revolking with him, as also *Vannes*, *Quimberlay*, and in a manner all that Province full of Nobility and riches. In *Guienne* the tumult was exceeding high, at *Bordeaux*, a very great City, where the Governor of the Province resides, and which is the seat of the Parliament: But the *Mareschal de Matignon*, who held that Government in the King's name, with his wonted courage, and prompt resolution, made so brave an opposition, that having driven out the seditious, and got the upper hand with little blood, he retained it happily at the King's devotion: Yet, *Agen*, *Perigueux*, and many other Towns of that Province went over to the League. The City of *Lyons* was the last that rose, by reason of Colonel *Alfonso Corso* his resistance, and the opposition of the Swisse and Italian Merchants: But the great abundance of common people got the best at last, so that they generally resolved to turn to the party of the Union, and to call the Duke of *Nemours*, who had escaped from prison at *Blou*, and had had that Government conferred upon him by the King to gratifie the Duke of *Guise* a while before his death.

The example of the Cities and common people was followed by no small number of

of the Nobility in the several Provinces, drawing with them not only the Train of their Tenants and Peasants, but also many Castles and strong Holds, in which both for their security and decency, the Gentry use to inhabit in all parts of France: So that the party of the League was not only grown very great, by the conjunction of the principal Cities, but was also strengthened by the abetting of the Nobility, in whom, for the most part, the Forces of the Crown consist. By the conjunction of this Universal Insurrection (as it was miraculously foreseen and foretold by the Queen-Mother upon her Death-bed) all the Provinces of the Kingdom were divided and dismembered, in such sort, that not only Cities were against Cities, and Castles against Castles; but also Lords, Gentlemen, and meaner persons against one another, became enemies in such a furious hostile manner, that treading down the Laws, breaking the bond of common charity, and driving away the Magistrates from all places, they of themselves, without expecting order from their superiors, began a most fatal, cruel Civil War, with fire, slaughter, blood, and rapine: For neither the Commotions of the Cities, nor the inclinations of this or that particular man being yet known, every one mingling his private interests and revenges in the public combustions, did, after their own wills, forsake places that were quiet, set upon those already fortified, take rich men prisoners, lay wait for the lives of their adversaries, pillage the goods of the Country people, rob upon the high-ways; and with horrible unheard of wickedness, and without fear of Justice or Form of Government, filled every thing with terror, mourning and confusion; so that all commerce being broken of it self, the ways beset, the Gentry and Commons armed, and even the very Clergy encompassed with Guards and Weapons, sometimes under the names of Hugonots and Catholics, sometimes of Royalists and Leaguers, sometimes of the Holy Union and *White Forces, sometimes of Navarriens and Lorrains; they were as with a fatal general frenzy bent upon the destruction of their common Country.

2589.

A description of the miserable condition that France fell into by the means of the Duke of Guise's death

The Names which the Factions gave one another.
* Bordes
Blanches.

But the King, to whom the news of these Insurrections were brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding solicitous to appease the Deputies, and to shew them the necessity he had to free himself of the Lords of the House of Lorraine: For he thought, that they, returning into their own Countries, with the impression of his reasons, might help very much to settle those minds that were violently stirred up; and to restore their Cities unto the wonted obedience; and therefore did very carefully cause inquiry to be made concerning the intelligences held by the Lords of Guise, both within and without the Kingdom, about the pensions which they had received from Spain, and particularly, that they had consented to the conspiracy of the Duke of Savoy, whereby he had possessed himself of the Marquisate of Saluzzo (though beyond the Alpes) a most important member of the Crown; and in this they proceeded, by the Writings, Letters and Accounts, that had been found, and the depositions of prisoners; Monsieur de Montbelon Garde de Sceaux, and two Masters of the Requests, assisting to form the Process and examine Witnesses.

But the secret opinions of the States were divers, though they all resulted to the same end: For those who before held for the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had passed, stood more boldly and stoutly for the Royal Authority, and that all things might be concluded according to his intentions: But those that were for the League, and that depended upon the House of Guise, being in fear for themselves, sought all manner of means, to the end, that the Congregation of the States breaking up of any fashion, they might have leave to depart freely; having resolved afterwards to dispose of themselves according to their own inclinations, notwithstanding all that should be determined in the Assembly, as things extorted violently by fear and force: Which though the King perceived by more signs than one, and knew clearly, that every one, making a fair shew, endeavoured to withdraw himself and depart; yet desiring to justify his actions, he again confirmed the Edict of the Union in the States, hoping to take away all suspicion from the Legat, who did very much press for that Declaration, and from his Catholick Subjects, of his adhering to the Hugonots, or of labouring to procure the King of Navarre's succession, whilst he was disobedient to the Roman Catholick Church. Afterwards the Edicts being confirmed which had been made for the moderation of Taxes, and lessening the number of Offices, in all other things he kept on the same way, being diligent to shew, that he had done all of his own accord, and not as having been constrained by the Duke of Guise. Finally, many Decrees were made about the form of Judicature; and other matters touching the ease and relief of

1589. of the People; and in this manner the States concluded; the most suspected of them, with deep dissimulation striving (in emulation of one another) to shew themselves the King's dependents, and affectionate to his service: Among which, were the Count *de Brissac*, the *Sieur de Bois Dauphin*, *Bernard* the Advocate, and others, who, as soon as they were gone from *Blois*, joyned again unto the party of the *League*.

The King, besides the frequent news of so many Insurrections, was infinitely troubled at the loss of *Orleans*; for he took great thought about it, and had laboured with all possible diligence to keep it, as a City that was near unto him, seated upon the great road of *Paris*, and very convenient to make the seat of the War: And though presently after the death of the Lords of *Guise*, he had sent thither first *Monsieur de Dunes*, Brother to *Monsieur d'Entragues*, and then the *Marschal d'Aumont*, with some of the Soldiers of his own Guard, yet *Claude de Lorain*, Knight of *Jerusalem*, Brother to the Duke of *Aumale*, being come to assist the People with supplies sent by the *Parisians*, the obstinacy of their sollicitousness in assaulting it, was so great, and so great the want of Ammunition, and other things necessary to defend it, that in the end of *January*, the *Marschal d'Aumont* marching away with Four hundred men, gave way, that some few who remained should render it up unto the people; and so that City was left totally in the power of the *League*.

But above all things, the means of appeasing the Pope kept the King in greatest perplexity: for though the Legat, knowing all things that had passed in *France*, shewed himself from the beginning very favourable to his party, and ready to represent what had been done advantageously for him at *Rome*; yet was he not certain what the Pope would think of it, being far from the place, and perchance having received an ill impression, both by the relations of the *League*, and the ill Offices of the Spaniards: Wherefore presently after the Cardinal of *Guise's* death, he dispatched most particular informations to *Jehan de Vivonne*, Marquis of *Pisani*, his Ambassador at *Rome*, that he might have wherewithal to answer those things which might be objected, and wherewithal to make good his reasons; and having before sent *Girolamo Gondi*, a Florentine to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of *Guise* his Legat at *Avignon*, now changing his Commission, he gave him order to take Post, and make all possible haste to *Rome*, to excuse the death of the same Cardinal unto the Pope, and if need were, to intercede for his absolution for it.

Sixtus being told of the Cardinal of *Guise's* death, is highly offended, and answers the King's Ambassadors very sharply, who came to excuse it to him.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death first, seemed to make no great reckoning of it; and turning to the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, who was there present, he said, See what becomes of such men as commit errors, and afterwards know not how to look to themselves. But four dayes after, the news being arrived of the Cardinals death, and the imprisonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and Archbishop of *Lyon*; being a man of a most fierce, precipitate nature, he broke forth into so great wrath, that thundering on every side, he caused the Ambassadors to be called before him, to whom with very sharp words he told the news he had received, complaining beyond measure of the King, That he had had the boldness, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, and contrary to the Priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal, and contrary to all laws, Divine and Humane, to put a Cardinal to death, and imprison closely two most principal Prelates; at the same time highly threatening the Cardinal-Legat, who being present, had not withheld the King from so heinous an offence. The Marquis of *Pisani*, and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arrived) with modest and obsequious, but yet constant and grave discourses, laid open all the King's reasons, the crime of high-Treason which the Cardinal of *Guise* had incurred, and whereof the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Arch-bishop of *Lyon* were likewise guilty; their forces and power, whereby the King was so far disabled to punish them with the wonted forms in a judiciary way, that they a few months before had unworthily driven him out of his own Palace, and made him fly unknown from the City of *Paris* to save his life: the state of affairs brought to such extremities by the conspiracies managed by the Brothers of *Lorain* in the States, that unless the King, as a *Ward*, would be brought into subjection, or deprived of his Crown, he was necessitated to cause them to be punished, though without form of judgment, yet not without most apparent reason, their crimes being most heinous and manifest, which he as King and Head of Justice had power to judge and punish in any manner whatsoever: That if nothing else, the very contempt they had shewn of Religion, in making use of so many solemn Oaths, and Sacraments of the holy Church as means to deceive him, had made them unworthy of the protection of

of his Holiness, who might easily inform and certify himself, by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick Faith (which no man could hold in greater veneration than the King) but for their own ambition, and to usurp the Kingdom from the lawful Heirs, they had so often , with the loss of so many mens lives, disturbed and distracted the whole Kingdom : Finally, they added, that the King was an obedient Son of the Church, desirous to satisfy the Pope in all things possible, and that therefore he had sent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beseech his Holiness to grant him his blessing, in token that he was appeased and pacified. The Pope, neither persuaded nor appeased, replied, that *Girolamo Gondi* had been dispatched about another business, and that he knew it very well ; that the King was so far from submitting to his obedience, and suing for absolution, that persevering yet in his sin, he still kept prisoners the two chief Prelates in all *France*, who were immediately under the Apostolick See, and that if the Cardinal of *Guise* and the rest had offended so much, as the Ambassadors reported, the King might have demanded Justice from him to whom it belonged to judge them, and that he should have known very well how to administer it : And because the Ambassadors answered, that they were Ambassadors, and publick persons, and therefore ought to be believed in whatsoever they represented touching the King's desire, and the Blessing which they demanded in his name : The Pope replied, that they were Ambassadors to treat of matters that concerned the affairs of the Kingdom of *France* ; but that Contrition and Confession in *Foro Conscientie* were to go before absolution ; and that therefore it was needful to send an especial Embassie, and a person expressly for that purpose ; that in token of his Repentance he ought first to set at liberty the Prelates that were in Prison ; that the King and the Ambassadors sought to deceive him, but they should be assured they had not to do with a young Novice, but one, who, even with the shedding of his blood, was ready to uphold the dignity of the Holy-Chair ; and having with sharp words, and sharper looks dismissed them, he caused the *Consistory* to be called the next morning, in which, with a vehement Oration, and full of resentment, he accused the King in presence of the Cardinals. reprehended those who excused and defended him, and threatened severely to punish Cardinal *Morefini*, who forgetting the person he represented, had, without any sense of the affront, suffered the Liberty and Dignity of the Holy-Church to be trampled under foot : then electing a certain number of Cardinals, who were to consult about those matters that appertained to the Kingdom of *France*, the chief whereof were the Cardinals, *Serbelloni*, *Pachineto*, *Lancelotto*, *Castagna*, and *Sancta Severina*, he set the business in a high reputation, and filled the whole World with exceeding great expectation.

1589.

Sixtus Quintus chaſeth a congregation of Cardinals, who were to consult about the affairs of *France*.

In the mean time the affairs of the League gathered strength, and took form in *France* ; for the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed secretly from *Lyons* the same night that he heard the news of his Brother's death, doubting (as it was true) that the King had taken order, and would send to lay hold on him, came much perplexed and uncertain of his condition into the Province of *Bourgogne*, which was governed by him, and retired to *Mascon*, from whence he began practices with the other Towns of that Province, and particularly with the City and Castle of *Dijon*, commanded by the Baron de *Lux*, Nephew to the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* ; and having found the City, Parliament, and Governour of the Castle ready to receive him, and to run his fortune, recovering courage he went thither, from whence he presently sent unto the Pope the

* *Commendatory Francois Du*, Knight of *Jerusalem*, a man vers'd in the Court of *Rome*, and one of the chief ancient abettors of the League, to the end that he might complain about the death of his Brothers before the Holy-Chair, and beseech the Pope, that he would take into his protection the relicks of the Catholick party, extremely trodden down and afflicted. While the Duke stayed there, not well resolved in his thoughts, Letters came from Madam de *Montpensier* his Sister, which gave him notice of the revolt of the Parisians, and of all the adjacent Towns, and exhorted him to take heart, and putting himself into the place of his Brothers, to become head of the *Union*, with assured hopes, not onely to revenge their death, but happily to prosecute the contrived and begun design of the League. This exhortation, and these letters added to the news of the revolt of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, confirmed the Duke's courage in such manner, that the Kings letters, written very kindly to him, which came to his hands a while after, had not power enough to make him yield to peace, which, at first perhaps he would have greedily embrac'd. The King writ, that he had been constrained by necessity to forget his own nature to free himself

* The French sayes *Commendeur*.
Un *Commendeur* is one, that having Ecclesiastical Livings may not Marry, and yet is not compelled to be a Priest, as the Grand Prior of *France*, and all the Knights of St *John's* in *Jerusalem*.
Communes, lib. 7. cap. 9.

1589.

The King writes kind Letters to the Duke of Mayenne, promising him very great things.

himself of those conspiracies which the Duke and Cardinal his Brothers had plotted against him, and in a manner brought to a conclusion; that nevertheless he had not been so severe as any other would have been, satisfying himself with taking away the principal Heads, and leaving all the rest alive, who he hoped might acknowledge and amend their former errors; that he had not been moved by any hatred or passion, for he had always loved, favoured, and exalted their family, as he desired to do again for the time to come; and that therefore he prayed him not to let himself be guided and transported by his affection to his Brothers, but to remember that he had been forced by those attempts, which he certainly knew had ever been displeasing to him, as one averse from the ambition and evil designs of his Brothers; that for that reason he had ever desired to exalt him, and had always conferred upon him the commands of his Armies, because he knew him to be far from those wicked arts which the others had intended to practice; He exhorted him to persevere in that good and laudable resolution, not to make himself an instrument to divide the Catholick party, and tear in pieces their common Countrey, nor to joyn himself to the ambition of factious men, from which, even in the fervour of his youth he had ever been averse: but shewing that he made more account of the general good, and his own duty towards his Prince, than of those private passions which use to draw and govern mean vulgar spirits, he would sincerely unite himself to him to preserve the peace of the Catholicks, and make War against the Hugonots; which if he would consent unto, he offered him all manner of security, and the most reasonable satisfaction he could desire. But the Duke's mind was already set upon other thoughts, never believing that he could be secure, much less favoured by the King, who gave him those fair words, because he was escaped out of the net; and seeing the great distractions of the Kingdom, he hoped for a much higher power and greatness than what his brothers had possessed; wherefore his inclinations and hope meeting both together in the same end, and thinking that it so became his honour, he leaned toward revenge and the command of that faction; which resolution was absolutely concluded, after that Madam de Montpensier, not valuing her own health, nor the inconveniency of the season, came with great speed to Dijon, whose vehement effectual exhortations, and the Letters of the Duke of Anjou, and many others of the faction exciting him, he at last determined to consent to the taking up of Arms, and to prosecute the designs of the League, making himself Head of the Holy-Union.

The Duke of Mayenne, notwithstanding the Kings promises, being persuaded by Madam de Montpensier, his sister, makes himself Head of the Holy-Union.

The resolution being taken, he presently gave order to the Sieurs de Rofnye, de St. Paul, Champois and d'Eschavolles, to recruit their Regiments of French Foot; and began to summon the Nobility and Gentry his dependents, and to win the hearts of the people in every place. And because the foundation consisted in the City of Paris, the Duke determined to go thither with Madam de Montpensier, the way being now secure by the taking of the Castle of Orleans, and by the revolt of Bourges, Troye, and Chartres. The Duke passed through all these Cities, gathering Forces, and drawing men together; some raised with his own Money, some brought in by his friends and adherents, and some furnished by the People; and being already grown to the number of Four thousand soldiers and Five hundred Gentlemen, he came upon the fifteenth of February into the City of Paris. There the Duke and Chevalier d'Anjou, putting themselves willingly under his authority; and the Council of the Union, with most ready consent of the Citizens, acknowledging him for their Head; the Parliament having assembled all the * Chambers, Bernabe Briffon first President of the League, making the Proposition, declared him Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, giving him (except the name) the very power and authority which uses to be natural to their Kings; which yet they intended should continue but till the States-General of the Kingdom should determine otherwise, they being appointed to meet in the City of Paris in the month of July following. Thus the Duke of Guise's death did with admirable facility, and the universal inclination of that party, produce that power in his brother, which he with so many toils, and so long machinations had so eagerly laboured for in his life-time, yet never could obtain it for himself. Upon the two and twentieth of February, the Duke took possession in the Parliament of this extraordinary dignity, having taken a publick Oath, to protect and defend the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion against every one, To preserve entire the State belonging to the Crown of France, To defend the Priviledges of the three Orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; and, To cause the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom

* Or, Federal Court.

The Duke of Mayenne being come to Paris, is declared Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France.

Kingdom to be observed, as also the authority and power of the Parliaments. After which Oath, many Prayers and Processions having been made, he chose and appointed the Council of the Union, consisting of Forty of the most eminent perspicuous persons of the League, which, with his assistance, was to treat of, and conclude all the most weighty businesses, the Council of *Sixteen* being nevertheless still left, and particularly appointed for the especial Government of *Paris*.

1589.
The Council of the Union is chosen, consisting of forty of the chiefest persons of the League.

Having taken the command of the *League* upon him, the Duke began to increase the Body of his Forces to form an Army of them, with which he might march whither need should require: But in every Province he allotted both Forces and Commanders to order the affairs of the League, and to make War against those who were yet of the Kings party. *Bretagne* was governed by the Duke de *Mercur*, who, not at all moved with the Kings, and his Sisters Exhortations, to unite himself unto them, was very strong and powerful, having with his authority made all that Province to revolt, except the Parliament of *Renes*, and some few Towns and little Castles. In *Normandy* it hapned otherwise: for though the greatest part of the Towns had declared for the League, yet the Nobility held of the Kings party; so that the Heads were few and divided: The *Sieur de la Londe* at *Rouen*, *Andre Brancace* *Sieur de Villars* at *Havre de Grace*, *Long-champ* at *Lisieux*, and the Baron d' *Esebanfour* in the Country of *Perche*: Wherefore the Duke sent the Count of *Brissac* thither with authority to command them all. The Duke of *Aumale*, who was Governour of it, went into *Picardy*, a divided Province, yet one of the most favoured by the League, because it bordered upon the Territories of the Catholick King. The Count de *Chaligny*, and Col. *St. Paul*, an old Servant bred up in that Family, went into *Champagne*, a Province destined (in succession of his Father) to the young Duke of *Guise*, who was yet in prison. The Viscount de *Tavannes*, an old experienced Souldier, had order to command in *Bourgogne*, the particular Government of the Duke of *Mayenne*. The care of *Lyonois* was given to the Duke of *Nemours*, and in his absence to his Brother the Marquess of *St. Sorlin*. The command of *Berry* continued under the *Sieur de la Chastre*, who being Field-Marschal in the Duke of *Nevers* his Army, as soon as he could free himself of that obstacle, followed the party of the League as he had formerly done. The Count de *Randan* held the command in *Anvergue*; and in *Provence*, the Marquess de *Villars*, and the *Sieur de Vins*, an old adherent to the House of *Guise*. The Dukes of *Joyeuse* (Father and Brother to him that was slain in the Battel of *Contras*, fighting against the King of *Navarre*) had the Government of *Gascogne*; in which Province, except the City and Parliament of *Tbolonse*, the party of the Confederates was not very strong; and in *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, the League had but very slender Forces.

But before all these preparations, the Duke dispatched *Lazare Coquelle*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, to *Rome*; and with him were gone two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to confirm the Decree of their Colledge, by which they had determined, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his Subjects might justly withdraw their obedience from him; the Duke foreseeing well that the popular Cause, wholly founded upon the pretence of Religion, was to look for, and take its increase and nourishment from the Apostolick Sea, and the Popes approbation.

But the King, who, afflicted with his wonted melancholly, though he dissembled it, had since the death of his Mother been many days troubled with a Bloody Flux, was no less solicitous, concerning the affairs at *Rome*, than the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well because being a very great honourer of Religion, he could not be satisfied to live disobedient to the Apostolick Sea, as because, making the same judgment as they of the League, he saw that the greatest foundation of the adverse party consisted in the approbation and encouragement from *Rome*: Wherefore, though he had caused absolution to be given him for the death of the Cardinal, by vertue of a *Breve* granted to him a few months before by the present Pope, to make himself be absolved in all reserved cases by his own Ordinary Confessor; yet feeling that that was not enough, he sent *Claude d' Angennes*, of his beloved Family of *Rambouillet*, Bishop of *Mans*, a man of profound Learning, and singular Eloquence, to the end, that being informed of all his Reasons, he might, as his Solicitor, sue for an absolution from the Pope, and endeavour to reconcile him to the Apostolick Sea; to which (so he might but secure himself) he was ready to give the most exact satisfaction. The Bishop of *Mans* came to *Rome*, and having conferred with the other Ambassadors, they went together to

The Bishop of Mans is sent by the King, on purpose to demand absolution for the Cardinal of Guise his death

1589. receive audience from the Pope; where after words of compliment, full of most deep submission, they first argued that the King had not incurred any Censure, not having violated the Ecclesiastical Liberties and Immunities; for the Cardinal was guilty of the crime of Rebellion, in which case the Prelates of *France*, notwithstanding any dignity whatsoever, are understood to be subject to the Secular Jurisdiction; and so much the rather, because he having been a Peer of *France*, his causes naturally ought to be judged in the Court of Peers, which is no other but the great Court of Parliament, with the assistance of the Princes and Officers of the Crown: so that if the King had infringed any Jurisdiction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the Ecclesiastical one, which hath nothing to do with the Peers of *France*: But because this reason was not only disapproved by the Pope, but that also he seemed more displeased and offended at it, alledging, that the eminency and Priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal, were immediately subject to the Pope, and no other; the Ambassadors began to dispute, that the Kings of *France* could not incur Censure for any Sentence they should give; and urged the Priviledges of the most Christian Kings, and the Jurisdiction of the *Gallique* Church: But this incensed the Pope so much the more, who bad them take heed how they proposed things that had a touch of Heresie, as this had; for he would cause them to be punished. To which, though the Marquiss replied, That as Ambassadors they could not be medled withal, nor punished, and that no fear should make them forbear to propose the Kings right; yet, having received Commission to appease and not to exasperate the Pope, they alledged in the third place, That the King, by virtue of the Apostolick *Breve* granted to him by his Holiness, had caused himself to be absolved; and therefore they insisted only, that his Holiness, knowing the Pardon he had granted him, would either confirm it, or not be displeased, if the King, valuing it as he ought, had made use of it in a seasonable occasion: For not having, in the heat of danger, considered so particularly, and having never had any intention to offend the Jurisdiction of the Apostolick See, after he had been made sensible of it, he being moved with scruple of Conscience, had prostrated himself at the feet of his Confessor, and had begged and obtained absolution, for as much as need should require, though he thought he had not transgressed effectively. To this the Pope answered, That the *Breve* was granted for things past, but could not extend to future sins, the absolution whereof cannot be anticipated: That such a case as this, in which the Apostolick See was directly offended, and all Christendom scandalized, was not comprehended under that *Breve*; and that the Exposition was to be demanded from him who had granted it, which now he declared, affirming, that it had never been his intention to enable the King to receive absolution for his future faults, and for so evident a violation of the Dignity of Cardinal.

This Treaty having been often repeated, and discussed with great allegations of Right and Authority, in the end, the Ambassadors were contented to petition in writing for the Popes absolution; who expressed a desire to have it so, and that it was the means to appease and satisfy him. Wherefore, after good Offices done by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors in favour of the King, having received order from their Princes to take great pains in his behalf, the Bishop with a Petition of a very submissive form demanded absolution of the Pope; who with pleasing words answered, That he would willingly grant it, when he should be assured of the Kings contrition, whereof he would have this token, that he should set at liberty the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Archbishop of *Lyons*, it being vain to grant him absolution for one thing whilst he persisted in the act of another, which did infer the same prejudice to the Apostolick See, which he could not dissemble. At this the Ambassadors, and those that favoured them, were exceedingly perplexed, conceiving themselves to have been deceived, and thinking that another kind of moderation ought to be used towards a King of *France*; wherefore laying together all those reasons already alledged in the former Conferences, they concluded, that the King by setting those Prelates at liberty, should but increase the fire in his Kingdom, with the evident danger of his own Life and Crown, and that therefore it was not fit to free them: To which the Pope replied, That they should be sent prisoners to him; for if he found them guilty, he knew which way to punish them: But the Ambassadors answered; first, that the judgment of things in his own Kingdom belonged to the King; and then that the whole State (thanks to their Conspiracies) was so disturbed, that they could not be sent; for all the Country

Country near the *Alps*, and round about the place where they were being up in Arms; it was not possible to remove them, nor to conduct them securely, and that therefore the King was not obliged to impossibilities. But the Pope obstinately persisting in his demand, the Ambassadors agreed at last to write about it into *France*, and insisted that in the mean time, the King having humbled himself, and submitted to the Apostolick See, the Decree of *Sorbonne* ought to be revoked and nullified, being not only exorbitant and unjust, but insolent, and prejudicial to the Holy Chair, whereof those Divines made so little reckoning, that they had dared to determine a point of so great consequence as the deposing of a King; a thing, which though it should be granted to appertain to the Ecclesiastical power, yet would it be simply proper to the highest power, which is in the Vicar of Christ, and not to that of a petulant Colledge consisting of a few passionate corrupted persons: but neither could this be obtained; for the Pope confessing that the Decree was presumptuous, and worthy censure, said that he would reserve himself to do it when the King had given him full satisfaction.

1589.

This seemed very strange to the Ambassadors, and seeing that they had proposed all those spiritual satisfactions which they (even to the prejudice of the Crown) could offer, with so great humiliation, that more could not be desired from a King, they intended to try another way; and the Marquess, whose Wife was a Roman, began by means of that alliance to treat with *Donna Camilla* the Popes Sister, offering (amongst other rewards which the Popes Kindred should have, if by their means the Absolution was obtained) to give the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in Fee-farm to *Don Michele* his Nephew, which the King proffered (the peace being made with the Catholicks of his Kingdom) to recover at his own charge from the Duke of *Savoy*; but neither could this prevail with the obdurateness of the Pope; partly, because the Marquessate was now in the power of another, nor could it be regained without a tedious War; partly, because he saw the Kingdom involved in so great a distraction, and the Catholick party so strong, that he doubted whether his Absolution would be able to settle and restore its peace. Moreover, about this very time the Abbot of *Orbais* was arrived at *Rome*, sent by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Dutches of *Nemours*, *Madam de Montpensier*, and other Heads of the League, on the one side to magnifie the Forces of the Union; into which almost all the chief and most noted Cities of *France* were entered, with an infinite concourse of the Nobility and Commons, so that now the King was thereby, not in writing, but in deed deposed and robbed of his Crown; and on the other, to complain of the inclination which the Pope shewed to absolve *Henry of Valois*, (so they called him) whereby he, who was Head of the Catholick Church, and to whom more than to any other it belonged to promote the Holy Union, contracted for the defence of Religion; and the liberty and dignity of the Apostolick See, seemed to make but small account of it; that the imputations of Rebellion and Treason which were cast upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise* were false and vain; for they had never taken Arms against the King, nor conspired any thing against him; but always with due obedience and veneration of the Royal Name, had sustained and defended the Catholick Religion, against the powerful plots and forces of the Hugonots: that it was known how *Francis* the Duke their Father had lost his life in the service of the Crown, and of the Church of God, as also the Duke of *Anmale* their Uncle, slain fighting under the walls of *Rochel* for the Catholick Faith: that it was likewise certain how much the Duke of *Guise* had laboured, suffered, and endured bearing Arms for the Kings service, and for Religion: that he had all his life-time born the scars in his face of the wounds he had received fighting against the Army of the *Reiters*, for the defence of the Provinces and Confines of the Kingdom: that he had defended the City of *Poitiers* against the long siege of the Hugonots, led up the first Squadrons of the Army, fighting victoriously against them at *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*; that, last of all, with a handful of men, he had exposed himself, and the lives of all his Souldiers, against that formidable Army of the Lutherans of *Germany*, conquered it, and dispersed it for the safety of the Kingdom, and of all Christian people; nor in all those toils and dangers had he ever pretended any other thing but to serve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the imminent oppression of the Hugonots: that if the King went from *Paris* upon the Insurrection of the Parisians, the fault was his own, in having put a Garison into a City where there never had been any, and in having gone about to take away the lives of the chief Citizens; but no conspiracy of the

The Abbot of *Orbais* sent to *Rome* by the Duke of *Mayenne*, treats of the affairs of the League very effectually.

1589.

Duke of *Guise's*, who rather had appeased the people and quieted the tumult; that since then the King had been reconciled, and had agreed to the pacification, wherein the Lords of *Lorain* had neither demanded, nor obtained other, than that the publick exercise of the Hugonot Religion might be taken away, and that War might be made against them; and though some little shadow of suspicion should have remained, the King ought to have forgotten it, after so many Oaths taken, among the sacred Ceremonies; and not to make two most innocent Princes be murder'd under the Publick Faith, for no other cause but to foment the Hugonot Forces, and suppress the Catholick party, and the Religion of God. But though the Duke and Cardinal had committed some errour, what crime could be objected against the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, a most innocent peaceful old man, who was most cruelly kept prisoner? That these were arts and violent ways to take away that prop also from the Catholick party, and to reduce the Succession into the relapsed, excommunicate Hugonot Princes; that the Pope ought to oppose his authority to this so evident design, to punish what was past, and provide against the future; not being faulty to so many people, who had unanimously resolved to spend their lives for the defence of Religion, and to piece up and restore the trodden-down honour of the Holy Church: that it became him, being the Shepherd, to go before his Flock, and encourage them all to so holy, so pious a work; but that it was as unseemly, that while all took Arms boldly, he being so far from danger, should be more afraid than all the rest. With these reasons the Princes of the League endeavoured to animate the Pope, and he receiving news daily from many places of the tumultuous insurrections in *France*, as a man not well vers'd in Government, and ignorant how easily popular commotions are extinguished, gave the King already for absolutely lost, nor would he shew himself a favourer of the weaker side, to the dishonour of himself, and of the Apostolick See, as the Spanish Ambassador, and those of the League, did perpetually urge unto him.

In the mean time the King, anxious and solicitous about the determinations at *Rome*, kept his resolutions in suspense, and seemed to have laid down the courage of a Lion, which after the death of the Duke of *Guise*, he made shew to have taken up again; for the Duke of *Nevers*, who made War in *Poitou* against the Hugonots, having in this interim taken *Ganache*, could not after the news of the death of the Lords of *Lorain*, keep his Army (composed for the most part of men depending upon the League) from dissolving of it self; and therefore the Duke being returned to Court, the King straightned for money, and inclined to an agreement, did not think of setting his Army again on foot, but minded only thoughts of peace, having desired the Cardinal Legat to interpose for the attaining of it, promised to refer all businesses to the Popes arbitrement; which condition the Legat having made known to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and moved him to yield to a Truce, that the accommodation might be negotiated at *Rome*, he denied to consent unto it, alledging that he could no more trust him, who notwithstanding so many Sacraments and Ceremonies, violated the Publick Faith, and the Law of Nations, in the face of the Assembly of all the States of *France*; and that this was another trick of the Kings, to gain the benefit of time, by means of the Truce, being now unarmed and unprovided: That the Legat ought not to make himself the instrument of that deceitful policy; for it tended to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and of Ecclesiastical Liberty, perfidiously trampled under foot and violated; but that it was rather fit to expect the resolutions from *Rome*, where he had given the Pope information of all occurrences. But having at the same time received the Duke of *Mayenne's* refusal of the Truce, and the Ambassadors Letters from *Rome*, which contained the Popes stiffness and obstinacy in desiring to have the prisoners; and the King not knowing how to release them without fomenting the present distractions: For it was certain, that they of the Union, having already declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would have elected the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King; the face of affairs was altered; and the King thinking he had used all possible means, even to his own dishonour, to appease the Pope, began to change his resolution, lest he should be suppressed without defence, by the power of his Enemies. This necessity was so apparent, that even the Duke of *Nevers*, who had ever perswaded him to satisfy the Pope, lest he should divide the Catholick party, had not any reason to alledge against it; the urgency of affairs did by force constrain all opinions to take to one side or other: Wherefore the Count *de Soissons*, who, a few days before, had defeated some Troops of the League, being come to *Blais* with certain Forces,

The Legat
propounds a
Truce to the
Duke of *May-
enne*; but he
refuseth it.

and

and having begun to introduce a Treaty of Agreement with the King of *Navarre*, applied himself diligently to that business. The King (as he had always been) was averse from this Agreement; his nature being (as a man may say) incompatible with the commerce of the Hugonots: But necessity shewed, there was no other way; and all his Counsellors said with one accord, That it was needful for him to resolve, and take some course, if he would not be left alone, between two potent Enemies; who, one on this side, and the other on that side of the *Loyre*, had made themselves Masters of all places: And with what Moneys, with what Friends, with what Armies, and with what Forces, could he at the same time contend with both Factions? That it was clear, which way soever he turned himself, he should have one Enemy before him, and another behind him; and that his Kingdom being divided, and likewise foreign Princes, between the two Religions, he with a new example should have them both his Enemies: That in this division, whilst others usurped the Royal Authority on either side, he remained without Forces, without Treasury, without Money, and that he was now what he had ever feared to be, *dry between two Rivers*: That he had done as much as well he might to appease the Pope: That he had forgotten his own dignity, to agree with those that were up in Arms, and to give such satisfaction to Rebels and Despisers of his Name, as they deserved not: That he had with unheard-of patience, born the injuries of the People, the invectives of the Preachers, the villainous insolencies of the Factions, the presumptuous Decrees of the *Sarbonne*, and exposed the Royal Majesty to the pleasure of the remnants of the House of *Guise*: That he had done that at *Rome*, which never any King had yielded to do, not only to ask absolution in writing for a reasonable, just and necessary action, but also offered to refer all differences to the Popes arbitrement: What was there more to be done? but only (by reason of the appetite of the Spaniards, who governed all in the Court of *Rome*, and of the fierce obdurate nature of the Pope) to expect to be miserably torn in pieces by his Enemies without defence, and to have those outrages committed upon his own person which had been done unto his Statues at *Paris* and *Thoulonse*? That now indeed was the time to shew the Heart of a Lyon, and, making use of the King of *Navarre's* assistance, *De inimicis suis vindicare inimicos suos*: That this was neither a new, nor an unheard-of thing: That King *Charles* his Brother often, nay, he himself, in less extremities, had granted Peace to the Hugonots; and that the last breach was not occasioned by his will and consent, but by the conspiracies and violences of the League: That he had in vain taken away the lives of the Brothers of *Guise*, if he must be in the same fear of them now they were dead; and if, that obstacle being taken away, he endeavoured not to bridle the seditious, to recover his own power; and finally, to restore peace and tranquillity to his Kingdom.

And the King of *Navarre* already knowing, that the occasion required, and necessity forced the King to that resolution, did by favourable Writings and Declarations, open the way unto it: For many Towns of *Poitou* and *Xaintonge* having yielded themselves unto him after the departure of the Duke of *Nemours*, he had in all of them forbidden any harm to be done unto the Catholics, and wheresoever he had to do, suffered them to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, favouring and honouring the Clergy, and giving way every where, that Mass should be publicly celebrated without any hindrance; and being come to *Chatehault*, which together with *Niort* he had taken by composition, he published a *Manifest*, whereby detesting the Rebellions and Insurrections of the people against their natural King, he proffered, submitting himself to his due obedience, to take Arms against them; and exhorted all those of his party to follow him in so good a work; shewing to all the world, what their mind had ever been, and how they had fought simply, not for any interests, but only for Liberty of Conscience. After which Protestations and Declarations, because the King had justified his actions in writing, and set forth the occasion of the death of the Lords of *Guise*, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the like on his side, endeavouring to lay a fair colour upon their taking up of Arms, and upon the proceedings of the League, a Truce was begun to be treated of with the King of *Navarre*, by means of the Duke of *Espernon*, who after the death of the *Guises* was returned to his former greatness with the King; and after having supplied him with One thousand two hundred Gascon Firelocks, under the command of Colonel *Montcaussin*, had sent the Abbot *del Bene* to him about the present business. But because many difficulties arose, and that the King concurred in it, as it were, perforce, Madam *Diane d'Angoulême*, his Bastard-sister, a Lady

of

1589.

The King of *Navarre* grants Liberty of Conscience in those places he had taken, and publisheth a *Manifest*, offering to take Arms against those that rebelled against their natural King.

The Duke of *Espernon* returned into his former Greatness, treats a Truce with the King of *Navarre*.

1589.

Cardinal *Mo-*
resini the Le-
gat makes
grievous com-
plaints unto
the King.

of great wisdom, and well versed in matters of Government by the experience of times past, was employed to treat about this Accommodation; which as soon as it was known unto the Cardinal-Legat, he made great complaint of it to the King himself, shewing him how contrary it was to the promises which he had often made to him, that notwithstanding the death of the Lords of *Guise*, he would not forbear to make War with the Hugonots; upon which ground he had endeavoured by favourable advantageous relations, to promote his affairs to the Pope and Court of *Rome*, which now would become vain, to the lessening of both their reputations, nay, to their blame and infamy, if the Agreement with the Hugonots should be so easily concluded; and that the Arms destined against them, should be turned to the destruction of the Catholick party; and of those that depended upon the Apostolick See, and the Popes authority. But the King, concealing the depth of the business from the Legat, denied that he had concluded any thing with the Hugonots; but that, if he should do so, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was still the same, and always ready to pull down Heresie; but to the obdurateness of the Pope, who obstinately denied to absolve him, and fomented the Insurrections of those that rebelled against him; and to the stubbornness of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the rest of the League, who abhorring Peace, had refused to refer the differences to the Popes arbitrement: That he had desired no better, nor more certain witness than himself, to whom he had ever imparted his thoughts sincerely, and upon whom he had imposed the trust of negotiating that business: That he should consider the great straits into which he was reduced by the wickedness of others, and not attribute that to Will, which was forcibly extorted by meer necessity.

The Spanish
Ambassador
departs from
Court without
taking leave,
and goes to
Paris.

But *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, the Spanish Ambassador, as soon as it was divulged, that an Accommodation was treating with the Hugonots, went presently away from Court without taking leave; and being come to *Paris*, made his residence there, as Ambassador with the Lords of the League. The Legat stood doubtful, believing it not good to forsake the King, and deprive himself utterly of the hopes of keeping him with the Catholick party; and on the other side, fearing he should be reproved, if he shewed himself less jealous of Religion, than the Spanish Ambassador had done: And yet thinking that the assistance of the Physician was there most needful, where the danger of the disease was greatest, he resolved to stay till he saw the event of things, not failing in the mean time to write, and present his opinion at *Rome*. But his person being suspected, his counsels were so much more; the Pope accounting him rather a Criminal, than a Legat or Ambassador. There were often meetings between him and the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, who, though the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle and Benefactor were a prisoner; yet in respect of the interests of his Family, had never left the King, and there was present with them *René de Beaune* Archbishop of *Bourges*, a Prelate of deep wisdom and copious eloquence, who being driven away by those of his Diocess, for having gone about to withstand their insurrections, was retired to Court; and many times the Duke of *Nevers* likewise was at the conferences. All of them could have wished the King would not have made a Peace with the Hugonots; but the Pope was so obstinate, the Duke of *Mayenne* so stubborn, and the insurrections so great through the whole Kingdom, that though they all abhorred it, yet none of them durst blame that agreement. Wherefore *Madam d'Angoulême* having treated personally with the King of *Navarre*, and then being come to *Blois*, negotiated with the King himself; the differences were in a manner composed; for the King of *Navarre*, intent upon the great conjuncture of the present occasion, to rise again with his party, and fight under the Kings Standard and obedience, against those Enemies which had so many years kept him down, had accepted all conditions imposed on him by the King, and they only disagreed in this, that a place being to be assigned unto him upon the *Loire*, to the end that he might pass and return with his Forces, as need required; the King would have given him *Gergeau*, or *Pont de Sey*, weak Towns, and hard to be made good, and he demanded *Saumur*, a City seated in a convenient place near *Tours*, and which might easily be fortified and defended; yet he insisted upon this modestly, and rather by way of request, than condition or article of agreement.

The peace is
concluded be-
tween the King
of France and
the King of
Navarre.

Capt. *du Gast*
who killed the
Cardinal of
Guise treats an
agreement
with those of
the League by
the persuasion
of the Arch-
bishop of *Ey-*
ons.

Two weighty accidents did absolutely necessitate the King to conclude the Treaty; one, that Captain *du Gast*, Governour of *Amboise*, to whom, after he had killed the Cardinal of *Guise*, the other prisoners had been delivered into custody, being dealt withal
by

by those of the League with infinite promises, and put into doubts and jealousies; began to stagger; for the Archbishop of *Lyons* had made him believe, that the King, to shift off the fault of the Cardinal of *Guise's* death from himself, had alledged at *Rome*, that Captain *du Gast* had, of himself, for some private injuries, caused him to be slain without his order, and that now likewise for private covetousness he kept the other Prelates in prison without any order. Wherefore that vain suspicious man having easily believed this invention, treated an agreement for himself, and to release his prisoners; so that the King being driven into great anxiety, was fain to give him thirty thousand Crowns of that little money he had by him, to recover them out of his hands, and to keep him from freeing them, and from going over to the party of the League, which he could hardly obtain of him with so great a reward; and it was necessary to distribute the prisoners into several places, with several guards, and with a much greater charge; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was sent to *Chinon*, the Duke of *Guise* to *Tours*, the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Loches*, and the Archbishop (*du Gast*, not being to be perswaded otherwise) remained alone in the Castle of *Amboise*.

1589.

The prisoners given in custody to Captain *du Gast* Governor of *Amboise*, are sent to several fortresses, under safer guards.

The other accident which did much perplex the King, was the tumult in *Tours*, one of the chief Cities of *Poitou*, seated upon the *Loire*, and in which he had designed to establish the foundation of his party: for the people being stirred up by many favourers of the League, and by certain Fryars, with their wonted suggestions, began to make an uproar, and to rise against the Magistrates, the common people having been perswaded, that that Town was to be assigned to the King of *Navarre*, for his habitation: wherefore the King with the Marechal d' *Aumont*, the Count de *Soissons*, and that small company he had about him, leaving *Blois*, was fain to run toward that danger: which being diverted, and the business of that City settled, he began to see clearly that it was necessary to take resolution, and that the delays of *Rome* did too much prejudice the state of his affairs, reduced to the extremest hazard of an evident suppression.

So cutting off all delays, the Truce was concluded for a year between the most Christian King, and the King of *Navarre*, with these conditions: That the publick exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored in all places held by the Hugonots, without any exception: That the Goods of the Clergy should be restored to them, wheresoever they were, and that all prisoners which were in their hands should be set at liberty: That the King of *Navarre* should be obliged to serve the King personally, with four thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, wheresoever he should be commanded; and that all the Cities, Towns, and places of his party should observe the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Parliament, and the Kings Magistrates, and receive all those Ordinances which the present King had made, or should make. On the other side, that the King of *Navarre* should receive the City of *Saumur*, and keep it in his power, to have a pass over the River *Loire*, that might freely be his own; which nevertheless he should be obliged to restore at the Kings pleasure without any contradiction. Which Capitulations after they were agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu* the Secretary of State delivered up *Saumur* to the King of *Navarre*, who gave the Government thereof to *Sieur du Plessis Mornay*, his old Confident.

The Truce is concluded for a year between the most Christian King and the King of *Navarre*.

The same Truce was made in *Dauphine* between Colonel *Alfonso Corso* on the Kings part, and Monsieur de *Lefdigniers* for the King of *Navarre*, and they united their Forces for their common defence. The Hugonots rejoiced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their faith and obedience toward the Royal Majesty, to the confusion of those who, till then, had published and defamed them as tumultuous and disobedient Rebels.

And truly, it was a thing worthy of very great wonder, and one of the secret mysteries of Gods Divine Wildom, that the King of *Navarre* being weak, and forsaken of all, reduced into a narrow corner of the Kingdom, and for the most part in want of things necessary for his own maintenance, so that he was fain to live more like a Souldier of fortune, than a great Prince; his Enemies by too much eagerness in pursuing him, and by too ardent a desire to see him utterly ruined, should labour to plot so many ways, to raise so many Wars, to treat so many Leagues, to make so many Conspiracies, and practise so many arts, from all which resulting to his advantage, his greatness and exaltation did as it were miraculously succeed: for there was no man versed in the affairs of *France*, and far from the passions of both parties, who saw not clearly, that if the King had been suffered to live, and rule as peaceably as he ought to have done,

1589. done, the King of *Navarre* would by little and little have been destroyed and brought to nothing; for peace and length of time would absolutely have dissolved that little Union which was among the Hugonots, and by those occasions and necessities which length of time would have produced, the obstinacy of the Rochellers, wherein the sum of affairs consisted, would finally have been overcome and broken; and the King, a most bitter Enemy to Heresie, would in a manner insensibly by divers arts have rooted it out and destroyed it: whereas, on the contrary, the revolution of the Wars and Factions did not only foment the stubbornness of the Hugonots, who were so much the more hardened to resist, by how much they thought they were wrongfully persecuted; but also in the end made way for the King of *Navarre's* reconciliation with the King, and with the French Nobility; furnished him with Arms and Power; and at last, contrary to his expectation, and the natural course of things, opened him a passage to attain unto the Crown.

As soon as the Truce was concluded, though but in words only, (for the Writing was not published till many days after) the King being resolved to change the course of his proceedings, to shew himself, and to re-assume indeed the face of a Lion, dispatched the *Sieur de la Cluelle* to the great Duke of *Tuscany*, to intreat him to lend him Two hundred thousand Ducats to make a levy of Swiss Infantry, and German Cavalry, with which, by reason of the alliance lately contracted, (for the Lady *Christienne* his new Dutchess was but then passing into *Italy* to her Marriage) the great Duke was ready to pleasure him, having sent a hundred thousand to *Ausbourg* by Cavalier *Guicciardini*, and promised the rest as soon as the Levy was begun; wherefore the King dispatched Monsieur *de Sauey* to the Switzers, he having been many years Ambassador in that Country, with Commission, if he could not have the ten thousand Foot he required from the Catholick Cantons, by reason of the opposition he doubted he should receive from the Spaniards, to make his Levies in the Protestant Cantons; and at the same time appointed *Gaspar* Count of *Schomberg* to raise a Body of German Horse; who for fear of being taken by the Enemies, took a long, and (in the end) a fruitless voyage. He sent also *Jaques Auguste de Thou* to the Emperour, under colour of condoling for the Queen-Mothers death, and upon the same pretence *Pierre Forget* *Sieur des Fresnes*, newly chosen Secretary of State, into *Spain*; but the true intent was, that the one might dispose *Rodolphe* not to meddle in those Levies which were to be made in his name in *Germany*; and that the other might, if he could in some measure withhold the Catholick King from the open favour which he was seen to lend unto the Union, to which *Mendoza* did manifestly perform the Office of an Ambassador.

Having thus provided in the best manner he could for matters without the Kingdom, he began to take care of those within it; and having called all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Rouen* and *Dijon*, who were fled from the popular fury, he determined, that the Parliament of *Paris* should reside in the City of *Tours*, that of *Rouen* in the City of *Caen*, in the same Province of *Normandy*, and that of *Dijon* at *Chalons*, a City also of the same Duchy of *Bourgogne*: and then by a most severe Edict, declared them all Rebels, who being chosen to the dignity of the Parliaments, should continue to reside in those Cities and places which had withdrawn themselves from his obedience, and forbad all men to have any recourse to them to seek for justice, declaring all sentences to be void, which they should pronounce under the name and title of Parliament. The same Declaration he made against the Duke of *Mayenne*, against the Duke and Chevalier d' *Annale*, and others, who having caused Cities to revolt, took Arms against him; intimating to them, that if within the term of fifteen days they returned not to their due obedience, desisted not from disturbing and molesting the Kingdom, and laid not down their Arms, they should be judged guilty of Rebellion, and should be so declared, with the Confiscation of their Estates. After these Writings, followed Actions; and having appointed Governours in all Provinces, he gave Commission to make Levies, to draw Souldiers together, and that the War should be begun in every place: The Count *de Suiffons* was made Governour in *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Montpensier*, in *Normandy*; the Marechal *de Martignon*, Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre*, in *Guienne*; the Marechal of *Momorancy*, in *Langue-doc*; Monsieur *de la Varette*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Espenon*, in *Provence*; *Alfonso Corsi*, in *Dauphine*; the Count *de Tavannes*, Lieutenant, in *Bourgogne*; the Duke of *Longeville*, Governour of *Picardy*; the Marechal d' *Aumont* of *Champagne*, and

and Monsieur de Tinteville his Lieutenant; Filibert Sieur de la Guiche of Lyons; Monsieur de Montigny of Berry; Monsieur de Sourd in Beauffe; the Sieur de Entraques in the Dutchy of Orleans; and with himself he kept the Marechal d'Aumont to command the Army; and gave order, that the Duke d'Espemon, and the King of Navarre, should come unto him; the agreement with whom, after some delay, was accepted, and published the 28 of April.

But after the Peace was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal-Legat, not thinking it decent for him to stay longer near the Kings person; and on the other side, not being willing, by his presence and residence, to authorise the League in the taking up of Arms, resolved, after many doubts, to go towards Mantua, and thence out of the Kingdom, as soon as he should have received orders from Rome, where he knew himself to be wonderful ill thought of by the Pope, and his name blasted by those who, favouring the affairs of the League, endeavoured to make his counsels be excluded. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to make him stay in his quarters, and excused his agreement with the King of Navarre by the urgency of necessity; and after he had promised that howsoever he would persevere in the Catholick Religion, which received rather help, than any hurt at all from the Accommodation with the Hugonots; at last he prayed the Legat, that he would once again try the Duke of Mayenne, by meeting personally with him, and endeavour to bring him to an agreement, since that, neither by means of the Duke of Lorraine, to whom he had written, nor by means of Madam de Nemours, with whom he had caused the Queen to treat about it, had he been able to make him vouchsafe to lend an ear to any Treaty of Peace. And that all the World might see his desire to remove the necessity of agreeing with the Hugonots, and to take away the credit from the Arms of the League, he gave the Cardinal a Paper subscribed with his hand, which contained those things he was contented to grant to the Lords of the Union.

He offered the Duke of Lorraine the Cities of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, under the title of Government, and promised to use his endeavours to get the Heir of Bonillon in Marriage for the Count de Vandemont, by which means he might gain the possession of Jamets and Sedan, places so considerable, and so much desired by those Lords: He was contented to leave the Duke of Mayenne the Government of Bourgogne, To confer all the Governments of Cities and Fortresses in that Province upon such as he should name, To permit that it should pass in the same manner to his eldest son, To give him an Hundred thousand crowns ready money, To satisfy those debts he was run into upon the present occasion, and a pension of Forty thousand Crowns *per annum*. To the Duke of Guise, the Government of Champagne, St. Dizier, and Rocroy, for the security of his person, Twenty thousand Crowns of annual pension; and Thirty thousand of Ecclesiastical revenues for one of his Brothers, whom he would endeavor to get advanced to the Dignity of Cardinal. To the Duke of Nevers, the Government of Lyons, and Ten thousand Crowns a year. To the Duke of Anjou, St. Esprit de Rue for his security, and likewise Ten thousand Crowns in pension. To the Knight his Brother, the Generalship of the Infantry, and * Twenty thousand franks a year. To the Duke of Elbeuf, the Government of Poitiers, and Ten thousand Crowns pension. He referred himself to the Pope for the Declaration of the Edicts and Agreements made in time past, and was contented, that as a friendly Mediator he should compose all differences; leaving it to his own liberty, if he pleased, to join the Venetian Senate with him, or the Great Duke of Tuscany; being contented, if he took the Venetian Senate, that the Duke of Ferrara, Uncle to the Lords of Guise, should be added for the League: And if he chose the Great Duke, that they on the other side should take the Duke of Lorraine, the Head of their Family.

But neither did this Writing produce any effect: For the Duke of Mayenne having had an Interview with the Legate at Chateau-dune, refused to give ear to Peace, excusing himself, that he could not accept of any Condition without assembling the States of the League, and all the Princes of his Family, to have their consent unto the business; and added, that he could no more have commerce nor security with him that had violated his Faith. This he said, because he thought himself much superior to the King in strength, and because the Catholick King, and the Duke of Savoy promised him assistance of Men and Money; and at Rome the affairs inclined already to favour him.

Cardinal Morosini the Legat, as soon as the Peace is concluded with the Hugonots, departs from Court, to go out of the Kingdom.

* Two thousand pounds sterling.

The Legat moves the Duke of Mayenne to an accommodation, who refuses to hearken to it.

E e e

But

1589.
The Parisians
at the news of
the Truce be-
tween the
King and the
Hugonots, be-
sides many
publick signs
of contempt,
forbid the
King to be
prayed for any
longer in the
Canon of the
Mass.

But the news of the Truce with the King of *Navarre*, and then of the Legats-departure, being come to *Paris*, it is impossible to believe the hatred that sprung up from it, against the King, and all those that followed him, and the exorbitant demonstrations of it which were made, even to the prohibiting by publick Decrees, that in the Canon of Mass they should pray any longer for him, as the custom is to do for all the Kings of *France*, and as the Catholick Church doth often very piously, especially in the Solemnity of Good-Friday, for Hereticks, Pagans, and Idolaters: And it is impossible to relate the innumerable company of Libels, Writings, and Declarations printed and divulged against him, which were neither limited by any reason, nor bridled by any modesty. But the noise of Arms which were clattering in every place, did quickly drown that of the Libels and Sermons.

The Duke of
Montpensier
begins the war
against those
of the League,
and besieges
the *Falaife*.

The first encounter of War, was in the Province of *Normandy*. The Duke of *Montpensier*, Governour for the King, was gone to the City of *Caen*, whither the Counsellors and Presidents were fled from *Rouen*, and *Pierre Seguier*; and where by virtue of the Kings Edict they had placed the seat of the Parliament. At the Dukes coming, all those Lords and Gentlemen ran thither, who followed the Kings party, and by his order the Sieurs de *Lorges*, de *Colombieres*, de *St. Denis*, and the Baron de *Ally*, had raised four Regiments of Foot; so that he had under his Colours Three thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse. With this Army, which increased daily, the Duke resolved to besiege *Falaife*, a considerable place, and defended with a Fortres or great Tower called the *Dongeon*, being assured, that that Town once taken, *Argentan*, *Vire*, and the other places about *Caen* would presently yield themselves, whereby that City which was very populous by reason of the new concourse of Clients, and of the number that were come thither for refuge, might have the greater means of subsistence. But the second day after their departure from *Caen*, there had like to have hapned a tumult among his own men, which if it had saln out, would have diverted the whole enterprize. *Jehan de Hemery* Sieur de *Villiers*, commanded the Army in the Office of Camp-Master-General, he who in the first Wars had, by assaulting *Danfront*, taken the Count de *Montgomery*, who afterward by order from King *Charles*, was executed at *Paris*. The Vanguard was led by the Count de *Torigny*, Son to the Mareschal de *Matignon*: The Sieur de *Baqueville* commanded the Light-horse; and the Rear was led by the Count de *Montgomery*, Son to the aforementioned; so that between him and the Camp-Master-General there was very little correspondence, fomented on the one side by the Catholick party, and on the other by the Hugonots. It happened, that marching thorow the Enemies Country, it was necessary to quarter close, that the Country people who were up in Arms, might not have opportunity to do mischief to those they should find stragling, whereupon *Villiers* was constrained to appoint straighter quarters to the Count de *Montgomery* than the Hugonots (little accustomed to the discipline of War, and used to the liberty of plundering, which they commonly called *la picoree*) thought fitting; wherefore having torn the billet which was brought him by his Quarter-Master, the Count enlarged himself above three miles from the Army, and would needs lodge in certain Villages where he had full conveniency to feed his Horse; which being told to *Villiers*, he sent to command him to return to his quarters, the discipline of War so requiring, as also the order given by the Duke of *Montpensier*; to which the Count having answered arrogantly enough, *Villiers* commanded his Quarter-Master to be laid hold of, made him presently to be hanged up for having had the boldness to assign other quarters than those appointed by the Camp-Master-General; and having given the Duke notice of the business, he caused the Count de *Torigny* with the Van-guard to draw into order, to force the Count to return to his appointed quarter; and there would have happened some great mischief (*Villiers* being resolved, whatsoever came on it, that he would be obeyed, and the Hugonots on the other side being obstinate to defend their action) if the Duke himself getting on horse-back, had not by his presence quieted the business, having with resolute words commanded the Count de *Montgomery* to obey; who the next day after, under colour of going into the Confines of the Country of *Constantine*, where his Estate lay, to defend certain Castles of his own from the incursions of the Duke de *Mercœur*, left the Army; and the charge of leading the Rear-guard was given to the Sieur de *Ellot*, and the Sieur de *Grevecœur* his Brother.

After the tumult was appeased, they proceeded with order and military discipline, the Duke not suffering any injury to be done to the Country people, nor any thing

to be taken away from them, except victual; for it was necessary (his soldiers not being paid) to take free quarter upon them. The siege was laid to *Falaise*, and they began to batter it with a Culverin and two Canons, with assurance they should take it if it were not quickly relieved: but the Count *de Brissac*, who not having been able to get into *Angiers* his Government, had been sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* to command in that Province, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, and other his dependants, to the number of 300 Horse, went to assist the *Gautiers*, that he might be able in time to relieve that place.

1589.

The *Gautiers* were Country people, who at first had taken Arms against all soldiers that passed thorough their Territories, to prevent the losses and outrages which they might suffer by them; and after having received an impression, that the King was cause of all those miseries, and that to the calamities of War he added the burthen of impositions, they had taken part with the League, and having broken the ways, made up passages with bars and pales, and fortified their Towns and Villages, were up in Arms, to the number of Sixteen thousand, and called themselves *Gautiers*, because they had first begun their insurrections in a Town called *la Chappelle Gautier*, to which afterwards *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and many other lesser Towns had united themselves. They had chosen three Commanders, the Barons *de Maillot*, and *d'Eschaufourd*, and the Sieur *de Longchamp*, Governor of *Lisieux*; they had appointed Captain *Vaumartell* their Sergeant-Major-General, and exercised themselves with order and military discipline in the profession of Arms. The Count of *Brissac* obtained that Four thousand of these men, so arm'd and disciplin'd, should go with him to relieve *Falaise*; and thinking the number sufficient to accomplish his design, with those Horse he had with him, besides an hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, under Captain *Valage*, and two Field-pieces, he marches that way, believing that the Duke of *Montpensier*, lest he should have those Forces behind him, and *Falaise* before him, would retire, and then he might fortifie it better, and put in a stronger Garrison. But the *Gautiers* being come within four Leagues of *Falaise*, quartered in a great Bourg, which they fortified at the entry of the great high-way towards the enemy with their two Pieces, and with a Barricado made with barrels full of earth and soil, that they might not be unexpectedly assaulted without defence; and the Count *de Brissac* at a little distance from them, but out of the great high-way, took up his quarters, and sent forth parties of Horse to scour the Country.

The *Gautiers*,
(Country people)
up in
Arms, to the
number of
16000, fight for
the League.

Villiers, the King's Field-Mareschal, little valuing the number of those inexpert tag-rag fellows, having been out himself to discover their quarters, perswaded the D. of *Montpensier* presently to raise the siege, and without delay to assault the Enemy; and the Duke desirous to try the encounter, and being very confident of *Villiers* his experience, quitting the siege the same night, and drawing off his Canon from the wall, resolved to assault the *Gautiers* the next morning. *Villiers* ordered the assault on this manner; that the Culverin and the Canon should play along the great way upon the enemies Barricado and Field-pieces, and that then the Infantry should make the assault severally under their Colonels upon that part; that the D. of *Montpensier* with his own Troop should fall on by a way that led into the field on the right side; and the Count *de Torgny*, with the Cavalry of the Vanguard, by another on the left hand; and that the Sieurs *de Surenne*, and *de Baqueville*, with two bodies of horse should stand ready to oppose the Count *de Brissac*, if he with his horse should make any attempt to divert the assault. The Culverin and Canon hit so luckily, that they beat down all the enemies Barricado, and took off the head of Captain *Vaumartell*, who was encouraging and ordering his soldiers: whereupon the sign was presently given, to assault the enemy on all sides. The Duke of *Montpensier*, a brave generous Prince, trotted on at the head of his Cavalry to attack the Enemy; but whatsoever the occasion was, leaving the place appointed him on the right hand, he came to fall on just in the place where (the barricado being thrown down) the enemies two Pieces were planted, which had not yet given fire, and he was in great danger to have many of his men slain, and that the assault would have a bloody issue. The wind was very high, by reason whereof, together with the noise of the Armies, no mans voice could be heard; so that the Duke would certainly have been in danger, if *Villiers*, setting spurs to his horse, running full speed to overtake him, and hitting him with his Truncheon upon his Helmet, to make him stay, had not told him his error, and brought him by a plain free way to charge the Enemy in the Flank: which the Count *de Torgny* having done likewise on the other side, and the Infantry

1589.
Montpensier
defeats the
Count de Bris-
sac's Forces,
who came to
divert the siege
of Falaise.

in the Front (where about twenty soldiers were slain by the Faulconets) the Enemy was defeated in less then an hour, with the loss of about Two thousand men, all their Baggage, Colours and Cannon. The Count de Brissac, who, during the conflict, appeared upon a hill hard by, seeing himself without comparifon inferiour in force, retired streight to *Falaise*, without making any further attempt; having, though with so great a slaughter of his men, made way to relieve that place, and the Kings Army victorious, quartered that night in the adjacent Villages.

It was debated in the Council of War, whether they should return to the Siege of *Falaise* or no; but the opinion of *Villiers* prevailed, who (the Count de Brissac being within it, with the rest of his Forces) thought it would be a difficult, and a tedious business, and advised, that the Army, in the heat of the Victory, should prosecute the *Gautiers*, to take their places, and pull up the root of that Insurrection; for that obstacle being taken away, there would be no Forces left in the Province, which could hinder them from taking in the Towns. With this resolution, the Army increased with above Four hundred fresh Horse, marched towards the *Gautiers*, who being resolved to make resistance to the last man, put themselves in three places, *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and *la Chapelle Gautier*, into which the Commanders shut not up themselves, but *Longchamp* retired to his Government, and the rest gave out, that they went to the Count de Brissac to prepare assistance.

Vimotier was first assaulted, where with small trouble, it being an open place, the *Bourg* was entred, above a Thousand of the *Gautiers* slain, and those that fell into the Enemies hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear Arms any more, but to follow their Tillage, were set at liberty; so that having found very great gentleness and good order in the Army, by the care which the Duke and *Villiers* used, in punishing those who dared to commit any outrage or insolence, they were quieted, and returned to the managing of their own affairs. Greater was the difficulty in assaulting *Bernay*, which was both walled round, and had the best men within it; but the Cannon having battered from morning till noon, the Foot made the assault, which having been stoutly received by the defendants, they renewed the Battery the next morning; and having made a wider breach, many Gentlemen alighted from their Horses, and put themselves in the head of the Infantry, to facilitate the assault: Wherefore it being valiantly redoubled in the morning, the service lasted hot and bloody for the space of four hours; at last young *P'Archant*, and the *Sieur de Baqueville* entered the Town, and after them the whole Army, putting the *Gautiers* to the Sword, whereof a very great number was slain; and a House being set on fire by a Boy of Colonel *St. Denis*, who, for that fault, was condemned by *Villiers* to suffer death, the greater part of the Town was burned to the ground. There were killed on the King's side, the *Sieur de la Fountain*, one of *Villiers* his Adjutants, 14 Gentlemen, and about 100 Soldiers. The prisoners upon the same oath and conditions were set at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gautiers*, reduced into *la Chappelle*, seeing their companions defeated, and that the Commanders appeared not with relief from any place, resolved to yield themselves; and having sent two Curates of their Parishes, they were received to mercy on the same termes: whereupon, leaving their Arms and Colours, they returned to their houses, and to their wonted employment of Tilling the Earth.

This was the first prosperous success of the War, and the news thereof was carried with great joy to the King to *Tours*, where he was busie in increasing his Army, and giving order about his Interview with the King of *Navarre*. To which purpose the *Sieur du Pleffis-Mornay* was come to the King a great many dayes before, and the Abbot del *Beze* was likewise gone to the King of *Navarre*; nor were they yet fully agreed concerning the place or manner of their meeting: For the King would rather have desired the *Hugonots* should make War apart; and also the King of *Navarre* was unwilling to come to Court, being dissuaded by those about him, who ceased not continually to put him in remembrance of *Paris*, and the danger of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomews* day. But necessity took away those doubts, by the coming of the Duke of *Mayenne*; who serving in a popular Cause, and desiring to put his name in reputation, to confirm and increase his party, having left *Paris*, was come to *Chasteau-Dune*, and there made up his Army from all parts; which, with two Regiments sent by the Parisians, was Eight thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse. His first exploit was upon the City of *Vendosm*, a great Town, and of the King of *Navars* Patrimony, and into which, the Counsellors of the Great Council were reduced by the Kings order, as into a place which

The *Gautiers* being fortified in three places, after they had fought a long time, some are cut in pieces, and some yield.

which he thought secure; but the Governour holding secret intelligence to go over to the League, the Duke of *Mayenne* sent the *Sieur de Rhosne* thither unexpectedly with Two thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse, who being brought in according to the agreement, made himself Master of the City, and took prisoners all the Magistrates of the Great Council, and many Clients who followed them, and who were fain afterward with great sums of money to free themselves.

Vendosme being taken, and it being believed (as it was probable) that the Duke would proceed further, the King set forward the Duke of *Espernon* with the Vanguard of his Army toward *Blois*, to the end, that lying in the way, he might hinder the march of the Enemy: But the Duke doubting lest the City might remain a prey to the Duke of *Mayenne*, went thither with all the Foot, and left the Count *de Brienne* with the Horse, quartered upon the way that leads from *Blois* to *Amboise* near unto *St. Oyn*. The *Mareschal d'Amont*, with the rest of the Army incamped near the City of *Tours*, to keep it sufficiently guarded: And the King dispatched the Abbot *del Bene* the second time, to hasten the King of *Navarre's* coming; who, when he had sent the *Sieur de Chastillon*, General of his Infantry before, to present his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at last waited upon the King himself in the * *Parc du Plessis*, without the Walls of *Tours*; where being met by the King, he not only alighted from his horse a great while before he came near him, but as soon as ever he was come unto him, kneeling down, he would by all means have kissed his feet; but the King having raised him up, and embraced him closely, laying aside all former enmities in a moment, led him talking along into the City, passing thorow the Army that was im-battelled, and thorow the people which were come out of the Gates, and with infinite applause, and loud acclamations of the Souldiers, they went unto the Kings Lodgings, every one admiring, on the one side the Kings courtesie, and on the other, the King of *Navarre's* submission and obedience. The next day, after two long hours of secret conference, the King of *Navarre* returned to his Forces which were yet quartered beyond the River: And the King having put the Foot into the Suburb of *St. Syphorien*, kept only his Guards in the City, and the Nobility about his person.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* seeing *Blois* so strengthened by the Duke of *Espernon's* arrival, that there was no hope at all to take it; leaving that City, and the Duke of *Espernon*, he passed on with his Army as far as *Chateau Renard*, but seven leagues distant from *Tours*, and from the Body of the Kings Army: And having had intelligence that the Count *de Brienne* staid at *St. Oyn*, where he quartered carelessly with small Guards, his forces (according to the liberty of the times) being dispersed and divided in those Villages, he marched nine leagues out of his direct way with infinite speed, and coming unexpectedly, found the Count so negligently unprovided, that many of his men were cut off and taken prisoners in a moment, and he in great disorder fled away, and shut himself up in the Town, without any provision to defend himself; where the Duke being arrived, and having with equal haste planted his Cannon, though the *Marquess de Canillac* (who as General of the Artillery commanded the Works which were made there) and many of the stoutest Souldiers lost their lives; the Count *de Brienne* was yet fain to yield himself, he being kept prisoner: But the Souldiers, upon promise of not bearing Arms for a certain time, were set at liberty.

The Count *de Brienne* being defeated and taken, the Duke of *Mayenne* resolved to assault the Camp of the King himself, thinking that not being united to the King of *Navarre*, and the Foot not well fortified in the Suburb of *St. Syphorien*, a vast uneven place, it would not be very difficult to overcome it, if the assault were unexpected: Wherefore having raised his Camp upon the Seventh day of *May* in the evening when it began to grow dark, bringing two Culverins along with infinite trouble, he arrived near *Tours* with all his Forces about Sun-rising. The Kings Foot were quartered in the Suburbs; and because the place, being something low, was commanded (as by a Cavalier) by a Hill, on the top whereof were certain houses, Colonel *Moncafin*, who led the Van, drew a line about the houses, and placed himself there with a strong *Corps de Garde*, to keep the Enemy from possessing it, it being just in the way that comes from *Blois* and *Chateau-Renard* straight to the Town. The Duke of *Mayenne* having caused his Army to make a halt in the Plain beyond the Hill, to give his Souldiers a little rest, who were tired with the length and speed of their march, sent two Regiments before, commanded by the *Sieurs du Cluseau* and *du Bourc*, to make themselves Masters of those houses which annoyed and obstructed all the High-way. These arrived

very

1589.

Vendosme taken by the League, by agreement with the Governour.

* Or, *Plessis les Tours*. The Interview between the most Christian King, and the King of *Navarre* at *Tours*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* defeats the Count *de Brienne*, and takes him prisoner.

1589.
The Duke of
Mayenne al-
sautes the
Kings Army at
Tours, where
they fight a
long time. The
King himself
orders and dis-
poses his Sould-
iers, puts
himself among
those that
fight. At last,
supplies com-
ing from the
King of Na-
varre, the Duke
of Mayenne
gives off the
enterprise.

very unexpectedly; yet not so much, but that they were discovered by the Scouts? Wherefore having put their Arms in a readiness on both sides, there began a very fierce skirmish, just at the very time when the King being come to visit that post was there present. His presence did much good: for besides his being ready to dispose matters in good order for the fight, the *Sieur de Montigny*, who was with him, ran at the first noise of the shot into the forefront of the Battel, and by his words exhorting, and by his example animating every one to do their duty, did confirm the courage of those Guards; who remembring that they fought in the Kings own fight, made so gallant resistance against the greater number of the Enemy, that their fury was bravely repelled, till relief came up unto them. The King not at all dismayed, but with a free secure countenance, though he was unarmed, and but slenderly attended, causing the Regiments of *Jarsey* and *Rabempre*, who were upon the right and left hand of the skirmish, to be supplied with Ammunition, commanded them to charge the Enemy; and having himself drawn up the Swisses led by Colonel *Galati*, he sent them presently to guard the City: for he was no less in fear of an uproar within the City, than in doubt of the assault without. Above all things, the King was most troubled to restrain the Gentry, who, stirred up by their courage and thirst of honour, desired to engage themselves in the action; and falling on scattered and dispersed, were without doubt likely to receive some great mischief: But he opposing both his own command and person to the violence of their forwardness, staid and withheld them; and putting them in order in small squadrons, kept them near himself, that he might be able to assist in more places than one, if need should require.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* had planted his Culverins upon the Hill, and with his furious shot had forced the defendents to quit the post of the little houses, where the *Sieur de Montigny*, who fought in the first squadrons, received a Musket-shot, Colonel *Jarsey* was slain, and above Two hundred Souldiers: But though the Enemy had the higher ground, and that the Duke still brought up fresh Forces where there was most need; yet *Moncassin* and *Rabempre* continued stoutly disputing it, with an infinite thick hail of Musket-bullets, whereby many fell on either side. But the Duke having commanded on the Regiments of *la Chataigneraye*, and *Pausenac*, made up of the old Souldiers of the late Duke of *Guise* his Brother, and both the Kings Colonels being wounded, the Foot began to retire, and the Enemy putting courageously forward at last made made themselves Masters of all the Suburb. The King desiring to have it recovered, left with so little provision he should be besieged in the City, which was all he had left behind him, commanded Monsieur *de Grillon*, who as Colonel of his Guards commanded the Infantry, that he should make a charge to drive out the Enemy. *Grillon* advanced valiantly with the flower of his men, and two gallant Squadrons of Gentlemen advanced with him, who having alighted from their horses by the Kings permission were ready to fall on with Sword and Pistol. These at their arrival renewed the battel; and having in their first charge recovered one of the streets of the Suburb, made so fierce a conflict, that they fought with various fortune, and very great obstinacy, till the declining of the day, at which time the Dukes Artillery playing hotter than ever from the higher ground, and *Claude Chevalier d'Annale* being come with two fresh Squadrons to relieve his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men spent, with the toil of the whole day, were constrained to quit the Suburb, and retreated to defend the Bridge, upon which the King himself was, with all the Nobility that attended him. The fight was sore and sharp; but some small Field-pieces being planted at the entry of the Bridge, they kept back the Enemy, who being already Masters of the whole Suburb, strove most eagerly to get possession of it.

But whilst they fought with doubtful event, and equal courage on either side, the King of *Navarre* having suddenly had intelligence of the business, was moved with his whole Force to relieve the King; and that delay might not hinder the effect of his intentions, he had sent Monsieur *de Chastillon* before, with fifteen hundred of the best Foot of his Army, who arriving about Sun-set, marched readily to the place of Battel. They being come in fresh, and desirous to make themselves remarkable in the most dangerous service, repelled the violence of the Enemy in such manner, that night coming upon them, put an end to the business, as it were with a common consent, expecting the next days light. The defence of the Bridge was given in charge to Monsieur *de Chastillon*, because his men were freshest; and the King, with the Duke of *Montbazon* and the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, betook himself to guard the City, having with him the Swisse Infantry, and the Nobility of the Court. There were killed that day

day above four hundred soldiers on the King's side, and many Commanders, *Chevalier Berton* Nephew to Colonel *Grillon*, and *St. Malin*, the same who with his dagget gave the first wound to the Duke of *Guise* at *Blois*. Of the Army of the League were slain above an hundred, but onely two Commanders, and few persons of quality. The *Chevalier d'Aumale*, as General of the Infantry to the League, was left to make good the Suburb they had taken, and the *Marquess de Pienne*, with his Regiment, drew up just over against the *Sieur de Chastillon* at the entry of the Bridge; both sides labouring all night, with infinite diligence, to entrench themselves.

1589.

Many outrages were committed in the Suburb, both to things sacred and profane; nor were the soldiers of the League more modest against Churches and Monasteries, then the Hugonots would have been if they had entered it, though the Duke of *Mayenne*, by nature averse from Military insolencies, did strive, with all possible diligence to hinder them: but the licence of a voluntary Army, which is unpaid, is very difficult to be restrained. They lay in continual suspicion, and many alarms were given all the night; but upon Thursday the ninth of *May*, the Regiments of *Charboniere*, sent by the King of *Navarre* to their relief, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he himself was hard by, advancing with the rest of his Army; the Duke of *Mayenne* having lost all hopes of making any further progress, caused his dead to be buried, and leaving the Suburb which he had taken, retreated in good order to his former quarters.

This day (though they lost the Suburbs) seemed very remarkable, and gave exceeding great hopes to them that followed the King's party, because that after so many years of ease and rest, they saw in him a fearless Majesty, first putting his Army in array himself, though with but a little Company, and utterly unarmed; and then (having taken his arms at the head of his Nobility) in overseeing and ordering the Fight, providing against all accidents, and reassuming that name and authority of a General, which having been practised by him with so much glory in his younger years, had, by reason of his hidden designs, been for a time utterly laid down.

St. Malin, who gave the first wound to the Duke of *Guise* at *Blois*, slain in the Fight at *Tours*; his death is boasted of, as a Miracle, and as a presage of Victory.

But on the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all those of the League, making use of the outward appearance in having taken the Suburbs, and beaten out the King's Infantry from their Post, with Writings published in Print fit for the popular cause, did, by all manner of wayes, magnifie and augment every circumstance of that action, amplifying the number and quality of those that were slain, exalting the valour of their own soldiers, boasting of the death of *St. Malin*, as a miracle of publick vengeance, and prognosticating within a while an absolute victory to their party.

But about the same time they received a much greater loss; for the City of *Senlis*, ten Leagues distant from *Paris*, and very opportune for the state of present affairs, which at first had taken part with the League, having now declared for the King, and called in *Guillaume de Momorancy*, Lord of *Tbore*; there passed not many dayes before the Duke of *Aumale*, knowing there were but small Forces there, resolved to lay siege unto it, thinking assuredly to take it before it could be relieved: wherefore having called unto him the *Sieur de Balagny* Governor of *Cambray*, and those Gentlemen which in *Picardy* and the Isle of *France* followed his party, with seven hundred Horse, and nine thousand Foot (but most of them tumultuously listed in *Paris*, under the command of the *Sieur de Meneville*) and nine pieces of Cannon, sat down before it the seventh day of *May*. The besieged defended themselves stoutly from the beginning; and the next day after the Enemy had entrenched, they made so bold a Sally, that above an hundred of the Parisians were slain, and among them the *Sieur de Chamois*, an old servant of the House of *Guise*: but after the Artillery was planted, there being but small store of ammunition in the Town, and none of those things which were necessary for their defence, they called the Duke of *Longueville* to their relief, who, with Monsieur de la Nove was come to *Compeigne*. But the Forces were very unequal, and the Gentry of the Province was not met together; wherefore the besieged were forced to treat of yielding, being destitute of all hope to hold out longer, and being as it were assured they should not be relieved; and yet news being come to *Compeigne*, that the besieged were capitulating, the Gentlemen began to intreat the Duke of *Longueville*, that he would lead them on to fight, thinking it a great affront to them to suffer that Town to be lost before their very faces, without striking a blow. The Duke of *Longueville* was a young Lord, and one, who though full of spirit, did yet refer all things to the advice of Monsieur de la Nove, and of the Baron de *Guiry*, who commanded

1589.

The Duke of
Amale besieges
Senlis; Monsieur de
Longueville goes
with small forces
to relieve it, and raises
the siege with
a great slaughter
of the Leaguers.

manded the light-Horse. These thought the inequality of Forces so great (for they had not above eight hundred Horse, and less than two thousand Foot) that they esteemed it extreme folly to adventure themselves, especially if the Enemy, drawing into Battalia, should plant their Canon before them. But so obstinate was the forwardness of the young Gentry, who were grieved to stand idle without doing any thing, that the Commanders resolved to go within sight of the Enemy, and expect the opportunity of some occasion, believing it easie to retreat without danger, as they thought it most difficult by any means to relieve the Town. Being come to the top of a hill which over-looks the Plain where the City stands, they saw that the Duke of *Amale* having had notice of their coming, began to draw up his Army in the field, which *la Noue* being advanced before all the rest, began diligently to observe, and perceiving (as a soldier of very long experience) the unreadiness of his men, who went confusedly into their ranks, with their Pikes tottering unsteadily, (a wonted manifest sign of inexpert soldiers) and above all, that having left their Artillery, either for want of knowledge in the affairs of War, or too much confidence, they were deprived of so great an advantage, he turned back to *Guiry*, and told him, that the Enemies faintness did almost persuade him to hazard the encounter; which being heard by the Gentry, and the Duke of *Longueville* desirous to make his youth renowned by some glorious exploit, all prayed him to yield unto that motion: and he taking courage from the boldness and forwardness of them all, having drawn the Cavalry into five Divisions, commanded out the Musketers, with three Faulconets, which they had brought along, to begin the Battel in the Plain. The Faulconets were so hidden and encompassed by the Foot, that they were hardly seen; and marched so fast, that keeping pace with the Soldiers, they were not discovered by the Enemy: Wherefore the *Sieur de Balagny* that led their Vanguard, being inconsiderately advanced, his Squadron at the first encounter was so torn and disordered by the Artillery, which gave fire three times very happily, that before they had time to rally, the *Baron de Guiry* rushing upon them with his Light-horse, and the *Sieurs d'Humieres*, and *Bonivet* following with two valiant Squadrons of Gentlemen, he was not onely forced manifestly to give ground, but to turn his back without resistance: Which beginning being followed by the Duke of *Longueville*, and on the other side by the *Sieur de la Noue*, they routed the Cavalry, which made small opposition; and having pursued it not above three hundred paces, they wheeled about, and fell in upon the Parisian Infantry; which being charged in the front by *La Noue's* Muskettiers, and there being no Commander who knew how to order them securely in time of need, their ranks being broken, they never defended themselves, but having cast away their Pikes and Muskets, began to flee in disorder; in which flight, being pursued by the Cavalry, and the besieged at the same time falling out on their Rear, there was a very great slaughter of them; the Field won, the Trenches entered, the Artillery taken, which were kept by the Conquerors, with above thirty Colours. Of the Kings Army, not above twenty men were slain, and no Officer of note: The Army of the League lost above One thousand and two hundred, and among those, the *Sieur de Meneville*, an old servant of the House of *Guise*, who making resistance where the Artillery was, received a Musket shot thorough the side.

The Duke of
Amale loses
the day, with
his Artillery,
Baggage, and
thirty Colours.

The Duke of *Amale* retired to *St. Denis*, not having the heart to carry that news to *Paris*; which being related by the *Sieur de Balagny*, filled the whole City with infinite terror, inasmuch as *Madam de Montpensier*, and *Madam de Guise*, could hardly confirm their fickle mindes; as easily lost, as ready and forward to rebel. But the Council of the *Union* being come together, they resolved to call back the Duke of *Mayenne* as soon as possibly they could, not being confident of any other bodies sufficiency to deliver them from the danger of the enemies Army, which, much increased since the Victory, overran all the Country.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had left *Tours*, having no hope by longer stay, to be able to make any progress against both the Armies joined together, had marched back with very great speed towards *Normandy*; and being come to *Alencon*, a great important City, had (in a manner unexpectedly) gotten it by composition; by which he reaped this benefit, That the Duke of *Montpensier*, already victorious in that Province, could not turn to unite himself with the King's Forces, and increase his Camp any more: And therefore having taken *Alencon*, he intended to pass on further, with certain hopes, that he should every day make greater progress: But the sum of all affairs

fairs consisting in the City of *Paris*, and seeing that people not onely straightned for victuals, because the Duke *de Longueville* cut off all passages, but also dejected, discouraged, and without his presence, ready to break out into some tumult, he resolved to leave all other attempts, and return presently to settle it. So with his whole Army, making great marches, and without offering at any enterprise by the way, he came in the beginning of *June* into the Isle of *France*, which invirons the City of *Paris*.

1589.

In the mean time, the King, to whom *Poitiers* had lately revolted, having put his men in order at *Chastelrault*, resolved to pass the *Loyre*, and, marching towards *Paris*, either to straighten that City, or meet the enemy if he advanced to fight in the open field. The King of *Navarre* with his Forces led the Vanguard; and before all, the *Sieur de Chastillon* with the *Avant Coureurs*. The King commanded the Battel, with whom were the Duke of *Montbasen*, the Marechals of *Biron* and *Aumont*, Monsieur *d'O*, and many other Lords and Commanders. The Duke of *Espernon* brought up the Rere-guard. At the Kings second quarters, he received Letters from Monsieur *de Sancy* by an Expreß, (who coming disguised along by-ways, brought them secretly put up in the cover of a Breviary) by which he gave them to understand, that having obtained from the *Swisses* of the Canton of *Berne*, not onely to leavy men; but also a certain sum of Money lent him, upon promise, that the King should defend them, and those of *Geneva* from the molestation of the Duke of *Savoy*; he had raised Ten thousand Foot of that Nation, Two thousand German Horse, and Three thousand French Firelocks; and that having begun the War with the Duke in the Confines of *Geneva*, and engaged the Canton of *Berne* to make resistance in those parts, till the King having disintangled his affairs, could be able to assist them with powerful Forces; he being come into the Territory of *Langres*, was marching thorough the Province of *Champagne*, the straight way to *Paris*.

Monsieur *de Sancy* having raised great Forces in *Switzerland*, and begun the War with *Savoy*, marches towards *Paris* against the Leaguers.

This news did not onely rejoyce the King, who was sollicitous about that business, but the whole Army also; there being no man but believed, that with those Forces they should in a few weeks be able to curb the Insurrections of the League: And the Kings intent upon that celerity, which he thought necessary above all things, made made present dispatches several wayes; to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monsieur *de la Noue*, commanding them, that having gathered as many Forces as possibly they could, they should move without delay, to meet that Army in *Champagne*; and gave the Duke of *Montpensier* direction to follow the Duke of *Mayenne* (who from the confines of *Normandy* was turned toward *Paris*) and come to joyn with him in some convenient place. This order being taken, they continued their intended voyage, with so general a gladness in the Army, that they held the Victory in a manner assured.

But this common joy was something troubled by the misfortune of the Count *de Soissons*, who having been dispatched by the King with Monsieur *de Lavardin* to command in *Bretagne*, while he was about to unite himself in the City of *Renes*, with the Gentry of the Province who expected him, being lodged carelessly, and with slender Guards at *Chateau-Gyron*, was assaulted about midnight by the Duke *de Mercœur*; who coming from *Vitry* with his Forces, had marched a great many Leagues thither; where, after such resistance as the place would permit, and his strength was able to make, the Count at last was taken prisoner by the Enemy. By this accident the King was forced (though he was not in a condition to diminish the Body of his Army) to send some number of men into that Province, under *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, who being a youth of but tender years, began to give proof of a generous spirit, and of a very great courage.

The Count *de Soissons* assaulted at *Chateau-Gyron* by the Duke *de Mercœur*, is taken prisoner.

The Army marched on its way with very great order; and the Vanguard being come to *Beugency*, upon the One and twentieth day of *May*, the *Sieur de Chastillon* with his Troops advanced to get intelligence, and discover the wayes of the Country, while at the same time Monsieur *de Savenſe* marched with Three hundred Lances, and One hundred Light-horse to joyn with the Duke of *Mayennes* Army. He not being advertised of the Kings arrival, having left *Bonneval* a very rich Monastery within the Territories of *Chartres*, went on his way. But the parties sent out before on each side, having met, and begun to skirmish without knowing one another; the *Sieur de Chastillon* stronger in Forces, and more ready to fight, fell on and charged *Savenſe* so on all sides,

The *Sieur de Savenſe* going with 400 horse to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*, is routed by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, and taken prisoner.

Fff

that

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The King takes *Gergeau*, and *Piviers*.

Chartres voluntarily sets open the Gates.

The Pope by a *Monitory* declares the King liable to Censure, if within 60 dayes he releases not the Prelates, and does not Penance for the Cardinal of *Guise's* death. The King troubled at it, fasts forty hours.

Words of *Hen.* the Third, upon the Excommunication thundered out against him. The King of *Navarre's* Answer.

The King taking *Estampes* hangs the Magistrates, and gives the pillage of the Town to the Soldiers.

Thus matters going on prosperously, upon the Three and twentieth they encamped at *Gergeau*, a Town of a convenient bigness, plentiful, and which hath in it one of the principal Bridges of the River *Loire*. In this place commanded the *Sieur de Jalanges*, who being summoned to yield, and not to hazard the battery of a Royal Army, having refused to do so, the Canon was planted, and after not much difficulty, the Wall being entred forcibly by assault, he was condemned presently to be hanged. The Town was sacked by the Army, and the Defendents cut in pieces; the King, contrary to his nature, using very great severity, as one who often alledged, that he made not War against a lawful Enemy, but persecuted the obstinate stubbornness of Rebels. After the taking of *Gergeau*, followed that of *Piviers*, where the same rigor was used against the Magistrates of the place: Wherefore *Chartres* not staying so much as for a Summons, set open their Gates, received the King with all his Army; and having driven out the dependents of the League, submitted it self to his obedience.

Thither the news was brought by the *Sieur de la Clieille*, how the Pope, by a *Monitory*, had declared, that the King should incur censure, if within the term of Sixty days he released not the Prelates out of Prison; and if within the same time he made not his due submission for the death of the Cardinal of *Guise*; which struck the King so deeply, that he was above Forty hours without eating or drinking. This last resolution had been obtained by the Dean of *Rheims*, who lately dispatched to *Rome* by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had, by amplifying, not onely the reasons of the League, but also the Forces of the Confederates, and the King's weakness, at last induced the Pope unto it, so much the more easily, after the report was divulged, that the King treated an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and was about to call the Hugonots unto his party. The *Monitory* was posted up in *Rome* upon the Three and twentieth of *May*, and within a very few dayes after published at *Meaux*, ten Leagues distant from *Paris*, the Bishop of which place was made High-Chancellor by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Council of the *Union*. The King was so grieved for this determination of the Pope, that it produced an universal sadness, and the progress of the Army was very much slackened by it. Wherefore the Archbishop of *Bourges* began publicly to comfort him, saying, That as the Pope ill-informed, by the suggestion of the Confederates, believing what they did was out of zeal to Religion, had pronounced that Sentence: so when he should be better informed, and assured that they fought for Passion and Ambition, and not for the Apostolick See, nor for the Faith, he certainly, as a common Father, would change his opinion. But the King, after a deep sigh, replied, That he thought it very hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion, should be rashly excommunicated, because he would not suffer his own throat to be cut by the Armes of his Rebel-Subjects; and that those who had sacked *Rome*, and kept the Pope himself prisoner, had never been Excommunicated: to which the King of *Navarre*, who was present, answered; But they were victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be assured the Censures shall be revoked; but if we be overcome, we shall all die condemned Hereticks. The King assented, and all the by-standers did the like; and upon that hope, order was given the Army should march, and having laid siege to *Estampes*, and that Town being taken by assault, the King very much exasperated, and moved by his natural melancholly, now outwardly stirred up by so many provocations, caused all the Magistrates to be hanged, and gave the pillage of the Town freely to the soldiers. From *Estampes*, the King being desirous to shut up all the passages of those Rivers that were fit to streighten the City of *Paris*, marched on with the body of his Army to besiege *Poissy*, and the Duke of *Espernon* enlarging himself with the Reer, took, and with the same violence sacked *Montereau* upon the River *Tonne*. *Poissy* made very little resistance, and the Town yielding it self, the King was Master of that brave spacious Bridge, which there gives passage over the *Seine*, by the help whereof he was able to enlarge himself on both sides the River. In this place the D. of *Montpensier*, who had followed the track of the D. of *Mayenne* out of *Normandy*, without receiving any opposition, joined with the King's Army, who intended to make that Town his Magazine, gave the Government of it to the *Sieur de Villiers*, and leaving his Baggage, Ammunition, and part of his Artillery there, put in a Garrison of 2000 Foot.

Poissy

Poissy being taken and manned, the King of *Navarre*, with his Van-guard, went without delay to besiege *Pontoise*, in which Monsieur *d'Alincourt* was Governor, and with him the *Sieur de Hautfort*, put in also by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to supply what should be defective; these having fortifi'd a Church which stood in a corner of the Town; and reduced it to the form of a *Raveline*, stood constantly upon their defence. The first force was employed against the Church, which battered and assaulted, and no less resolutely defended, maintained it self for the space of nine dayes: at the end of which, *Hautfort* being killed with a Cannon-shot, the Church was also taken and utterly demolished, and the defendents retired to make good the Walls. But the *Sieur d'Alincourt* being wounded in the shoulder, and the most valiant of the Defendents being slain by the violence of the Artillery, and in the fury of a bloody assault, the rest were necessarily forced to yield; who marched out of the Town upon the four and twentieth of *July*, with this condition, that they should not bear arms again in service of the League, till after three months.

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The next day after the taking of *Pontoise*, the foreign Army arrived at *Poissy*-bridge; for Monsieur *de Sancy*, being first met by the Count *de Tavannes*, with Five hundred Horse, in the Confines of *Bourgogne*, and then in *Champagne* by the Duke *de Longueville*; and the *Sieur de la Noue* with Twelve hundred Horse, and Two thousand French Muskettiers, had advanced with great diligence; nor durst the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had made shew that he would oppose his passage, meet him with so much weaker Forces; so that upon Saint *James's* day they passed the Bridge at *Poissy*, being received with great joy, and provided for, with great plenty, to refresh themselves, by Monsieur *de Villiers*, who had caused many carts full of Wine, and provisions, to be brought beyond the Bridge, to welcome the Swisses and the Germans. The next morning, which was Saint *Anne's* day, the King desired to see them, and view them in their Divisions, largely spread over the fields; and being accompanied by the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, he welcomed and cherished the Commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with such warlike presents, as the state of things, in the fury of Arms would permit. There were 10000 Swisses, 2000 German Foot, 2000 *Reiters*; to which the Forces of the King, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Baron *de Guiry*, the King of *Navarre* being added, the Army amounted to the number of Two and forty thousand fighting men. The terror of this Army made all the places thereabout to yield; and the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, a place within a League of *Paris*, having had the boldness to shut their Gates, upon the nine and twentieth day, was victoriously forced open, and the relief which the *Sieurs de Bourdaisiere*, and *Tremblecourt* had attempted to put into it, with two Regiments of Foot, and Four hundred Horse, was likewise furiously driven back by the Cavalry.

The Swisses
arrive and
joyn with the
King at *Poissy*

The affairs of *Paris* were already reduced into an exceeding ill condition; for all the Bridges being lost, all the neighbouring Towns surrendred, all the passages of the River stopped, and the City streightned on all sides, there was no other hope left than what the presence of the Duke of *Mayenne* and of the Army afforded, which was all shut up within the circuit of the Suburbs of *Paris*. The Army was 8000 French Foot, and 1800 Horse; but so great was the scarcity of victual, and the terror that had seized every one by reason of the Kings's prosperous successes and severe resolution, that within two dayes the French Foot were reduced to Five thousand, and the Germans demanding meat and money, began to threaten, that they would go over to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the inhabitants more resolute, or more unanimous than the soldiers; for the common people following the ordinary course, as they had been precipitate to rebel; so hoping by their meanness and obscurity to lie hid, and escape unpunished, were easily induced to submit themselves to the King; and those who from the beginning had been inclined to his devotion, but durst not declare themselves, now by his being so near, and by the danger of the rest, being become bold and fearless, began to persuade the people through the several quarters, and to put them into such despair of the present affairs, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was no less troubled with the inconstancy of the Parisians, than with the potent Forces of the King; yet shewing courage answerable to the greatness and urgency of the necessity, he dispatched young *Moneville* to the Duke of *Lorain* (to whom *Jamets*, having been besieged by him a whole year, was at last surrendred) desiring him to come personally to his relief, and had given order that Four thousand Germans, leavied by his Commission, should make

The King with
a victorious
and numerous
Army lays
siege to *Paris*,
having taken
all those pla-
ces that sur-
round it with
victual.

1589. haste to join with him, that they might advance together to raise the siege of *Paris*. But these Succours were too late, too far off, and too uncertain; for the Germans were yet in their own Country, the Duke of *Lorain* was not well resolved what he should do, the reputation of the League was suddenly fallen in every Province, and the people, the first violence of their passion being over, and they full of infinite fear, thought every where of returning to the Kings obedience, who having taken *St. Cloud*, had himself begirt the Fauxbourg of *St. Honore*, and all that side of the *Louvre* to the River; and the King of *Navarre* on the other side besieged from the Fauxbourg of *St. Marceau*, to that of *St. Germain*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was quartered in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, and defended both *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, having caused his posts to be shut up every where with trenches: the *Sieur de la Castre*, with the Germans and a Regiment of Walloons guarded the Fauxbourg of *St. Honore*, *Montmartre*, and *St. Dennis*, which was likewise enclosed and fortified with trenches. In the City the Dutchesse of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Guise*, with the Preachers (though much fallen in courage and reputation) were busie in animating the people, who appeared manifestly sad and dejected. Monsieur de *Rhosne* executing the Office of Camp-Master-General, ran up and down to every place; and the Priests and Fryars had taken up Arms, putting themselves generally upon Military duty.

The City of *Paris* being in so great a straight, and in so much terrour, (a thing very well known to the King, by the frequency of those which ran every hour from the City to his Camp) upon the last day of *July*, would needs personally view the Enemies posts; and by the advice of the *Marschal d'Aumont*, and Monsieur de *la Nue*, who were with him, resolved to refresh his Army the next day, and upon the second of *August* to assault their Works on every side; being not only confident of a happy issue, but as it were certain that the Germans would mutiny, and that many in the City would take up Arms on his side; some out of their old constant inclinations, and some by their present services, to cancel their former faults and insurrections. In his return toward *St. Cloud*, stopping his horse upon a Hill, from whence he saw all the City distinctly, he broke forth into this saying; *Paris, Thou art the Head of the Kingdom, but a Head too great and too capricious; it is necessary, by letting Blood, to cure thee again, and free the whole Kingdom from thy madness: And I hope, that within a few days, here shall be neither Walls nor Houses, but only the very footsteps of Paris*. And there was no man who did not already make that Prognostick: And the Duke of *Mayenne* being resolved not to out-live his ruine, had determined to get on horse-back with the *Sieurs de Rhosne*, and *de la Chastre*, and to die honourably by fighting, in that space that lies between the modern Walls of the Town and the Suburbs, which they saw they could not defend.

But as in the revolutions of this War, strange marvellous accidents have still happened; so an unexpected and unthought-of chance, provided against the exigency of that danger, which neither the prudence nor valour of the Commanders were able to prevent. There was in *Paris* one *Jaques Clement*, a Fryar, (of the Order of *St. Dominick*, which commonly are called *Jacobins*) born of mean parentage in a Village called *Sorbone*, in the Territory of the City of *Sens*, a Young-man, about Two and twenty years of age, and always thought by his Fellow-Fryars, and many others that knew him, to be a half-witted Fellow, and rather a subject of sport, than to be feared, or that any serious matter of consequence was to be hoped for from him. I remember, that (having been often to visit Fryar *Stephano Lusignano*, a Cyprian Bishop of *Limisso*, and Brother of the same Order, when the Court was at *Paris*) I have seen him, and heard the other Fryars make sport with him. This Fellow, either led by his own fancy, or stirred up by the Sermons which he heard daily made against *Henry of Valois*, called the Tyrant, and Persecutor of the Faith, took a resolution to hazard his life in attempting some means to kill him: Nor did he keep this bold thought of his secret, but cried out among his Fellow-Fryars, That it was necessary to take Arms, and cut off the Tyrant: Which words, heard by them with their wonted laughter, he was in derision called Captain *Clement* by them all. Many provoked him, by telling the Kings proceedings, and how he was coming against the City of *Paris*: To whom (while the Army was far off) he would answer, That it was not yet time, and that he would not take so much pains. But when the King began to draw near, he passing from jests to a serious determination, told one of his Fathers, that he had a bold inspiration to go and kill *Henry of Valois*, and desired him

A saying of the Kings, who having been to discover the Enemies Works, staid at a place from whence he looked upon the whole City of *Paris*.

The birth, age and condition of *Jaques Clement*, a Fryar of the Order of *St. Dominick*.

The King is called *Henry of Valois* the Tyrant, and Persecutor of the Faith.

him to counsel him, if he should execute it. The Father having imparted this business to the Prior, who was one of the chief Counsellors of the League; they both answered, That he should take good heed, it were no temptation of the Devil; that he should fast and pray, begging of God to enlighten his mind what he should do. Within a few dayes he came again to the Prior, and the other Father, telling them, He had done as they advised him, and that he found in himself more spirit than ever to undertake the enterprize. The Fathers, (as many said) having conferred about the business with Madam *de Montpensier*; or (as they of the League will have it) of their own proper motion, exhorted him to the attempt, affirming to him, That if he lived, he should be made a Cardinal; and if he died, for freeing the City, and killing the Persecutor of the Faith, he should without doubt be canonized for a Saint. The Frier ardently excited by these Exhortations, laboured to get a Letter of Credit from the Count *de Brienne*, who, having been taken at *St. Oyn*, was still prisoner in the City, assuring him, That he was to speak with the King about a business of infinite importance, and which should redound to his very great contentment. The Count not knowing the Frier, but hearing how the City stood affected, and that many plotted to bring in the King, believing the business to be true which he professed to deal in, made no difficulty of granting him the Letter; with which departing upon the last day of *July* in the Evening, he went from the City into the King's Camp, where he was presently taken by the Guards; but he saying, he had business and Letters to communicate to the King, and having shewed the superscription, was brought to *Jaques de la Guesle*, the King's Attorney-General, who executed the Office of Auditor of the Camp. The *Sieur de la Guesle* having heard the Frier, and knowing, that the King had returned when it was dark, from discovering the Enemies Works, told him, It was too late for that night, but the next morning he would bring him to him without fail; and that in the mean time, he might stay, for his security, in his Lodgings. The Frier accepted the invitation, supped at Table with *la Guesle*, cut his meat with a new Knife, with a black Haft, which he had about him; Eat, drank, and slept without care. And because a Prophecie ran, not onely thorough the Army, but thorough the whole Kingdom, That the King should be killed by a Frier; he was asked by many, if perchance he came for that end: To whom he answered without disturbance, That those were not things to be jested withal in that manner. In the morning upon the first day of *August*, Monsieur *de la Guesle* went to the King's Lodgings very early; and having told him the Friers desire to speak with him, was commanded presently to bring him in, though he was not yet quite ready, but still without his Buff-coat (which by reason of his Arms he was wont to wear) and having on onely a thin Taffaty Doublet all untrussed. The Frier being brought in, while they both withdrew to a Window on one side of the room, he delivered the Letter from the Count *de Brienne*, which the King read; and having bid him proceed to tell his business, he feigned to feel for another Paper to present it; and while the King stood intently expecting it, he having drawn his wonted Knife out of his sleeve, struck him on the left side of the Navel, and left all the blade buried in the wound. The King feeling the blow, drew forth the Knife, and in drawing of it, made the wound wider, and presently struck it himself up to the Haft in the Friers Forehead, who at the same time (*la Guesle* running him thorough with his Sword) fell instantly dead; and was no sooner faine, but *Momperrut*, *Lognac*, and the Marquess *de Mirepoix*, Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, who were present at the fact, threw him out of the Window, where, by the common Soldiers he was torn in pieces, burnt, and his ashes scattered in the River.

The King was carried to his Bed, and the wound was not thought mortal by the Chirurgions: Wherefore having called his Secretaries, he caused an account of the business to be given to all parts of the Kingdom, exhorting all the Governors not to be dismayed, for that he hoped he should be cured within a few dayes, and be able to ride: The same he did to the chief Commanders and Principal Officers of his Army; and having presently sent for the King of *Navarre*, committed to him the care of his Army, and the diligent prosecution of the enterprize. But at night he felt wonderful great pain in his wound, and fell into a Fever: Wherefore having called his Chirurgions, and search being made, they found his Intrails were pierced; so that they all agreed his life could not last many hours. The King, who desired to know the truth, being told his danger, caused *Estienne Boulogne* his Chaplain, to be called, and with very great devotion, made Confession of his sins: But before Absolution, his Confessor

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Frier *Jaques Clement* having advised with the Prior, and others of his Order, resolves to kill the King, and to that end goes from *Paris*.

A Question made to the Frier, and his Answer. Upon the first of *August* the Frier brought in to the King, gives him a Letter; and then drawing a Knife, thrust it into his Belly.

The King strikes the same Knife into the Friers Forehead. Monsieur *de la Guesle* runs him thorough; and being cast out of the window, he is torn in pieces.

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The death of *Hen. the third*, upon the first of *August* at night, *Anno* 1589, he having lived 36 years, and reigned 15, and two months: the House of *Valois* ended in him, and the Crown devolved upon the House of *Bourbon*.

The whole Army being wonderfully grieved at so sad, so fatal an accident, and especially the Nobility, who accompanied the death of their Prince with tears, which came from the bottom of their hearts: but on the other side, the *Parisians* shewed profuse signs of joy, and some among the Great Ones, who had till then worn mourning for the death of the Lords of *Guise*, did again put on their Gallantry and their feathers, and leaving off black, clothed themselves in Green; though the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the wonted moderation of his prudence, far from such like demonstrations, minded onely how to excuse himself, and divulge with all diligence, that he had no hand in the business, and that it was directly and immediately the Hand of Heaven; which nevertheless was believed by few; for the opinion which was conceived, was not to be rooted out of mens minds, it being unlikely that the chief men of the *Union*, and particularly the Prior, a trusty Counsellor of the Grand-Council of it, should not have conferred about the fact with the Princes, and with their privacy exhorted, and with effectual motives spurred on the simplicity of the Frier: but as the factious occurrences of Civil Wars are full of Lyes and fabulous inventions, others added many fictions to the truth, which a certain Writer, perhaps through ignorance, or heedlessness, or else through hatred, hath not shunned to publish in his Writings.

But howsoever it were, it is indeed a thing worthy of very great consideration, to think how the singular vertues and eminent qualities of so brave a Prince should come to so cruel, so unfortunate an end; from thence to learn this excellent Lesson, That the skilfulness of the Pilot avails but little, if the wind of divine favour, which with eternal Providence governs mortal affairs, help not to bring our actions into their desired port: For in *Henry the Third* were all amiable qualities, which, in the beginning of his years, were exceedingly revered and admired; singular prudence, royal magnanimity, inexhausted magnificence, most profound piety, most ardent zeal in Religion, perpetual love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite desire of doing good to all, popular eloquence, pleasantness becoming a Prince, generous courage, valour, and wonderful dexterity in Arms; for which vertues, during the reign of his Brother, he was more admired and esteemed than the K. himself.

He

He was a General before he was a Souldier, and a great States-man before he came to years of maturity; he made War with power, deluded the experience of the most famous Commanders, won bloody Battels, took in Fortresses that were held impregnable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men: yet, when being come to the Crown, he sought out subtil inventions to free himself from the yoke and servitude of the Factions, both parties conceived such a hatred against him; that his Religion was counted hypocrisie; his Prudence, a wicked craftiness; his Policy, meanness of spirit; his Liberality, licentious and unbridled prodigality; his Affability, was contemned; his Gravity, hated; his Name, detested; his private Conversations, imputed to enormous vices; and his Death, being extreemly rejoyced at by factious men and the common people, was rashly judged to be the stroke of Divine Justice.

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After the Kings death, the Army remained that day as it were astonished and stupified; nor were the Parisians in less wonder and amazement, when by an unexpected accident they saw themselves left quiet that day, wherein with terrour they looked for nothing but their utter desolation. But the King of *Navarre* being gone presently to his lodging at *St. Cloud*, though he had determined in his mind to assume the Arms and Title of *France*, was doubtful, solicitous, and very uncertain what might come of it; for the Hugonots that depended on him, were few and weak, and if he should seem to acknowledge the Scepter from them, he should without question alienate the stronger, and more numerous party. In the Catholicks he could have but little confidence, differing from them in Religion, not having gained them by the merit of former benefits, having ever been far from them, nay their Enemy, and not so much as known by sight unto most part of them, until that time. As for the Foreign Forces, he knew not what they would resolve to do with themselves, being under Commanders of small credit and authority, without Commissions from their Princes, and for want of money, rather in a condition to mutiny and disband, than to yield obedience to him, that had not means to satisfy them: for the King of *Navarre*, newly come out of that narrow corner, where he had been shut up so many years, was so far from being able to pay them, that he had not wherewithal to maintain himself; and in the dead Kings Treasury was found very small store of money, the gulf of War having swallowed up both the Revenues which were gotten in, and those sums which his Friends had lent him in times of great need. To this was added the disgusts which many chief men had against him: the Duke of *Montpensier*, though of the same Family, yet in respect of Religion, whereof he was most observant, had very little correspondence with him, not being able to endure, and counting it a shame to the whole Family, to see him encompassed with Hugonot Ministers and Preachers. The Count *d' Auvergne*, Bastard of *France*, a young man, of fierce nature, for slight occasions, as quartering of Souldiers, and dividing of spoil, was scarce wont to salute him; Monsieur *de Vitry*, Monsieur *de Villiers*, and many others, who in times past had received benefits from the House of *Guise*, and had lately served the deceased King, because their courage would not suffer them to be called and accounted Rebels, now that respect, and the bond of obedience being loosened by his death, could in no wise bend their minds to follow an Enemy to the House of *Lorain*; and which imported most of all, the Duke of *Espenon*, who, as the custom is, hated and persecuted all those who he thought might remove him from the degree he held, or get before him in his Masters favour, had broken almost openly with him in the Kings life time: for the King of *Navarre* having taken notice that the Duke of *Espenon* bore him ill will, and aimed to put him in disgrace with the King, as a man of an open courage, and free speech, had complained manifestly of him, saying, That if he thought to use him as he had done the Lords of *Guise*, he would not endure it: and *Espenon* on the other side, had said more than once, That the King of *Navarre* was wont to make War not in Royal Camps, and with Military Discipline, but like a Free-booter, or a Plunderer; and that all outrages and insolencies were committed by the Hugonots; and at the taking *Estampes*, having found a Souldier of the King of *Navarre*'s own Troop of Dragoons, who to steal the *Pix* out of a Church, had thrown the Sacrament upon the ground, he killed him presently with his own hand; so that between them there was no very good intelligence. For all these reasons the King of *Navarre* was surrounded with straits and difficulties, not being assured what might succeed upon his Declaration; and so much the rather, because he knew many were secretly come from *Paris* into

The King of *Navarre* having many Lords in the Camp ill-affected to him in respect of Religion, and other private causes, is in great perplexity.

Causes of hatred between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Espenon*.

1589. into the Camp, to work upon the mindes of such as were discontented, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* would give to all very large conditions.

But if the King was tormented with these doubts, and involved in these cares, the mindes of particular men were no less troubled and perplexed; for the Hugonots doubted, that the King would make more account of attaining to the Crown, than of persevering in their Religion, and therefore feared he would easily reconcile himself to the Church: and the Catholicks seeing him environed by *du Plessis Mornay*, *des Amours* a Minister, and the *Sieur de la Noue*, and many others who were firm Calvinists, and calling to mind past experiences, believed he would not forsake that Religion, and those men with whom he had lived long, and sustained the difficulties of his adverse fortune; and many of each Religion were drawn and byassed by diverse several interests.

The Catholicks assemble themselves to consult about the future King.

The affairs of the Army being so uncertain and distracted, the Catholicks, who were the greater part, gathered themselves together the night before the third of *August*, to consult what resolution they should take. Here their opinions were different; for many thought best to follow and uphold the Crown by all means in the King of *Navarre*, that they might not wrong the justness of his Cause, and violate the *Sacrique Laws*; but conserve the Kingdom in the lawful Succession: They said, that by doing otherwise, it was necessary either to divide the Kingdom among so many Petty-Kings, as there were armed Princes and Pretenders; or else submit themselves to the rule and arbitrement of strangers: That this was the true way to foment discord, and make the Civil Wars perpetual, to the destruction of the publick, and of every particular man, and to expose their common Country to new dangers, fatal accidents, and most cruel slaughters: That the hand of God was plainly seen; which favouring the justice of his Cause, had, in an opportune conjuncture, armed him with Forces, reconciled him with his good Subjects, and put him miraculously in a condition to be able to attain to, and defend his Crown: That it was a pious thing to follow the Motives and Disposals of Heaven, and to leave the care of future matters to Divine Providence: That, by the Laws of God, Princes were to be born withal, and not to be despoiled of their Rights and Inheritance for any particular defect: That the King of *Navarre* was an ingenuous Prince, full of clemency, modesty, and sincerity: That in him there was no cause to fear a violent or tyrannical power, but to hope for a good and lawful Government; and liberty of Life and Conscience, which he till then had granted to every one: That finally, it was a thing unworthy of the French Name and Nobility, to adhere to Rebels, who had impiously imbrued their hands in the bowels of their Prince, and with manifest wrong and violence endeavoured to deprive and despoil the Blood Royal of the lawful Succession of the Crown: But on the contrary, That it was an action worthy the name of *Cavaliers*, which they professed, to vindicate their just blood, unjustly shed by his Subjects, and to maintain the true and lawful Heirs of the Crown in the possession of the Kingdom. The Authors of this opinion were the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, the *Baron de Guiry*, and especially the Duke of *Longueville*.

But many others argued on the contrary side, That they ought to observe Divine, before Humane Laws; and that the health of the Soul was alwayes to precede transitory worldly things; that the respect of Religion, in the Succession of Kings, was antient: For, that depends upon the Law of Nature, and this upon the Particular Constitutions and Positive Rights of Nations: That the example of *England* was very near and remarkable, where the Princes alteration of Religion, had caused the destruction of the Catholicks, and the alienation of the whole Kingdom from the Apostolick See: That the miseries of Wars, and the calamities they bring along with them, might be ended in a short time; but the danger of losing their Faith and Souls, extended it self to their Children, and Grand-children, and to their whole posterity for ever, which would receive an eternal loss, and prejudice, by their present connivence: That it was true, Princes were to be born withal, though wicked, and of a different Religion; but that was meant by such as were already placed and established in the Throne, not of such as were to be received and established anew: That the King of *Navarre* had, by many means, with a thousand intreaties, and redoubled reasons, been perswaded by the States-General, and by the earnest desire of the late King, to change his Religion, and yet could never be drawn from Calvinism: And if he would not leave it in his extrem necessity, it was not to be hoped, that he would do it in the prosperity of fortune;

tune; That what was said of his nature and qualities, were very true; but that he was so exceedingly affected to his Religion, that he would think he did well in forcing mens Consciences: And though he had not a tyrannical mind, yet one of a different nature might perchance succeed him: That at that present it was fit to foresee the future, and not to alienate a most Christian Kingdom from its obedience to the Pope, and from the Fellowship of the Church of God. This Argument was held by Monsieur d'O, the Sieur de Manny his Brother, Monsieur d'Entragues, Dampiere the Field-Marshal; and the greater number of the Assembly.

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Between these two contrary opinions arose a third, as it were in the middle of the balance, held by the Marechal de Biron, the Duke of Luxembourg, the Duke of Esperron, and the wisest among them, That the King of Navarre should be declared King of France, and that they should serve and uphold him in that quality; but upon assurance, that he would change his Religion, and embrace and maintain the Roman Catholick Faith: And this motion was drawn from the Will and Prudence of their dead King, who at his death had declared him lawful Successor; but had also at the same time admonished him, that he should never be King in peace, if he embraced not the Roman Religion.

The Catholicks resolved to declare the K. of Navarre K. of France, upon assurance that he would change his Religion.

This resolution was in a manner generally followed, and charge was given to those that had proposed it, to let the King understand, with all modesty, what they had determined. The Duke of Luxembourg, accompanied with the rest, carried the Message, and told him, That the Princes, Lords, and Officers of the Crown, together with the Catholick Nobility that was in the Army, which were the greatest and best part of the Kingdom, were ready to acknowledge him King of France, to serve and maintain him against every one, since God and Nature had called him to the Crown by a lawful Succession: But withal they besought him, that for the general contentment and reasonable satisfaction of all his Subjects, for the good, peace and tranquillity of his Kingdom; for the honor of his own Person, and for that which became the Title of a most Christian King, he would be pleased to turn to the Catholick Religion, and to come again into the bosome of the holy Church, to take away the pretences of his enemies, and the scruples of conscience of his servants to the end, that he might be served, obeyed and honoured with the universal applause of them all; That His Majesty would not think this their proposition, and most humble supplication, strange; for it would appear much more strange to their consciences, and the whole Christian World, That one should be established King of France, who was no Catholick, as all his glorious Predecessors had been, from Clovis the first King that received Baptism.

The Duke of Luxembourg delivers the resolution of the Catholick Lords, in the Camp, to the K. of Navarre.

The King, though he was much troubled and perplexed in mind, yet either preferring his Religion before the Crown, or knowing, that by pleasing his new Catholick Subjects, he should displease the Hugonots his old adherents, took also the middle way, and answered, That he returned thanks with a most sincere French heart to the Nobility, for their acknowledgment of his Right: That he knew them to be the principal Member of the Crown, the foundation of the Kingdom in time of War, and the establishment of his Scepter: That he embraced them all with tenderness of heart, being ready to requite their duty and fidelity, both in publick and in particular: But desired, that they would not think it strange, if he did not so presently satisfy their first requests, because the quality of the thing demanded, required a convenient time of advice, and the ripeness of a grounded resolution: That he set a greater value upon his Soul and Conscience, than upon all earthly greatness: That he had been brought up and instructed in that Religion, which yet he held to be the true one; but nevertheless, he would not therefore be stubborn and obstinate: That he was ready to submit himself, either to a General, or National Council, and to the Instructions, which without palliating the Truth, should be given him by learned conscientious persons. But that these were Motives which proceeded from God, effects of the maturity of time, and which ought to be laboured for in peace and tranquillity, and not amidst the noise of Arms and War, and with a Dagger at a Mans Throat: That he had a firm resolution to endeavour the satisfaction of his Subjects, and the contentment of his Kingdom; but that conjuncture was not proper to put his good desires in effect, lest his action and declaration should seem feigned and counterfeit, and extorted by force, or else perswaded by worldly interests: Wherefore he intreated them to stay till a fit opportunity; and if in the mean time they desired any condition or security for the maintenance of the Catholick Religion in the same condition it

The King thanks the Catholicks, and his answer about changing his Religion.

1589. was at that present, he was ready to give them all the satisfaction they could wish for.

The *Sieur de la Nove* a Hugonot, tells the King, that he must never think to be King of France if he turn not Catholick.

With this Answer the Deputies returned to the rest of the Catholicks assembled in the *Hôtel de Gondi*; and the King with his most intimate friends retired likewise to consult. The *Sieur de la Nove*, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he were a Hugonot, told the King freely, That he must never think to be King of France, if he turned not Catholick; but that he should endeavor to do it with his reputation, and without doing injury to those who had long served and upheld him. On the other side, *du Plessis Mornay*, and the Ministers stood for Liberty of Conscience, and the Cause of God, against earthly greatness; and, magnifying the Forces of that party, told him, That they who had so many years defended and preserved him, would also be sufficient to establish him in the Kingdom. The King knew that these were swayed by their own interests, and joining in opinion with *Monseigneur de la Nove*, resolved within himself to turn Catholick; but as a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not seem to do it out of ambition, or constraint; and he believed the Proposition he had made to the Catholicks to be very reasonable; so that he was determined to continue that resolution, adding only the prefixed limits and circumstances of time.

God seemed miraculously to inspire the same thought into the Catholick party; for though many of them, and particularly some Prelates that were in the Camp, did oppose it; yet the greater part, kindled with a just indignation for their King's death, could not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League: wherefore, it was at last concluded, That the King, taking a prefixed time for his conversion, should secure the state of the Catholick Religion, and that upon those terms they would receive and follow him.

The Catholicks of the Camp swear fidelity to the King by a Writing signed and established, and the King swears to the maintenance of the Catholick Religion by the same Writing.

The Deputies having carried this resolution, and Treated a long time with the King and his Counsellors, at last a Writing was mutually agreed on between both parties, whereby the Catholick Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Soldiers on the one side, acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* to be their lawful Prince, and took an Oath of fidelity to him as King of France, promising him due obedience, and to serve and uphold him against every one: And on the other side, He swore, and promised, upon the word of a King, to make himself be instructed within six months, in the Catholick Religion, by an Assembly of conspicuous persons; and if need were, to call a National Council, to the Decrees whereof he would humbly submit himself; and in the mean time promised to maintain the same Roman-Catholick-Apostolick Religion inviolate, not to innovate or change any thing in it, of what kind soever, but to protect, defend, and secure it with all his power; to dispose of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues (in the manner observed by the Kings his Predecessors) to fit, and sufficient persons, of the same Religion; to cause the use of it, and the ceremonies thereof to be publick and principal in all places under his jurisdiction, as he had established in the Agreement made with the late King, in the moneth of *April* last past; that he would put no Officers, nor Governors, but such as were Catholicks in those Towns which were under his obedience, nor in those which for the time to come should submit themselves unto him, or should be taken; except onely those places which had been already granted to the Hugonots; that he would admit none to any Dignities, Offices of the Crown, or Magistracies whatsoever, but such persons as publicly professed the Catholick Religion; that he would conserve and maintain the Princes, Peers of France, Ministers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities and Corporations, and the three States of France in their wonted Beings, Privileges, Immunities, Prerogatives, Offices, Places, and Magistracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatsoever; that he would endeavour to take just and fitting revenge for that Parricide committed upon the person of King *Henry* the Third, by severe exemplary punishment, and the destruction and extirpation of disobedience and rebellion: finally, that he permitted his Catholick Subjects to send an Ambassador to the Pope, to inform him of the reasons why they had acknowledged him, and sworn fidelity unto him, and to sue for, and obtain those things of the Apostolick See, which they should think convenient for the universal good of the Kingdom.

Upon the fourth day *August* this Writing was signed by the King, on the one part, and on the other by most of those that were present in the Camp; and was afterward authorized and registered in the Parliament of *Tours*, according to the form

form which was wont to be observed by those Courts in the times of former Kings. Thus the necessity of present affairs, and the fresh passion for the Kings death, settled this accommodation, which at another time would certainly not have been composed. 1589.

Yet was not this Agreement able to retain every body; for the Duke of *Espernon*, who under colour of contending for precedency with the Marshals of *Biron*, and *Aumont*, had not signed the Writing, because they, as Marshals, being in the Camp, pretended to sign first, and he as Duke and Peer of *France* pretended the same, doubting he should be ill used by the King, and that in his present wants, he would either by intreaties, or force, wring some money from him, (whereof he was known to have very great store) alledging that he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his Governments, departing the next day from the Army with his Troops, and with many who following the example, took that occasion to return to their own houses; and having made his journey thorow *Tourain*, he passed by *Loches*, and came at last to *Angoulesme*. *Jehan* Sieur de *Villiers*, who had the Government of *Poissy*, a man very zealous in the Catholick Religion, and who in his younger years had been exalted by the Lords of *Guise*; those obligations ceasing which he had to the late King, gave up his Government, with the Artillery and Ammunition of the Army, to *Filbert* Sieur de *la Guiche*, who by order from the King received it, and with two hundred Horse, and many Gentlemen that followed him, retired into his own Country; and the same did many others severally. Monsieur de *Vitry*, with a bolder resolution, (which nevertheless was also followed by many) went over to the League without any demur, alledging that he saw no certainty at all in the Kings promises, and that he would not bear Arms against the Catholick Religion in favour of the Hugonots: and the common Souldiers, some out of impatience, some for want of money, some for fear of future sufferings, began of themselves to disband scatteringly, in such a manner, that by the seventh of *August* the Army was diminished above half in number, and decreased still daily. The same was feared of the Swisses; but the Marshal de *Biron*, who now followed his old inclination more than ever, did by reasons and intreaties induce them to promise that they would follow the King for the space of two months, till they should receive new Commissions from their Cantons; towards which, reasons and intreaties prevailed not so much, as a good sum of money, which the King borrowed of his Friends, and divided secretly among their Commanders: so that without demanding further pay, but living upon free-quarter, they followed the Kings Name and Colours very quietly. Nor were the Hugonots more firm, or better satisfied than the rest; for having conceived hopes that the King, who had been bred up, nourished, defended and maintained by them, would, now he had attained the Crown, exalt their Religion, put Offices and Dignities into the hands of his ancient Confidants, and trust more in those Forces which had made him victorious among a thousand dangers, than in the doubtful conditional promises of the Catholicks; now they saw the contrary, accused him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they hoped he did but temporize till he were settled in his Kingdom, and that then he would do quite contrary to what he had promised, (which belief was by him cunningly fomented in his conferences with them) they would without doubt have utterly forsaken him; and yet for all that opinion, very few followed him, and those unwillingly enough; for many, because they thought not themselves secure, others out of anger and discontent disbanded, and returned in great abundance to the Cities of their party.

But the King having accommodated his mind, and fitted it to the present necessity, having assumed the Name and Arms of King of *France*, and not being able to make new expences, made use of the late Kings household-stuff, the same Purple serving to mourn for his Predecessor, which he till then had used for the death of his Mother; and knowing that mens minds were not yet well settled under his obedience, and that his own weakness was despised of many, he by the vivacity of his wit, by the readiness of his answers, and by the familiarity of his conversation, behaving himself rather as a Companion, than as a Prince, and with large promises making up the wants of his present condition, endeavoured to satisfy all, and to win the love of every one, seeming to acknowledge the Kingdom, and the reputation of his actions sometimes to this man, sometimes to that man, severally, and professing to be ready earnestly to embrace those occasions of requital which should represent

The Duke of *Espernon* standing upon precedency, will not sign the Writing, but departs from Court.

Many Lords, and a great part of the Souldiers, following the Duke of *Espernon*s example, leave the Camp; so that by the seventh of *August* the Army is decreased to half the number.

1589. themselves: To the Hugonots he seemed to lay open, and trust his most intimate thoughts, and to acknowledge the foundation of his hopes to be in them. To the Catholicks he did very great honours, speaking with much reverence of the Pope, and the Apostolick See; alwayes honouring the Ecclesiastical Order, and shewing himself inclined to the Roman Religion, gave signs of a sudden undoubted conversion. To the common-people, he shewed himself compassionate of their burthens, and of the calamities of War; and to the meanest of them, excused the necessity of taking free-quarter upon them for his Army, laying all the fault upon his Enemies. To the Gentry with words and gestures full of respect, he gave the glory of true French-men, of preservers of their Country, and restorers of the Royal Family, alluring every one by these arts to follow him; eating in publick, setting open his most private lodgings to every one, not concealing the necessity of his private condition, and proposing those things in a jesting way, which could not so well be discovered in serious Counsels.

The King of Navarre raises the Siege from Paris, and divides his Forces into convenient places

But the Army being already reduced to so small a number, that not onely the siege of Paris could not be continued, but that it was needful to provide speedily against the imminent danger which was so near (for the League, since the King's death, increased every moment in strength and reputation:) He being in private with the Marechals of Biron and Aumont, the Sieur de la Noue, and the Duke of Montpensier, (who having quieted his conscience by the King's promise, had, for the interests of their common Family, firmly resolved to follow him) consulted a long time what course would be least prejudicial to take in that present condition. And because he had no means to keep the whole Army together, which though he had been able to do, would, within a few dayes, have been inferior to the Forces of the League; they determined, that the King, with the Duke of Montpensier, and the Marechal de Biron, should retire into the Province of Normandy; that the Marechal d'Aumont should go into Champagne, and the Duke of Longueville with Monsieur de la Noue, into Picardy, to keep those Provinces faithful, and to re-unite themselves when time and occasion should require.

But the King knowing the vast structure of the League, and how difficult the burden of Civil War is to be born, desired to try the hope of an agreement with the Duke of Mayenne, not being willing in any manner to be faulty to himself, or to neglect any possible means of settling himself in the Crown; wherefore many men being come into the Camp for several interests, he made use of the occasion; and hearing that one Bigot, a near Servant to Monsieur de Villeroy, was there, he caused him to be brought unto him by the Sieur de Chastillon, and bad him to let his Master know, that he desired infinitely to speak with him, and that if he would chuse the place of interview, he should have a Safe-conduct sent him, and all necessary security.

The King desires to speak with Villeroy, who was gone over to the League: The Duke of Mayenne will not consent to it: They treat by a third person, but nothing is concluded.

The Sieur de Villeroy had taken part with the League, not only out of anger, because he was so suddenly dismissed from the Court, but because the Government of Lyons after the death of Monsieur de Mandelot, was, contrary to the promises the King had made him, given first to the Duke of Nemours, and then to Monsieur de la Guiche, putting by Alincoart his Son, who upon that hope had married the Daughter of Mandelot: To which causes of discontent he added, for a more potent excuse, that all his Land lying within the Territories of Paris, and his Court-Pension being taken from him, he knew not how to maintain himself, if he joined not with that party, wherein he might enjoy the Revenue of his Estate. But however it were, Bigot having delivered the Kings Message, he not being willing to do any thing without the Duke of Mayenne's leave, told him what Message he had received from the King: But the Duke would not let Villeroy go to the meeting, alledging, that it could not be done so secretly, but it would be generally known, and by consequence those of his party would suspect something, and fall into a jealousy: That affairs were in a very hopeful condition, and that it was not good to disturb them inconsiderately, being they might easily be crossed; and therefore only gave way, that he might receive a Gentleman in his house at Paris, and treat with him, if the King were pleased to send one for that purpose. With this Answer Bigot returned to the Camp; and the King not scorning any kind of means to advance his fortune, and to let the Catholicks know that he desired Peace, sent presently the Sieur de la Marfiliere his Cabinet-Secretary.

He not having been able to obtain leave to speak personally with the Duke of Mayenne, told the Sieur de Villeroy, that the King had sent him expressly, to assure the Duke

Duke of his good inclination to consent to peace, and to represent unto him, how necessary it was for the general good: That he did very much esteem the Dukes person; and desired to make him his Friend, and to have him near him in an honourable degree of favour suitable to his condition: That the Duke ought now to lay aside his vain hopes of seeing him totally abandoned and forsaken; for all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, that were both in, and out of the Army, had sworn Allegiance to him, and promised him their assistance, he having satisfied them in what concerned Religion, by a reciprocal promise made in writing, the copy whereof he left with the *Sieur de Villeroy*, to shew unto the Duke: That not only the Hugonots, but even the Catholics of the Army themselves, were much displeased with the Duke for the Kings death, and had solemnly sworn to prosecute their revenge, till they were fully satisfied: That he had promised the same, and was interested in it; so that if so universal a good and benefit, as the peace of the Kingdom, did not make him yield, and also mollify the hearts of those that were offended, he should not be able to do it afterwards, under colour of any other excuse; and that therefore the Duke should think upon it, and embrace this occasion of regaining the affection of so many Catholics, and so much Nobility, who, the respect of Peace being taken away, would for ever be his bitter irreconcilable Enemies. Finally, That he should propound some Conditions; for the King was extremely disposed to satisfy him in whatsoever was possible. Which things being told the Duke by Monsieur *de Villeroy*, he had commission to answer, That the Duke had no private enmity with the King, and for his own part honoured, and held him in the highest veneration; but that Religion and Conscience would not suffer him to enter into that Treaty with him: That if his late Brothers had in the Kings life-time taken Arms to hinder the Crown from falling to a Prince of a different Religion, as by the Duke of *Alencon's* death they doubted that it might; now, that the necessity was more urgent, and the danger already present, he could not lay down those Arms that were taken up, without doing injury to the memory of his Brothers, to his own Conscience, and to the solemn Oath he had taken: That he had engaged his Faith, and given his Life to the Publick Cause, when he had accepted the Office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that having declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, to whom the Kingdom had been judged to belong, he could not break his Faith to him, nor resolve of any thing till the said Cardinal were at liberty, and all those of his party assembled together: That if the Kings death had made him so many Enemies, he hoped God would defend his innocence; but his contentment was so great to see the death of his Brothers revenged, that he was very willing to undergo all the hatred he had gotten by it: That he ought not, nor could not give counsel to that King against whom he had taken up Arms: But he might easily know, that the liberty of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and his conversion, were necessary to precede the Treaty. With these general terms *la Margilliere* returned to the King, at the time when because he was able to stay no longer, he raised his Camp from *St. Cloud*, and the Towns adjacent.

The resolutions after the Kings death had been no less doubtful and perplexed in *Paris*, than they had been in the Kings Camp: For the Duke of *Mayenne's* Friends and Kinred, especially *Madam de Montpensier*, exhorted and counselled him, to make himself be elected and declared King of *France*, by the party which he commanded; urging to him, that he ought not to omit that so great, so opportune occasion of transferring the Crown into his Family, which had formerly been possessed by his Ancestors, he being already acknowledged the Head, and obeyed by the principal Cities of the Kingdom, by so great a number of the Nobility, and by the greater part of the Clergy: They said, the Controversie was between him, already acknowledged and obeyed by those of his party, and a Prince of a different Religion, whose Inheritance might with reason be called in question, both because of the distance of degrees, and of his being an Enemy to the Church; for which considerations he would never be sincerely loved, nor firmly obeyed, by those very Catholics that seemed to adhere unto his party: That indeed now at first they had, out of anger for the Kings death, been persuaded to follow him; but that Catholics and Hugonots, being incompatible among themselves, it would not be long before the memory of former hatreds would be renewed, by which their blood being again set on fire, they would quickly be separated and divided by the interests of Conscience, and their own natural enmities: That it was necessary to provide a manly, warlike, and Catholick King, to whom they might

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Madam de Montpensier, and others, exhort the Duke of Mayenne to make himself be declared King of France

securely

1589. securely run, as from time to time they should grow discontented, finding their error, and leaving that party: That the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, decrepid with old age, and kept in prison, was in neither of those conditions fit for that business: That the Duke would be accused of want of courage, if he should be faulty to himself in so fair an occasion: For they are poor-spirited men, that count excess of Moderation a vertue; whereas men of a noble mind, love and favour bold and generous designs: That there was both honour and profit in it, nay also possibility and conveniency; and that the Duke could neither be excused to himself, nor to his posterity, if he neglected that good which God so miraculously presented to him: They urged, that to declare the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, was the true way to establish the King of *Navarre* in the possession of the Crown; for so they confessed the Kingdom to belong to the House of *Bourbon*; and the Cardinal dying, who was already in the last minutes of his life, the lawful Succession could not afterward be denied to his Nephew; and though the pretence of Religion remained, that was an objection which he would be able to take away at his pleasure, by turning Catholick, and hearing one Mass; and though he should persevere in his Religion, yet the other Princes of that House, who were Catholicks, would succeed, and suffer no opposition; that it was best to oppose the very first point, and assume unto himself that which he inconsiderately went about to confer upon another: that now the opportunity was ready and easie, which perchance within a few days would not be so; for the King of *Navarre* had promised to turn Catholick within six months, and in the mean time it was possible his Nephew the Duke of *Guise* might be set at liberty, who being Heir of the Family, might perchance oppose his Greatness, his own interests having more power with him, than the respects which was due to his Uncles age and many labours: that it was needful to undertake boldly, and suddenly, before the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Duke of *Lorain*, and Duke of *Savoy* had time to think, and lay their plots to turn the course of affairs their own way; for he being once elected and declared, they would be necessitated rather to maintain him, than take part with the King of *Navarre*, a Heretic, and an enemy to *Spain* for *Navarre*, to the Pope for Religion, to the Duke of *Lorain* for the Duke of *Bouillon's* Lands possessed by him, and to the Duke of *Savoy* for the protection of *Geneva*, and for the Marquisat of *Saluzzo*; finally, they argued, that since the toyls and dangers were certain, and that he was to bear the weight of them, it was much better to undergo labour and hazard for his own interests and greatness, then to promote the exaltation of another, and to uphold a frail, weak, imprisoned, unknown Prince, from whom he was not certain to obtain any thing.

The Duke of *Mayenne* dissuaded by *Villeroy* and others, doth not embrace the Council of making himself to be elected King of *France*.

This specious counsel favoured by self-love, was opposed by *Villeroy* and President *Jannin*, with whom the Duke consulted about all things; not that they did alledge against it either Right or Justice (things of very small consideration when the debate is about a Kingdom) but onely urging the impossibility: That the Parisians, the People, and Cities of his party were terrified with the late businesses, having seen the Duke so few dayes before brought to the last extremities, and looking desperately with them for his own destruction: That they had lost much of the opinion they had, and were not now so ardent as they were at first in the cause of the *Union*: That they desired to have a Prince powerful in men and money, that might be able to defend them, and secure them from the King of *Navarre* and his party; and therefore they had turned their eyes, some upon the Duke of *Savoy*, some upon the Duke of *Lorain*, many upon the King of *Spain* himself; nor did any thing else withhold them but the right and justice of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, esteemed the lawful Successor (for these considerations move, and are able to do much more among the common people then in the minds of the great Ones;) which respect being taken away, there was not like to be any who would not rather chuse to obey a King of *Spain*, held so potent a Monarch, and that had so many wayes to gratifie and reward his subjects, then a petty Duke of *Mayenne*, who had no other strength then what the Union of those Forces afforded, who had elected him their Head; with what force, with what moneys, with what Armies would he maintain the Crown against the King of *Navarre*, and the greatest part of the Nobility united with him? with those of the King of *Spain*, of the Pope, of *Savoy*, or of the Duke of *Lorain*? The House of *Bourbon* being excluded, there was none of them but pretended better right to the Crown than he; for the *Infanta* of *Spain* was Daughter to a Sister of the deceased King, the Duke of *Savoy* Son to one of his Aunts, the Duke of *Lorain* was head of the Family,

ly, and had Sons by another Daughter of *France*; and the Pope, if he were moved by zeal to Religion, ought to be more pleased, by how much a more powerful Prince it had to defend it; and if he were moved by interests, he might hope for much more from any of those other Princes, than from the weakness of the Duke of *Mayenne*; That an enterprise was not to be undertaken, which was neither generous, favourable, nor magnanimous; but rash, precipitate, and dishonourable, which, together with the loss of his fortune, would cost him also his life.

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This Counsel prevailed with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well for these considerations, as for two other reasons; one, that *Don Bernardino de Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador did in a manner openly contradict his election; wherefore, by reason of the Authority and Forces of the Catholick King, he thought it would be impossible to effect that which he should attempt against his will: the other, that if it should be discovered that he suffered himself to be swayed by his own interests, and not by the respects of Religion, and the general good, he feared he should be forsaken by the Pope, and all the Confederates, and particularly by the Parisians: For which reasons he chose rather to expect the maturity of time, and in the interim to cause the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be declared King, towards whom he saw the common inclination bent, and leaving the Name and Arms of King to him that was old, weak, and which imported most, a prisoner; to keep the force and authority of Government in his own hand, being certain, that by how much the more favourably he should be nominated and elected by the League, by so much the more closely and warily would he be kept and guarded by the King of *Navarre*; and by consequence, so much the longer would the supreme authority remain in him; in which time, either by his death, or some other occasion, and perhaps by the help of Victory, more ease and expedite opportunities might offer themselves; hope in the mean time serving to spur on the other pretenders, whose assistance would either be quite taken away, or very much cooled, if they should see that place possessed at the very first, which they were plotting to procure for themselves.

Thus the Duke preventing the peoples desire, and the Council of the *Union*, was the first that declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King of *France*, with the Name of *Charles the Tenth*, and so caused him to be declared in the Parliament, in the Council of the *Union*, and to be proclaimed in the streets of *Paris*, retaining to himself the name and authority of Lieutenant-General through the whole Kingdom. This Declaration was pleasing and plausible to the people, who were thereby well settled and confirmed to continue the War, as they said, for the liberty of their King, and to root out the seed of Heresie; it was well approved of by the Spaniards, who desired to gain time to dispose of their affairs; but above all, it was a great satisfaction to the Pope, who in the same point saw both the lawful Succession safe, and the preservation of Religion.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was prisoner at *Chinon*, is declared and confirmed K. of *France* by the League, and called *Charles the Tenth*.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* being declared the lawful King by the Council of the *Union*, the Duke of *Mayenne* by a lofty Edict, full of high words, exhorted every one to acknowledge that King which God had given unto the Kingdom, to yield him due obedience, and to endeavour with all their might to free him from that imprisonment in which he was detained by his Enemies; he commanded that every one should tie himself by Oath, before the Officers of his Province, to live and die in the Catholick Religion, and to defend, protect, and confirm it; and pardoned all those who within the term of fifteen dayes should separate themselves from commerce with the Hugonots, and retire into those places where the Catholick *Union* commanded: Which Edict, as soon as it was registred and published in the Parliament, he dispatched the *Commendatory de Din* to *Rome*; again (who had brought the *Monitory* against the late King) to inform the Pope of the state of Affairs, giving him notice, that King *Charles the Tenth* was declared, and intreating him to assist the cause of Religion, not only by his approbation, but also by supplies of men and money. Into *Spain* he only dispatched a great many several expresses, with particular news of the whole business, deferring to send any persons of quality, till he had conferred with *Don Juan de Morrea*, who having been sent by King *Philip* before the King's death, he had notice was at that time in *Lorain*: For the Catholick King, though he had not been willing openly to declare himself Enemy to King *Henry the Third*, to whom he in appearance bore respect, for many reasons; yet, as from the beginning he had laid the foundation of the League, and helped and strengthened the Duke of *Guise*, with great sums of money; so after his death, he had caused *Mendoza* his

Ambassador

1589. Ambassadour to stay in *Paris*, and there under colour of favouring Religion, cunningly to be present at all busineses, who by his arts and money had so won the hearts of the Parisians, that he had as much power amongst them, as the Princes of the House of *Lorain*; and though the Catholick King did never send any supplies of armed men openly to the League while the King lived, yet he permitted that Count *Jago de Collalto* (who had raised a *Tertia* of German Infantry for his service, and which was paid by him) should, under shew of friendship to the Duke of *Mayenne*, go to serve him; and had, by his authority, and partly with moneys, assisted the levies of *Swisses* and *Germans*, which the Duke of *Brunswick*, Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and the *Sieur de Boffompierre*, had made in favor of the League. But now the Kings death had taken away that scruple, and that so honourable a pretence of assisting the Catholics against an Heretick excommunicated King, presented it self, the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped he would turn all his Forces to assist the League, and therefore he staid to hear his mind more particularly from the mouth of Don *Juan de Morrea*, and then he meant to send some person of Authority, to establish the agreement of common affairs.

Charles the Tenth taken out of *Chinon*, and removed to *Fontenay* a stronger place, where he is kept with stricter guards

The Duke of *Luxembourg* is sent Ambassador to the Pope by the Catholick Royalists. The King appoints the Assembly of the States at *Tours*, which is made the Head-quarter of his party.

The Body of *Henry* the Third is laid in the great Church at *Compeigne*.

But the King having heard of the Declaration which had been made at *Paris*, and received in other places of the League, concerning the Cardinal his Uncle, the first thing that came into his mind, was (just as the Duke of *Mayenne* had imagined) to dispatch his Confident *du Pleffis-Mornay* to *Chinon*, where the Cardinal was, and give order, That he should be removed to *Fontenay*, and there kept more carefully with stricter Guards, thinking that place more secure, because it was near *Rochelle*, and environed on all sides with the Hugonot Forces. The second thing was to sollicite the Catholics who had acknowledged him, to send the Embassie already resolved on to *Rome*, to begin to enter into a Treaty with the Pope, and to see if it was possible to satisfy him: Wherefore the Catholick Lords desiring, that their Embassie might have authority, both by the Birth and Wisdom of the person employed, chose the Duke of *Luxembourg*, a man of most noble Blood, of singular parts, and great experience in busineses of the Court. The Embassie to the Pope being dispatched, the King, desirous to shew that he remembered what he had promised to the Catholics, caused the Assembly of the States to be appointed in *October* following at the City of *Tours*, which (the Parliament and Court of Exchequer residing there) was made the Metropolis of his Party. There he made shew to the Catholics, That in the Congregation of the States he would be instructed in the Roman Religion by learned pious men, whom he had sent for from all parts; and with words and demonstrations professed, that he would submit himself to what should be determined in the Assembly: Although the Hugonots affirm, that he told them otherwise in secret; which was not much to be wondered at in the doubtfulness of his present condition. These things being dispatched, all necessary and fundamental to the establishing of his Kingdom, not to stay for the whole Army of the League, which was to follow him within a few days, he marched towards *Compeigne*, taking with him the King's dead body; and having by the way taken *Meulan*, *Gisors*, and *Clermont*, arrived there upon the Four and twentieth of *August*: And there having laid the Body in the great Church, with very little pomp, and such as the necessity of the times would permit, he went towards *Normandy* with all possible speed.

At his entering into that Province, as it were, for a prosperous beginning of good fortune, Captain *Rolet* came to him, a man no less valiant than discreet, who held *Pont de l'Arche*, a most important place, three Leagues above *Rouen*, and as it were the Key of the River *Seine*; and taking the Oath of Allegiance, delivered up the Forts into his hands. Being come into the Province, the King in three days march came to *Darnetal*, a Town less then two leagues distant from *Rouen*, and there having incamped his Army, he resolved to make as if he meant to besiege that City, in which the Duke of *Anmale* and Count *de Brissac* were; not that he thought he had either strength or preparations sufficient to take it, but to shew a resolute mind, and a good courage, and to amuse the enemy, till he had disposed what he had intended to do: wherefore the Army being encamped, and the Mills which were without the Works being burnt; whilst there pass frequent skirmishes with the Garrison, the King having left the care of the Army to the D: of *Montpensier*, and the Marschal *de Biron*, went speedily with Three hundred Horse as far as *Diepe*; which City, governed by the Commendatory *de Chateaux*, had acknowledged him. When the King had carefully considered the

the City of *Diepe*, the Haven of it (very capacious, upon the shore of the Ocean) and the Country that lay near about it, he resolved to remove thither with all his Forces, and there to sustain the first violence of the Army of the League; being persuaded to this resolution, because the Town is seated upon the Sea, right over against *England*, with a sufficient Harbour to receive any Fleet, how numerous soever; by which means he might have supplies of Men, Money, Cannon, and Ammunition from Queen *Elizabeth*: And in case he should be so straitned by the Enemies, as to see himself not able to resist, he might go away for *England*, to return afterwards, and land at *Rochelle*, or in what other place he should think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination, by the strength of the City, and the Castle of it; by the largeness of the Suburbs, fit to quarter his men; by the strong situation of the passages about it, which was such, as every place might be defended span by span; so that they could not, without a long time, and much fighting, be reduced within the circuit of the Castle. For all these reasons, he presently dispatched *Philip* Sieur du *Fresne* unto the Queen of *England*, (to whom he had formerly been sent by the late King, and was returned about that very time) to let Her know his necessities, and to desire Her assistance of Men and Money: And having made this most important Expedition with most exquisite diligence, he joined his Horse to the Garison of *Diepe*, and took *Es* and *Neuf-Châtel*, but weak Towns, yet not far off, that he might take away all near impediments: and having purged the Country very carefully on all sides, he returned to the Army at *Darnetal*, to bring it with a commodious march to quarter at *Diepe*.

He marched from *Darnetal* the second of *September*, with One thousand and four hundred Horse, two Regiments of *Swisses*, which amounted to the number of Three thousand, and Three thousand French Muskettiers; to so small a number were his Forces reduced since the Kings death. There were with him the Duke of *Montpensier*, who led the Van; the Count d' *Anguine* Grand Prior, (anger for the Kings death, and desire of revenge, having made him forget all former disgrunts;) *Armand* Maréchal de *Byron*, who had the chief authority in the Government; his Son *Charles* Baron de *Byron*; *Charles* of *Montmorancy* Seigneur de *Mern*, or, as they called him, Lord d' *Anville*, who commanded the *Swisses*; *Monsieur de Chastillon*, General of the French Infantry; *Monsieur de Rieux* Field-Marshal; *Monsieur de Baquerville*, who commanded the Light-horse; the Sieurs de *Rembures*, de *Larchant*, de *Mignoville*, de *Guirry*, de *Hallot*, and de *La Force*; the other Lords and Gentlemen, according to the first resolution, being gone into several parts of the Kingdom. With these Commanders, and with this Army, the King being come near *Diepe*, gave order that the Commandatory de *Chartres* should continue in the City, and in his wonted Command of the Citadel, with the ordinary Garison of Two hundred Souldiers, and two Companies of French Infantry extraordinary, which made in all the number of Five hundred Foot; and he with the whole Army resolved to keep possession of the Field.

The City of *Diepe* (as hath been said before) is situated upon the shore of the Ocean Sea, just over against *England*; and hath a Port on the right side, which extending it self like a Half-moon, is able to contain a great many Vessels with great security; and on the left hand stands the Citadel, which being of a four square form, and seated something high, doth with four great Towers scow the Field on one side, and on the other masters and commands the Town. The seat of this City is strong and advantageous: For on the side toward the Sea it is fortified with Flankers, Ravelines, and Platforms, besides the so powerful defence of the water; and on the side toward the Land, the Country is so rough, that Armies cannot be brought thither without much difficulty, nor Cannon without much more; and the manner of the way round about, affords an infinite number of convenient obstacles for defence: For it lies between two steep, uneven, woody Hills, which from the bank of the Sea, shoot out many miles into the Country; and between these two lies a narrow Valley, thorow which runs the River *Besbayne*, which dividing the City from a great Bourg called *Pollar*, falls into the Haven, and thence consequently straight into the Sea. By this River the Sea-waters spring, when it is high tide, do spread themselves for many miles over the valley, making it so fenny, deep, and dirty, that there is no passing to the City along the Plain, but only upon the two Hills; and by another way, which, made by art, leads along the foot of the Hill on the left hand, and with many turnings and windings, comes to the Gate of the Town. So that only two ways lead to the City: one upon the top, the other at the bottom of the Hill on the left hand;

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and

2542

The Kings Army is reduced to but 6000 Foot, and 1400 Horse; yet he marches with good success as far as *Diepe*.

The situation of *Diepe* described.

2582

and the way which is upon the top of the Hill on the right hand, leads straight to *Pollet*, which Bourg is divided from the City by the interposition of the Haven, and the Current of the small River *Bethune*. The Country from one Hill to the other, is all moorish and rotten by the standing of the waters; and there is no passage, but only by a very narrow way, interrupted by many Bridges, because the River divides it self into many streams. Upon the Hill on the left side, which is no less steep and craggy than the other, stands the Castle of *Arques*, little more than a league from the Town, a place excellently fortified both by Art and Nature, which commands a great Bourg of the same name, that lies under it, just upon the way which at the foot of the mountain leads to *Diepe* along the bank of the River: The right-hand Hill, which is much more woody than the other, doth not run on equally united in one ridge, as that on the left hand doth, but about a league from *Pollet*, is parted by a great Valley, which extends it self as far as over against *Arques*; and in it upon the right-hand is *Marting-lie*, a great commodious Village; and on the left an Hospital of St. *Lazarus*, which the French commonly call a *Maladery*.

The King lies with his Army and fortifies the quarters about *Diepe*, possessing all places of advantage.

The King having with his Commanders diligently surveyed every one of these places, resolved to quarter with all his Army at *Arques*, believing that if the Duke of *Mayenne* followed him, he would not pass along the Hill on the right side, which leads only to *Pollet* thorow the Valley and the Wood, but would keep the straight way that goes to the walls of *Diepe*: Wherefore the whole Arthy working speedily, and likewise those few peasants which could be got together, he enclosed the Castle and Bourg with a good Trench of about eight foot wide, and as much in depth, making Works on the inside with all the earth, and distinguished it with Redoubts and Ravelines, about sixty paces distant from each other: and then having placed his Cannon to the best advantage, he himself lodged in the Castle with all the French Foot, and the Marechal de *Byron* in the Bourg with the Regiments of the Swisses, shutting up in that manner both the ways which lead towards the Town, as well that at the top, as the other at the bottom of the Hill. The Horse, quartered in that space which reaches from the Trenches as far as *Diepe*, lay ready behind the Army to move where need should require, there being left room enough, in fitting places of the Trench, to fall out conveniently fifty Horse in front, a sufficient Body for any action they should undertake. Many Ships were appointed at *Diepe* to fetch Victual for the Army from *England*, and the Coasts of *Normandy*, from *Caen*, *St. Lo*, and *Carantan*, places which held for the King; which succeeded marvellously well: for some winds brought in Barks from *England*, others those that came from *Normandy*, supplying with interchangeable assistance the necessities of the Souldiers, who in that convenient season of the year had also many miles of a most fertile Country in their power; by the fruits whereof both Horse and Foot were plentifully furnished.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having received the Marquess *du Pont*, who was come with the Army of *Lorain* to assist the League, and likewise the Duke of *Nemours*, who had brought up the Forces of *Lyonoise*, Monsieur de *Balagny* Governour of *Cambray*, and finally the German Horse and Foot which had been levied by his order, with the help of *Spain*; that he might preserve his reputation, and fulfil the infinite hopes he had to conquer, and drive the King out of the Kingdom, was moved from *Paris* upon the first day of *September*, and with six thousand Swisses, four thousand German Foot, twelve thousand Muskettiers between French and Lorainers, and with four thousand and five hundred Horse, received *Poissy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which yielded to him; and having in two days taken *Gournay*, which would have made resistance, marched on diligently towards *Rouen*, whence finding the King departed, he took along with him the Duke of *Aumale*, and so increasing his Forces, which augmented every hour, continued on his Voyage with the same speed towards *Diepe*; but he took a different way from what the King and his Commanders thought he would; for leaving that by the hill on the left hand which goes to *Diepe* by the way of *Arques*, and upon which he knew the Army was prepared to make opposition, being excellently quartered in places of advantage; he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a design to come to *Pollet*, and making himself Master of it, to block up and command the mouth of the Haven, that the King being deprived of the use of Shipping, and cut off from his passage to the Sea, might not only want the assistance he hoped to receive from *England*, but also be reduced to extream necessity of victual, thinking he should this way very easily conquer, and make an end of the War.

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But the King, to whom the *Sieur de Baqueville*, who had the care of discovering the motion of the Enemy, had brought word in time, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the way toward the hill on the right hand, perceiving his aim, and desiring to prevent it, left the *Mareschal de Byron* at *Arques* with the *Swisses*, besides a thousand *Muskettiers*, and six hundred Horse; not only that he might hinder the passage of the Enemy on that side, as had been the first intention; but also that passing cross the Valley, he might advance to the foot of the right hand hill, and there draw a line about the *Maladerie*, and then make another great trench toward the bottom, to shut up the Duke's passage on that side also by a double impediment, to the end that he might not be able to get over to the left hand hill; which if he could do, he might either assault the Army in their works, or else putting himself between, might streighten it, and separate it from the Town. Care being thus taken for matters without, the King with the rest of the Cavalry, and the remainder of the French *Muskettiers* went presently thotow the City to *Pollet*, where, with continual labour day and night, the Lords and Commanders taking no less pains than the common *Souldiers* and inhabitants of the place, he environed the whole Bourg with a deep trench, which ending in the form of a spur, made a sharp angle, in the point whereof a great Mill was made into a Fort, filling it up with earth, and setting palisadoes round about; so that having planted six pieces of Cannon, though but small ones, upon the works, he brought all his men to lie within that Fortification.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who by reason of the hinderance of his Artillery, and the difficulty of the steep rugged ways, had been fain to march slowly, arrived upon *Wednesday* the thirteenth of *September* within sight of *Pollet*, and having drawn his Army into Battalia, made a stand for three hours, expecting that the King would come forth of his trenches to fight; and in the mean time, caused his light-horse to scowr the Country every where, being led on the one side by the Duke of *Nemours*, and on the other by the Count de *Sagone*. But the King finding himself without comparison inferior in Forces, (for his *Souldiers* were few more than seven thousand, counting also those that were at *Arques*; and the Dukes Army was between eight and twenty and thirty thousand Horse and Foot, and was furnished with great store of Ammunition, and an excellent train of Artillery) keeping within his works, consented only that the light-Horse commanded by the *Grand-Priour* should go out, and after them the *Sieur de Larchant's*, and *Monsieur de la Force's* Troops of *Lanciers*, to make good their retreat if need were. They skirmished all the time that the Army of the League stood still; and sometimes the service grew so hot, that the ignorant thought often the Commanders would put it to a Battel; in which encounters the Kings party prevailing for the most part, there was very little hurt done on either side. But the Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the King would not venture the hazard of a day, unless he were forced, and then with the advantage of his works and trenches, retiring over the hill, quartered his Army at *Martinglise*; and having caused *Pollet* to be viewed that night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in a manner inaccessible on all sides, by reason it commanded all the Plain, and that it was flanked and fortified by the Cannon of the Town, resolved not to attempt it; but to pass over to the hill on the left side, to try either to take the Castle of *Arques*, and besiege the Kings Army; or else to draw them to battel in the defence of their post; for he was so confident of the valour and number of his men, that if he could not do otherwise, he feared not to assault the King, even within the advantage of his own trenches.

In the mean time the *Mareschal de Byron* had possessed himself of the *Maladery*; and as soon as he had with infinite diligence cast a great trench round about it, he placed there twelve Companies of *Swisses*, and three hundred French *Muskettiers*; and not trusting wholly to that, had made up another high work within less than five hundred paces below the first, into which he put the *Swisses* of the Kings guard with Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given three days rest unto his men, upon the sixteenth day at night marched with all his Army in battalia without noise of either Drum or Trumpet, and turning his back towards *Pollet* passed beyond the Kings Trenches, and appeared about break of day upon the descent of the Hill that goes down into the Plain, purposing to pass the bridges unawares, and to get up without opposition on the left side; but he found himself prevented by the Kings vigilancy, who being come in the evening silently to *Arques*, and having intelligence of his moving many hours before it

The Duke of *Mayenne* being come before the Kings trenches, draws his Army in battalia; but the Kings *Souldiers* coming only to skirmish, no battel followeth.

1589. was day, had disposed his Forces in exceeding good order: some at the entry of the bridges, where the Grand Prior was with his Light-Horse, and the Lanciers of the *Sieur Larchant*, and *Monfieur de la Force*; some in the middle of the Plain, where the French Infantry was incompassed with the boggs and pools made by the Rivers; some in the lower way of the hill on the left side, where the Duke of *Montpensier* was with the Nobility, and the Companies of *Rambures*, *Hallot*, and *Mignoville*; and some upon the ascent of the same way where the *Mareschal de Byron* was, with a Squadron of Swisses flanked with Muskettiers. The Artillery of *Arques* was all levelled to secure the Plain; and *Galati* having turned his back to the *Maladery*, and his face toward the Enemy, did with his Swisse Muskettiers play from the second Trench, and annoyed that very descent by which the Army of the League was to come down.

The Germans of the League make signs of coming over to the Kings party, are received by them at the *Maladery*; but being entred, fall hostily upon them that had brought them in, and make themselves masters of the place.

The Duke thought that defence ordered with so good conduct, that not to fight at the same time with such a disadvantage of place, and with an Army which he saw standing firm in their ranks most ready for the Battel, took a resolution to retire, and by experience found it was impossible to pass the Plain, and to get up the Hill on the left side, unless he first mastered the Kings two Trenches, which from a high place, commanded all the Descent, and all the Plain: Wherefore returning to his quarters at *Martinglise*, he made his men skirmish sometimes toward *Pollet*, sometimes toward the Trenches, to keep the King uncertain on which side he was resolved to fall: And finally, upon the One and twentieth day in the morning, which was the Feast of *St. Matthew* the Apostle, being resolved to try his fortune, he commanded the Count *de Belin*, one of the Field-Marschals, to go straight to attack the *Maladery*, and begin the Battel there, with Count *Jago de Collatto* his Regiment of Germans, and the Foot Regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye*; he having brought on his men thorow a covert woody way, but exceeding troublefom, within shot of the great Trench; the Germans wearied with their march, and the unevenness of the way, and knowing the assault, by reason of the height of the Work would be very difficult, resolved to advantage their design by art, (if deceit may be so called:) Wherefore holding up their Hats upon the tops of their Pikes, and stretching forth their hands, they made signs that their intention was to come over to the Kings party, and not to storm or assault that Work: Which being easily believed, because a rumour was spread abroad, that, being unsatisfied with the Duke, they sought an occasion to revolt, they came till they were just under the Work, without being either shot at or resisted: Being arrived there, and confirming that with their words, which they had signified by their actions, they were by the Souldiers of the same Nation pulled up by the hand, and helped to get upon the *Parapet*; where they were no sooner gotten up, but charging their Pikes, and turning their shorter weapons against the French and Swisses, they began to fall unexpectedly upon them; who using neither Muskets nor Firelocks, because they had them not by them; but seeing themselves suddenly assaulted, or, as they said, betrayed and murdered, turned their backs without resistance, and with infinite terror and confusion began to flee towards the descent, thinking to retire in safety to the Plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye*, who, divided into two fleeing Squadrons, followed the steps of the Germans, having seen this beginning, rushed suddenly out of the Wood, and losing no time, advanced as fast as ever they could to the same Trench, where closing with the Flank of the German Battalion, they ran together (being filled with courage and fury by their happy success) to give a violent assault to the second Work. On the other side, the *Mareschal de Byron* was run thither, to encourage Colonel *Galati* to defend the Fortifications undauntedly: But the assault was so hot and unexpected, by reason of the sudden taking of the *Maladery*, that the Swisses of the Guard giving back, and the *Mareschal de Byron* being thrown from his horse, that Work also was with incredible celerity gained by the Enemy.

The Armies join battel.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having heard of this fortunate beginning, and following the conjuncture of so fair an opportunity, gave order to the Duke of *Nemours* and the Count *de Sagone*, to advance with the Light-horse on the right hand of the Trenches already taken; and to the Duke of *Angoulême* to fall on with One thousand and two hundred Horse on the left side; and he himself, according as the quality of the situation would permit, followed with the remainder of the Army divided into several Squadrons. The King full of grief and anger for the unthought-of loss of the Trenches, and seeing it was necessary to fight with his utmost force, encouraged the Duke of *Montpensier*

penfier with effectual words, to charge the Duke of *Aumale*; and the Grand Prior on the other side to encounter the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Light-horse of the League. The Grand Prior but young, yet desirous to get honour, and with his own hand to take some revenge for the Kings death, coming up to the head of his Troop, and presently putting down the Bever of his Helmet, ran full gallop to meet the Enemy; and having seen the Count *de Sagone* at the head of his Squadron, he called him by his name, and challenged him to fight hand to hand; which being no less gallantly accepted, they charged one another so resolutely, that the Grand Prior receiving a Pistol shot in the forehead of his Helmet, reeled often, and was like to have fallen; but the Count *de Sagone* wounded with a brace of Bullets in the side and left thigh, fell from his horse dead upon the earth. With no less fury than their Commanders, did the Kings Light-horse rush upon the Enemy: But their number was so much greater, being followed by two Squadrons of *Reiters*, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to second them, that they were forced to retreat; so that still giving ground, yet still obstinately resisting, they were furiously driven back to the foot of the Hill, whither the Cannon from *Arques* reached, both to defend their own men, and repel the violence of the Enemy: In which Conflict, hot and bloody on both sides, the *Sieur de Baqueville* died fighting, who was the Grand Prior's Lieutenant-General. On the other side, the Duke of *Montpensier* having met with those who fleeing from the Trenches, ran disorderly toward the Plain, being half routed by them, had much ado to disengage himself, and keep his ranks; and being come up to close with the Squadron led by the Duke of *Aumale*, discouraged by their number that came up *picquering*, and discharging their Pistols, he retired still toward the descent, being fiercely pursued at the heels by the Cavalry of the League. The King, who was between both the Bodies, and who, to give fitting orders, had unadvisedly advanced to the steep of the right hand Hill, was so engaged in the midst of many Squadrons of the Enemy, that being abandoned almost by all, and his courage not suffering him to flee, he thought himself absolutely lost; and with cries, intreaties, and threatnings, rode stopping and reproving, sometimes one, sometimes another, and bewailing himself with a loud voice, *That in all France there could not be found fifty Gentlemen who had courage enough to die in company with their King.* Nor did any man doubt, but if the Duke of *Mayenne* had come up time enough with the rest of the Army, the King and his whole Forces had at that time been utterly suppressed. But whilst he, leading on the Cavalry by an uneven troublesome way, feared they would be put in disorder, and therefore marched very softly, and turned back often to make them keep rank and file, he gave the King convenient time to recover: For in the interim the *Sieur de Chastillon*, with two Regiments of French Infantry, having quitted the Hill on the left side, where he had stood from the beginning; and seeing the danger in which his party was, marched up with all speed to the place of battel, and crying out to the King, *Courage Sir, we are here, and will die with you:* He charged the Regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigne-raye* with so much fury, that having taken the Count *de Belin* prisoner, and the chief Commander of the Lorainers, with the death of above three hundred of their men, he beat them out of the Trench: At which time, the tyde of the business turning in a moment, the *Mareschal de Byron* being happily escaped out of the Enemies hand, had with Colonel *Galati* made the Swisses stand, who before were running away; and facing about with as much gallantry, as before they were fleeing with haste, they marched up, and joined with Monsieur *de Chastillon*, who having already taken the first Trench, was rallying his men to assault the *Maladery*. The King himself being valiantly come up thither, caused the Baron *de Byron* with an hundred Gentlemen, who were gathered together about him from several parts, to alight from their horses; and having placed them in the first file of the Infantry, set them on without losing further time, to give a fierce assault to the great Trench. The service was hot and bloody for the space of a quarter of an hour; but *Collalto's* Landskenets already tired with their march and with fighting, being charged on all sides, gave back at last; and being beaten, and driven out with a great slaughter, quitted the *Maladery*, being repelled with as much fury by the Swisse Pikemen, and French Muskettiers, as they had by cunning been easily drawn into it at the beginning.

In the mean time the King, whose admirable celerity did in such a time of need supply all wants in all places, with threescore Horse, which he had rallied with much ado, ran up to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and turned vigorously to charge the Squadron of the

1589.

The Grand Prior challenges the Count *de Sagone*, and kills him in the sight of both Armies.

The King is in great danger in the midst of the Enemies.

A Speech of the King of France.

The King being relieved by Monsieur *de Chastillon*, recovers the Trenches; and the Duke of *Mayenne* loseth the opportunity of the Victory.

1589.

The Duke of Mayenne, who with so much greater Forces and such prosperous success began the battel of Arques, retired, because his men were wearied, and wanted Ammunition.

A saying of the Kings.

the Duke of Anmale, who being Master of the field, did already over-run all the descent; so that after an obstinate fight, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite thorow it, and followed it fighting to the craggy part of the Hill. The Grand Prior on the other side, who before had been forced to retire, being succoured in his danger by the Lanciers of the Sieurs de Larchant, Montataire, and la Force, who came up last into the Battel, presently made the Light-horse of the League to turn their backs, and to run full speed along that way which leads from the place of Battel to Martinglise. The Duke of Mayenne, who came thither when his Cavalry was already retiring, and when the Kings Forces had recovered their Works, thinking it too late to do any more, and that his men were tired with long fighting; and seeing that because the way was so bad, the Ammunition which was behind came not up, whereof the Infantry had great need, having spent all theirs with fighting all the day, caused a Retreat to be sounded, and drew off to his first quarters. This was the dangerous Battel of Arques, which was fought the whole day with various fortune, and with an event so different from the beginning, that the King said openly at night, *That the Duke of Mayenne either was not the Souldier which every one believed, or else had born him respect, and reserved him for a better occasion.*

Men of experience doubted not but the Victory was on the Kings side, who (though with various success) had defended his posts, and hindered the Enemies from passing over to the hill of Arques, which was their principal end and intention; and yet the Duke of Mayenne cried up the advantage of his own party, confirming it by a Cornet of Light-horse, and three Ensigns of Foot which were fallen into the hands of his Souldiers at the first taking of the Trenches, and were therefore carried with infinite boasting to Paris. Of the League there were slain above six hundred men, among which the Count de Sagone, and the Baron de St. André; and of the Kings men only two hundred: but the loss was very great, by reason of the death of Baqueville, a resolute, diligent, and a valliant Souldier, and truly proper to command Light-horse, which requires not only courage, but also celerity and diligence: Nor was it a small misfortune that befel the Sieur de Montataire, the Prince of Conde's Lieutenant; who having received a Musket-shot in the left leg, was absolutely lamed in the cure.

At night the Duke, being resolved to try all possible means to drive away the King, or to draw him out of his Works, determined to pass on the other side of Diepe, not by the ordinary road, but a long way about; for having gone round both the Hills, he got in three days march on the North side of the City near the walls towards the Cittadel; and the same night, being the four and twentieth of September, did with very great speed cause eight Pieces of Cannon to be planted, with which the next morning he began to batter the houses of the Town: but the King, after the Army of the League was seen to march that way, having left Monsieur d'Anville with the Regiment of the Sieur de la Garde, four Companies of Switzers, and threescore Horse, to make good Arques, was come with all his Army to Diepe; and being quartered in the Fauxbourgs, flanked and defended by the Cannon of the Cittadel, he commanded the fight to be smartly begun on all sides, by that means to hinder the Enemies battery. They of the League advanced no less fiercely to the skirmish; but a new unwonted invention broke off the encounter, to their no small loss: for the King having sent forth the Baron of Byron with a great Squadron of Horse into the middle of the field; and the Duke of Mayenne incensed by their temerity in coming out so far, or thinking they had unadvisedly engaged themselves, sent out two great Bodies of Horse to charge them; at whose arrival the Kings men opening to the right and left hand, with expert readines, there appeared two great Culverins in the midst, which giving fire, and running off at the same time with skill and admirable quickness, did not only kill many of them, and break their ranks, but by the wonderful art and spectacle of seeing two such great Engines skirmish among the Horse, caused the Enemy to wheel about and retire. This so new, and so nimble manner of ordering Pieces of great weight, was the invention of Charles Brise, a Cannoneer born in Normandy, who, after having been many years at Sea with Pirate Ships in the West-Indies, was grown excellent in managing Ordnance; and in the whole course of the Civil Wars, performed both this and many other services with very great praise of ingenuity and experience.

A device of the Royalists

But while they skirmished hotly, and made a great noise about the Town-walls with their Artillery, the Duke of Mayenne did in an instant cause the Duke of Anmale with

with the Rereguard (in which he had for that purpose placed a Regiment of Walloons, the Regiment of *Lorain*, and *Collalto's* Landskeners) to storm the Works and Castle of *Arques*, hoping to carry it, and streighten the King within the bare circuit of the Town: But he found so stout resistance there, that after having re-inforced the assault for the space of two hours, his Foot were fain to retreat with the loss of two Captains, and above an hundred Souldiers: Nor did *d'Anville's* Forces scape without loss; for notwithstanding the strength and advantage of the place; there were slain above sixty foot, two Swisse Captains, and Colonel *la Garde* dangerously hurt in the thigh.

1589.

But though the King and his Army had fought very luckily, and beaten back the Enemies in all places; yet were they not only much spent with weariness, (for being few in number, they were fain to do continual duty) but also in want of victual; for being reduced to scarcity in the end of *September*, and the rains and storms beginning to be very great, neither could Ships so opportunely bring in Provisions; nor could the Country, wasted and destroyed, furnish any longer sufficient food for men, nor forage for horses, which by their toils and sufferings were brought to extream weakness. But the Kings hopes depended upon the relief which he expected from two several places; for he had written to the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Marechal *d'Aumont*, that uniting their Forces, they should march up to him; thinking that the Duke of *Mayenne* would not suffer himself to be inclosed between two Armies, though inferiour in strength, but that at their approach he would raise his Camp; and on the other side he knew Four thousand English Foot, with great store of Ammunition, were ready to be imbarqued, which Queen *Elizabeth* sent to his relief; by whose arrival, his Army would be re-inforced, and their hard duty partly lessened, not doubting, but that with the English Fleet would come great store of Provisions, where-with he might sustain his Army many days. The Duke of *Longueville*, and the Marechal *d'Aumont*, contrary to expectation, came first, (as Voyages by Sea are very uncertain;) for having joined themselves together with the Count *de Soissons*, who was freed from his imprisonment in *Bretagne*, and the Sieur *de la Noye*, they hastened their march in such manner, that upon the Six and twentieth day they quartered with in six leagues of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Army: Wherefore the Duke, that he might not be encompassed, and because he was out of hope of doing any good at *Diepe*, raised his Camp upon the Eight and twentieth day in the morning, and drew toward *Picardy* to meet the Forces which by order from the Catholick King, were coming out of *Flanders* with the Sieur *de la Motte* to his assistance.

The Duke of Mayenne marches from Diepe with his Army.

The next day the Duke of *Longueville* and Marechal *d'Aumont* joined with the King; who having left the Marechal *de Byron* at *Diepe*, went forth with six hundred Horse and two thousand Foot to meet them, and following the Army of the League the same way, took *Eu*, and the Castle of *Gamaches* before he passed the River *Somme*, opportunely making use of the occasion, while the Duke, whose Army diminished continually by the running away of his men, (being intent upon his way) marched still close, and in order, and went further from them; so that without receiving the least harm, the King came to *Amiens*, the chief City of *Picardy*, where he was entertained with very great pomp, being met without the Gates by all the Citizens, who presented unto him a Canopy of State to be carried over him, as the custom is to do unto the King; but he refused it, giving great testimony of his prudence and moderation by an act of so great modesty.

The King in modesty refused to go under the Canopy of State at Amiens.

Whilst he stays at *Amiens* to put the Army again in order, and settle the affairs of that City, four thousand English, and a thousand Scots, sent by Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at *Diepe*: Wherefore the King (to whom prosperous fortune began on all sides to shew her face) being returned with his whole Army, received them, to the great contentment of every one: for they had not only brought an exceeding quantity of victuals, but also a certain sum of money, which without delay, or shewing the least sign of covetousness, was presently all distributed to his Souldiers; by which readiness (though the sum was not great) every body was equally pleased and satisfied.

The General of these forces was that Noble Lord Peregrine Bertue, Lord Willoughby, Father to the late Earl of Lindsey; who was slain in the Battle of Edgehill, where he was General of the Kings Army.

The English having rested themselves, and those that bore the toils in the service at *Diepe* being refreshed after their sufferings, in the best manner that possibly might be, the King desirous not to lose time, now that the Duke of *Mayenne* and his Army were far off, resolved to assault the Suburbs of *Paris*; not so much out of any grounded hope, that by the benefit of some unexpected accident he should be able to take the

the

1589.

The Kings
Army marches
towards Paris.

the City in the terror and tumult of the people, which by him and all his Commanders was thought impossible; as by the pillage of those Suburbs, full of the riches of many years, to supply the evident necessity of his Army, in which the Gentry, no less than the private Souldiers, were reduced to very great scarcity of money; and not only the furniture of their houses, but even their arms and wearing clothes spoiled, and broken with ill weather and perpetual service. With this design he departed from *Diepe* upon the Nineteenth of *October*, having in his Army Twenty thousand Foot, Three thousand Horse, and Fourteen great Pieces, and with convenient marches took the direct way to *Paris*. The Grand Prior, and the Baron *de Guiry*, who succeeded in the place of *Baquerille*, scoured the way before them with the Light-horse: The Count *de Soissons*, and the Marechal *d'Amont* led the Vanguard: In the Battel was the King, with the Marechal *de Byron*, and Monsieur *de la Noue*; the Duke of *Longueville* led the Rear: With this order, as soon as the Army was come to *Pont de l'Arche*, the Duke of *Montpensier* having passed the *Seine* with Three hundred Horse, went towards *Normandy*, to go to *Caen*, and look to the affairs of that Province, where the Forces of the League were very powerful: Upon the last of *October*, the King quartered with his Army a league from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*; where the tumult of the people, and the trouble of the Dutcheffes was very great, seeing the Duke of *Mayenne* far off, and the King come unexpectedly to assault the City, at a time when they were perswaded he had enough to do to defend himself, and that he was so weak he must needs be either presently suppressed, or beaten out of the Kingdom; for the Duke of *Mayenne* crying up the greatness of his Forces to the people when he went to the assault of *Diepe*, had written to *Paris*, that within few days he would either bring the King up prisoner, or force him to flee shamefully into *England*. Now busineses proving so contrary, the City unprovided of Souldiers, and seeing they could not hope for any relief, was full of fear and trouble; especially, there being no Head of Authority, who might keep the people in order, and provide what should be needful: For though *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, the Spanish Ambassador, laboured with all his power to comfort them, with grave Speeches, and with his presence in every place; yet there was no man in whom the Parisians could much confide, either for experience in arms, or for alliance to that Family: But at night Monsieur *de Rohne* arrived opportunely, who being at *Estampes*, (which Town he had taken a few days before) marched fourteen leagues without any stay, and came into the City (though with but a few Horse) in the beginning of the night. At his arrival the Council of the League recovering courage, resolved, That the Suburbs should be defended; to which end, the people taking arms, and all, both great and little, and even the very Fryars running armed, they were in the best order that might be, distributed in those Works which had been cast up three months before, at the time when it was besieged by *Henry the Third*. The King before peep of day upon the first of *November*, being *All Saints* day, divided his Foot into three *Terriers*; one of which was led by the Marechal *de Byron*, the Baron his Son, and the *Sieur de Guiry* to assault the Fauxbourg of *St. Vistre*, and *St. Marceau*; the second, led by the Marechal *d'Amont*, Monsieur *d'Anville*, and Colonel *de Rieux*, against the Fauxbourg of *St. Jacques* and *St. Michael*; and the third, commanded by the *Sieurs de Chastillon*, and *de la Noue*, assaulted the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*. The Cavalry being likewise distinguished into three Divisions; one led by the King, another by Count *Saffre*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, stood all ready in the Field, each Body as a reserve to its Squadron of Foot, in case of any unexpected accident which might happen. The assault began when it was broad day light, and lasted very fierce for the space of an hour; but the Works being beaten down in many places, and there being no equality between the inexperience of the people, and the valour of the Kings Souldiers, the Defendants were at last forced to give back, who with a great slaughter had much ado to retire time enough to have the Gates of the City shut; the assailants pressing on violently on every side, and particularly the *Sieur de la Noue*, who having entered the Fauxbourg *St. Germain*, and coming down through the street which is called the *Rue de Tournon*, followed those so furiously who retreated in at the *Porte de Nesle*, that it could hardly be shut, the *Sieur de Rohne* himself being there. In this assault above Nine hundred Parisians were slain, and above Four hundred taken prisoners, among which Father *Edmond Bourgois*, Prior of the Convent of *Jacques*; who being convicted by Witnesses, to have publicly (in the Pubic) praised the murder of *Henry the Third*, and to have counselled and instigated

The King as-
saults the Su-
burbs of Paris
upon All
Saints day,
takes them,
and gives the
pillage to the
Souldiers.

Father *Edmond
Bourgois*, of the
order of *S. Do-
minick*, taken
prisoner, is
condemned to
be torn by four
horses, for ha-
ving counsel-
led and praised
the Kings
murderer.

instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons, after the Fact, to *Judas*, and the dead King to *Holofernes*, and the City delivered to *Bethulia*; he was, by judgment of the Parliament of *Tours*, sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the wind: which sentence, some few months after, was severely executed. The Suburbs being entred on every side, the Officers withheld their Souldiers with infinite care, from running up and down confusedly to plunder, till the Cavalry were come in, and placed ready to repel those that should have the boldness to sally out of the City; and then the quarters were divided among them, and leave given unto them to sack it; with charge nevertheless, not to violate either Churches, Monasteries, or other sacred places; which was observed with so much order by the Officers, and obedience by the Souldiers, that Masses were said that day in all Churches, as if there had been no such business; and all the Catholics of the Kings Army were present at them in great abundance, celebrating that Holiday with very great joy. The sacking of the Suburbs lasted as long as the Army continued in them: and the pillage was so rich and plentiful, that the Kings Army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having had notice that the King was marched toward *Paris*, omitting to meet with the Ministers of *Flanders*, for which reason he was drawn so near to those Confines; without staying for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole Army, and having passed the Bridge of *St. Maisant*, (contrary to the Kings expectation, who had commanded Monsieur de *Tbort*, Governour of *Senlis*, to break it down, which he, being sick in bed, could not so speedily perform) sent the Duke of *Nemours* before with the Light-horse, who arriving upon the second of *November*, did very much raise the spirits, and ease the trouble of the Parisians; who were in very great fear, that the King prosecuting his Victory, would assault the City after the taking of the Suburbs. The Duke of *Mayenne* came up also the next day: Wherefore the King, thinking himself not very secure in the Suburbs, being in danger to be suddenly assaulted, so that he could not be able to draw up his Cavalry, marched out upon the Fourth of *November*, on that side toward the *Porte St. Jacques*, and set his Army in Battalia, looking, for many hours, if the Duke of *Mayenne* would follow him; but seeing there was not the least stir from the City, he marched off with a slow pace, and quartered the same night at *Montperry*, and resolved to pass on to *Tours*, because he had given his word to the Catholick Lords, and issued Writs to assemble the States there in the end of *October*: And though he knew that by reason the War was kindled in every place, and all ways unsafe, the Deputies could not be met together at the appointed time; and though he had not used any diligence to bring them together, that he might not be so soon put upon the necessity of changing his Religion, and making all the Hugonots distrustful of him; yet would he be himself in that City, to the end he might not be accused by the Catholics, and that he might upon that occasion order the affairs of that Province, and, as soon as they were settled, return more fresh, and perhaps better furnished with the attendance of the Gentry, and with strength to maintain the War. The next night his Army lay under the Walls of *Estampes*; which Town being yielded without resistance, the King, because it had been taken thrice in a few months, thinking it could not be kept, caused it to be dismantled in his presence, leaving the Citizens in liberty to receive either party. Having staid there a day, he dispatched the Baron de *Guiry* into *Brie*, the Marechal d' *Aumont* into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*; giving to each convenient Forces to defend themselves in those Provinces; and he himself, with the rest of his Army, making short marches through *Beauvais*, and the most frequent passes of the *Loire*, took the direct way into *Touraine*.

While the principal Armies, and the Heads of the Factions make War thus sharply, the other parts and Provinces of the Kingdom were no less unquiet; but to the slaughter of men, and ruine of Towns, there were every where frequent bloody encounters: For in the County of *Beauvais*, the Marquis de *Piennes*, one of the principal Lords of the Union, defeated and killed the Sieur de *Bonivet*. In *Picardy* the Sieur d' *Arcey* having called the same Marquis de *Piennes* to his assistance, taking the opportunity of the waters being let out, that the moat of *la Ferre* might be cleansed, had surpris'd that Town suddenly by night. In *Berie* the Sieur de *Mantigny* holding the Kings party, defeated and took Monsieur de *la Chastre's* Lieutenant in the open field: and on the other side, Monsieur de *Nenny*, who held for the League, routed and took

1589.

The King leaves the Suburbs of Paris at the arrival of the Duke of Mayenne.

The King causes *Estampes* to be dismantled.

A narration of several successes which happened at the same time through all France.

1589.

The Duke of
Savoy besieges
Geneva.

prisoner the *Sieur de Gamachie*. In *Champagne* the Count *de Grandpré*, accompanied with a great many Gentlemen that were of the Kings party, surpris'd *Vitry*, and put all the Defendents to the sword: but being assaulted a few days after by Colonel *St. Paul*, who was chief Commander for the League in that Province, they fought so stoutly that they of the League got a most bloody Victory; and on the Kings side all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or grievously wounded, and the Count *de Grandpré* himself carried half dead to *Châlons*, being hurt in eighteen several places. In *Normandy*, the Baron *d'Eschaufour*, and Captain *Valage* routed and put to flight Colonel *St. Denis*, who was going with his Regiment to join with the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Liblouse*, *Lymoges*, and *Tours*, there were most turbulent unruly Seditions. In the Territories of *Geneva*, the War was very hot between that City and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having possessed himself of that Country, did also besiege the City, about which he rais'd many Forts, and was in very great hope to carry it. In *Provence*, Monsieur *de la Valette* Governour for the King, had many a skirmish with the Count *de Cars*, and the *Sieur de Vint*, who commanded for the League; and on both sides many Towns were taken, and many bloody encounters happened between them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alfonso Corso* being joined with the *Lesdiguières*, blocked up *Grenoble*; and *Valence*, the only Towns in that Province that held for the League: And thus with various successes, but still with the loss of much blood, was the War prosecuted by both Parties.

In the mean time, the King was come with his Army to *Château-Dun*, where the Swiss Commanders arriv'd, being returned from their Cantons, whither they had been sent by the Souldiers of their Nation who were in the Camp, to give notice of the death of *Henry the Third*, and to receive directions from the Republick what they should do for the future. They brought answer, that the Cantons would persevere in the same friendship and confederacy with King *Henry the Fourth*, as they had done with his Predecessor, and that therefore they should continue to serve and follow him: Which resolution of the Swisses was much furthered, not only by the wisdom of the *Sieur de Sillery*, who was there Ambassador, but also by the presence of *Jaques Auguste de Thou*, who returning out of *Italy*, (whither he had been sent by the late King to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*) had negotiated and perswaded that determination. The King and his whole Army was much pleased at it, as well because they had found, the greatest strength of the Infantry lay in the Regiments of the Swisses, who were there present, and had always fought very valiantly, as because they had hope to increase their number by a new Levy, which should be granted under the publick Ensigns of their Cantons.

The K. takes
Vendôme, and
gives the pil-
lage to his
Souldiers:
condemns the
Governour to
death for his
infidelity, and
Father *Robert*
a Franciscan
for having
commended
the killing of
Henry the III.

At his departure from *Château-Dun*, the King went to besiege *Vendôme*, a City of his Patrimony, and which was thought very convenient, because it was near the River *Loire*. The Suburbs were taken in the first on-set; and the King in person having viewed the walls, and the quality of the place, resolv'd to batter that side of the Castle, which, opposite to the Town, stands, but not very high, over a spacious Plain. There were two pieces planted the next day, to take away that defence, with intention to plant a Royal Battery against the Curtine, as soon as two Towers were beaten down, which served to flank it on each hand: but a great part of the Tower on the left hand being fallen, after not many shot, some of the Foot fell on to make the assault; but they found the place without resistance abandoned by the Defendents: wherefore having made themselves Masters of the Tower, they began with their Muskets to play from that higher place, upon the inside of the wall, where those of the Town were retired to make head: and the number of the Foot continually increasing with hopes of very good success, the Baron *de Byron*, newly made Field-Marshal by the King, ran thither, and had scarce brought down the Foot to assault the Defendents at the wall, when they, full of infinite fear, forsook it, and the whole circuit of the Castle at the same time, seeking to save themselves by flight in the City: but being prevented by the Souldiers who followed them fiercely, the City was also taken with the same fury in less than three hours; wherein, except Churches, Monasteries, and other sacred places, every thing was given up to the violence of the Souldiers, who took there great store of spoil and rich booty. The Governour who had often dealt perfidiously with the King, and had always falsified his Faith by double-dealing, was condemn'd to death, as also Father *Robert* a *Cordelier*, who had there publicly praised the Kings murderer, and with his Sermons stirr'd up the common people. After the taking of *Vendôme*,
Lavardin

Lavardin and *Montant*, Castles of that Jurisdiction, yielded themselves, and the King finding no more resistance in any place, came at last to *Tours* upon the one and twentieth of *November*.

He entered into the City the same night by Torch-light, being met at the Gates by the Cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Lenoncour*, and all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, and was surrounded with a great abundance of people, because all the Neighbouring Towns were run thither to see his entry. The necessity of affairs persuaded not to spend time unprofitably, and the Kings nature, that was quick and ready, agreed with the present necessity; wherefore the next morning coming without more delay to the Parliament, he sat in the Royal Throne, and was acknowledged King of *France*, with publick Ceremonies, and very great applause. Then hearing the murmurs and complaints of the Catholicks of his Army, and the earnestness of the Lords and Barons who followed him, that he would observe the promise he had made them to change his Religion, having caused the Nobility to be publickly called together, who came greedily to hearken unto him, he told them in a few words, That to his great discontent, he saw how the danger and heat of War had hindered the appointed Assembly, which should have been at that present time: That they themselves had seen how he, laying aside all other enterprizes, had in consideration of them, come to *Tours*, hoping he might some way give them all perfect satisfaction: That the nature of affairs, and not the will of men, opposed it; and that therefore considering how much advantage their common Enemy received by his being at so great a distance, and by the delay of making a sharp and diligent War against them, he entreated them to allow that to necessity which depended not upon his will, and that they would be contented the Convocation of the Deputies might be deferred till the fifteenth of the next *March*; in which time he hoped the fury of the Rebels and seditious persons being quelled, he might with more quietness of mind, and less damage to the common affairs, think of a happy establishment of life, and future Government: That as a pledge and security of his Faith they should accept his Person, which was always in their hands: That he would sincerely observe in deed, more than at that present he promised them in words. To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen assenting, more out of necessity than of will, a Declaration was made, that the time of the Assembly should be prorogued till the fifteenth of *March* next ensuing. The King hoped that the War continuing, and mens minds being daily more enflamed between both Factions, the Catholicks would still be more confirmed to follow him, and that he might with excuses which appeared necessary, and with divers promises and artifices gain convenient time to turn to the Catholick Religion, and that perchance they would be content he should continue in his own; and therefore he politickly avoided their intreaties, and excused himself for not satisfying their desires, as well lest he should seem to sway his Conscience to a compliance with the times, as lest he should lose the adherence of the Hugonots, to the great diminution of his Forces; wherefore, because need so required, and not to give men time by idleness to think of new disturbances, but to keep them continually employed in Military exercises, he resolved to go from *Tours*, and move with his Army to take in those Towns which the Enemy held in the Country of *Maine* and *Normandy*.

Before his departure, *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, having received Commission from the Senate, to continue in his Ambassie near the present King, being with publick ceremony come unto his audience, presented Letters to him from the Senate, with the Title of King of *France*; wherein congratulating his coming to the Crown, the Ambassador *Mocenigo* made excuses, that a particular Ambassador was not sent purposely, according to the custom, by reason of the difficulty of the ways, broken every where by the incursions of War. The Senate had been in doubt whether they should confirm their Ambassador, and whether they should give him the Title of King of *France* or no; but finally, foreseeing with a prudent eye, not only that it was necessary for the interests of Christendom, that the Kingdom should be conserved in the lawful Heirs, which the League endeavoured to tear in many pieces, or to subject it to foreign Princes; but also, that the King being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which are the sinews of the Kingdom, and that by his virtue and courage he was like to be Conquerour in the end; resolved at the same time to confirm their Ambassador, to give him the Title of King of *France*, and to assist him in all things possible, as they had done all other Kings of *France* in their urgent occasions.

I i i 2

And

1582.

Henry the IV. is acknowledged King of France with publick solemnity at *Tours*.

The King desires that the Assembly of the States (in which his conversion was hoped for) might be deferred, and obtains it.

The Republick of Venice acknowledges Henry the IV. King of France; and *Mocenigo*, who was Ambassador to Henry the III. passes a compliment with the King in publick.

1589.

Gieronimo Matteucci the Popes Nuncio having complained and protested against the Venetian Senate, departs; which not being well approved by the Pope, he returns to his residence.

And though the Popes Nuncio, and the Spanish Ambassador kept a mighty stir about it, and complained exceedingly, that an Heretick, and one disobedient to the Apostolick See, should be acknowledged King of *France*, contrary to the Declarations made by the Pope in the Consistory of Cardinals; yet the Senate answered, That it concerned not the Republick of *Venice* to decide matters of Faith, which belonged to the Popes care; but that it acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* to be descended from the Stock of the Blood-Royal, and true legitimate Successor of the Crown, which could not be denied: That they medled only with Temporal things, and not with the knowledge of Spiritual Interests; and that they would treat with the King, in what concerned the Government of those States under his Dominion, without doing any prejudice to the Popes Declaration. Which answer, though it gave not much satisfaction at *Rome*, and that *Gieronimo Matteucci*, the Popes Nuncio, Resident in *Venice*, made many protestations, and in the end, departed suddenly from the City; yet so great was the dexterity of *Alberto Badoaro*, their Lieger Ambassador to the Pope, and so great the efficacy of the reasons alledged by *Leonardo Donato*, sent extraordinary Ambassador from the Republick about that matter, that the Nuncio being not so much as admitted to the Popes presence, was constrained to return to his residence, and, without further replies, an end was put to that business. The favourable Declaration of that Senate, was a very great satisfaction to the King, as well because the determination of the wisest politick Assembly in Christendom, gave reputation to his Forces, as because he thought many other Princes, especially of *Italy*, would follow the example of *Venice*; wherefore both by Letters, and by word of mouth, delivered by Monsieur de *Mets*, the Ambassador residing in that City, he strove to express singular gratitude, and infinite respect for the kind inclination of those Senators.

The King being departed from *Tours* upon the Six and twentieth of *November*, caused siege to be laid to *Mans*, a place of wonderful importance, in which was the Sieut de *Bois-Dauphin* with above two hundred Gentlemen, and seventeen Colours of Foot. The Defendents made shew of holding out courageously, and therefore burned the Suburbs, and fortified that Gate toward which the King was to come, casting up a *Raveline* in the form of a *Tenaille*. The Count de *Brissac* was come at the same time to *la Ferté Bernard*, with Four hundred Horse and Two Regiments of Foot, who purposed to relieve that Town opportunely, and cutting off passages, and molesting the Army, had slain upon a quarter of the Kings German Horse, and pillaged above fifty of them. But after that the Baron de *Biron* and Monsieur de *Chaillon*, who were quartered in the Suburbs, had with redoubled assaults taken the *Raveline*, which hapned the fourth day after the siege was laid, the Defendents not standing out the utmost violence of the Battery, began to capitulate, and yielded with very large conditions: For the King, in whose Army there was great want of Powder and Bullet, was infinitely pleased not only to have that place upon so easie terms, but that he might also provide against that want with the Enemies Ammunition that was in the Town. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *la Val*, *Chasteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout; and the King passing forward, laid siege to *Alencon*, which City being yielded after three days battery, Captain *Lago*, with the Souldiers of the Garison, retired into the Fortress, with an intent to make it good; but when the Cannons were planted, he staid not to be brought to extremity, but delivered it into the Kings hands upon the Fourteenth of *December*: In which place, the Baron de *Hertré* was left with Three hundred French Foot. From this City the King marching on towards *Normandy*, besieged *Falaife*, into which the Count de *Brissac* was entered with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *Piccard*'s Regiment of Foot; wherefore by reason of the Commanders reputation, of the strength of the place, but most of all of the unsuitness of the season, it was thought it would prove a long and difficult business; yet the Fauxbourg de *Guibray* being taken, and the Army quartered under cover, the King having personally viewed the situation of the Fortress, commanded the Battery to be planted against the Castle, judging that if he could take that, he might also at the same time take the Town. Besides the principal Battery, he caused also two Culverins to be planted upon a certain Hill, by the shot whereof the passage was stopped which led into the City from the Tower of the *Dougeon*, the principal security of the Castle; and in this manner he did streighten and incommode all the resolutions of the Defendents. The Artillery played two days with very great violence; which having utterly ruined and beaten down the Tower, which defended the corner of the City

The King makes himself Master of all the Towns and Fortresses of *Normandy*.

City and Castle opposite to the *Dongeon*, the King made it to be assaulted the same night by two different Squadrons, one led by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, that should strive to get into the Castle from the broken Tower; the other by the *Baron de Byron*, which was to endeavour by the same way, to get into the Town, which joined in that place to the Fortrefs. Both Squadrons did absolutely effect their design: for one passing thorow the ruined Tower, forced the Defendents to shut themselves up in the *Dongeon*; and the other at the same time got into the chief street of the Town, which without more resistance was furiously taken and sacked. The Count shut up in the *Dongeon* with a few Defendents, and those already terrified by the valour the Infantry had shewed, and the crosness of the late businesses, gave themselves up the next morning to the Kings discretion, who kept him and fifteen more of the chief of them prisoners, and with a Kingly liberality gave his household-stuff, among which was store of furniture of very great value, unto the *Baron de Byron*.

Argentan and *Bayeux* yielded without a blow: and the King prosecuting his march, came to *Lisieux*, which at sight of his Artillery yielded upon the thirtieth of December: *Pontéau de Mer*, *Pont l'Evêque*, and all those other Towns, followed this example; so that the League had no place left in lower *Normandy*, except *Honfleur*, seated at the mouth of the *Seine*, right over against *Havre de Grâce*; which (though the Duke of *Montpensier* was much against it) was passed by without being molested, by reason of the Kings haste to go into the higher Province.

The End of the Tenth BOOK.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The ELEVENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THe Eleventh Book contains the Popes inclination touching the affairs of France : His resolution to send Cardinal Gaetano his Legat thither : The variety of opinions concerning his Commissions : His arrival in the Kingdom : His perplexity, and journey to Paris. The different ends of the League are discoursed of. The Marquis de Belin introduces a Treaty of Agreement : The Duke of Mayenne deliberates upon that point, and resolves to prosecute the War : He besiegeth Pontoyse, which yields it self unto him : He encamps before Meulan, and batters it with great obstinacy. The King comes to relieve that place. The Duke raises the siege, and marches to meet the supplies in Picardy. The King assaults Dreux, but to no purpose. The Duke of Mayenne returns increased in strength. The King raises his Camp, and chuseth a place of Battel in the Field of Yvry. The Duke follows, and comes up to the same place. The Armies fight, and the King remains victorious. The Preachers deliver the news of this defeat to the Parisians, who prepare themselves constantly to endure a siege. Divers overtures of Peace are made ; but nothing at all can be concluded. The Duke of Mayenne, to procure relief, goes to the Frontiers of Flanders. The King takes all the Neighbouring Towns about Paris. Siege is laid unto that City, to overcome it with hunger. The calamities of the siege, and the constancy of the Citizens are related. The Catholick King commands the Duke of Parma to march with his whole Army into France, to raise the siege of Paris : He enters into the Kingdom with great Forces, and with exceeding great preparations joins with the Duke of Mayenne, and advances towards Paris. The King consults what is best to be done ; resolves to raise the siege, and go to meet the Enemy. The Armies face one another many days. The Duke of Parma takes Lagny, and opens the passage of Victuals to Paris. The King retires, and in his retreat gives a scabado to the City, which proves ineffectual. The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil, and so absolutely frees the City of Paris from want of provisions. He resolves to return
into

into Flanders; marches in excellent order: The King follows him: There happen many encounters. The Duke departing, leaves aid of Men, and plentiful supplies of Money to the League. The King returning, marches towards Picardy.



Now followeth the year 1590, full of all those Calamities which use to be the consequences of Civil Wars: but famous also for the greatness of those accidents that hapned in it: the natural revolution of things having so brought to pass, that in it the greatest force and storm of Arms broke forth with violence. In the year before, Henry the Third's Ambassadors and Publick Ministers were already departed from Rome, by reason of the *Manifesto* published against him, when the news of his death was brought thither, which, being come in a time when the Pope was not only very much exasperated by the conjunction made with the Hugonot party, but also infinitely solicitous and anxious because of the prosperous success of his Arms, was received by him with great demonstrations of joy, thinking, that the miraculous power of the hand of God, had unexpectedly diverted that ruine which humane remedies seemed to stay able to prevent. His contentment was increased by the Agents of the League, who on the confirmation of the Kings death, added the resolution of the Duke of Mayenne and the Council of the Union to acknowledge the Cardinal of Bourbon the legitimate King of France, with an open Declaration and strict Oath to use all their might to free him from his imprisonment, and that this resolution was adhered to, and unanimously followed by almost all the principal Cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the applause of the Clergy of the whole Kingdom: all which things being conformable to the Popes wishes, who exceedingly desired the exclusion of the King of Navarre, esteemed by him an irreconcilable Enemy to the Church: but yet was not willing that the Kingdom should be divided into many parts, as some had a mind to have it, and that it should come into the hands of a Foreign Prince, were the cause that he wrote not only very kind Letters of great commendation to the Duke of Mayenne, and the Catholics of the League, but that he also determined to supply them with Men and Money, for the setting at liberty, and perfect establishment of the Cardinal of Bourbon. Wherefore, without any delay, in a work which he accounted excellently good, and of wonderful great glory and advancement to the Apostolick See, he resolved to send a Legat into France, who by his presence might assist affairs of so great importance, and might endeavour to reduce all the Catholics, by such means as he should think most reasonable, to unite themselves in one body under the obedience of the Cardinal of Bourbon already elected and declared King of France, whose freedom by all possible force was to be endeavoured. For this business of so great concernment, he chose Cardinal *Henrico Gastano*, a man not only by the nobleness of his birth of great reputation, but also for his worth and experience esteemed of sufficient abilities for so great an enterprise: yet according to what the Kings Friends said then, and his own actions discovered afterwards, too much inclined to favour the attempts and interests of Spain. He appointed moreover a select number of Prelates to accompany the Cardinal-Legat, all men conspicuous either for the fame of excellent Learning, or approved experience in matters of Government: among which were *Leonzo Bianchetti*, and *Philippo Sage*, who after were Cardinals; *Marc Antonio Mucenigo* Bishop of *Comeda*, a man well versed in affairs, and highly esteemed by the Pope; *Francesco Pavigara*, Bishop of *Asti*, a Preacher of great renown; and *Roberto Bellarmio*, a Jesuite of profound and admirable Learning. To the choice of these men the Pope added Bills of Exchange to the Merchants at *Lyon* for three hundred thousand Crowns, with Commission to the Legat to dispose of them according to need and occasion; but particularly to spend them for the enfranchisement of the Cardinal of Bourbon, upon which he shewed his mind was fixed more than upon any other thought whatsoever.

But this so ardent resolution was cooled in the very beginning: and the Pope was put in doubt, by Letters that arrived from the Duke of *Luxemburg*, wherein he gave him notice, that by the French Nobility (who in a very great number followed and acknowledged the King of Navarre to be the legitimate King of France) he was chosen Ambassador to his Holiness and the Apostolick See, to inform him of the causes

1590

The Pope resolves to send assistance to the League against the King.

Cardinal *Henrico Gastano*, a man partial to Spain, is declared Legat to the League in France.

Prelates appointed by the Pope to accompany the Embassie, and 300000 Crowns to be employed for the liberty of the Cardinal of Bourbon.

1590. causes which had moved the minds of all good French-men to that acknowledgment, and to require from him, as from a common Father, the proper means and remedies for the Peace and Union of the whole Kingdom. By which Letters the Pope did not only find, that what the Agents of the League had represented unto him was vain, *viz.* That the major part of the Kingdom was joined to the party of the Union, and that only a few desperate persons followed the King of *Navarre*; but he also conceived some hopes, that by the way of Pacification, an end might be put to the miseries and discords of the Kingdom, those that were gone astray might be reduced into the bosom of the Church, and his aim of having a lawful Catholick French King, might be attained without submitting the afflicted people of *France* any longer to new dangers and calamities of an obstinate War: Wherefore, being also excited by the diligent informations which were given unto him by the Venetian Ambassadors, intent upon the preservation of the Crown of *France*, he returned favourable Answers to the Duke of *Luxembourg* and the French Nobility which were in the Kings Camp, assuring him that he should be well respected, and kindly received; and exhorting them to persist constantly in the Catholick Religion, as in their Letters which came with the Dukes they asserted they would do, and that they would continue it even to the effusion of their blood. And yet the Agents of the League, (especially *Frison* Dean of *Rheims*, lately sent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*) urging him not to delay the Legats expedition, for that these were artifices of the King of *Navarre*, to take him off, and gain the benefit of time, he dispatched the Legat towards *France*, but with Instructions very different from his first designs: For whereas before, all the endeavours tended to the confirmation and freeing the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; now passing over his name in silence, the design was only to re-unite, by any means whatsoever, the Catholicks under the obedience of the Church, and establish a Catholick King, to the general liking, without naming the person.

Pope Sixtus V.
his Orders and
Commissions
to Cardinal
Gaetano Legat
in *France*.

* *Op. Cajetan.*

To these Commissions set down in a Writing dated the Fifteenth of *October*, were added particular express Advertisements to the Cardinal Legat, to shew himself no less neutral and dis-interested in the Secular Pretensions of the Princes, than most ardent and zealous concerning Religion, and not to value one person more than another, provided he were a French-man obedient to the Church, and generally liked by the Kingdom: Nay more, at his last coming to receive Instructions, the Pope added and repeated it effectually, that he should not shew himself an open Enemy to the King of *Navarre*, so long as there was any hope, that he might return into the bosom of the Church. But these Advertisements were very contrary to the principal scope of the Embassie, which was to uphold the Catholick party of the League as the foundation of Religion in that Kingdom, a thing often repeated in his Instructions, and which was always the aim from the beginning, but which the Pope pretended to have altered in his last directions; so that the substance of the business changed in the variety of circumstances, as it often happens, did so disturb the execution, that it was afterwards governed more by the diversity of accidents, than by any firm determinate resolution. The Advertisements of Cardinal *Morefini* differed not much from the Popes Instructions; for being met by the Legat * *Gaetano* in the City of *Bologna*, he, as vers'd in the interests of the Kingdom, gave the Legat a particular account of the intentions of *Spain*, of the pretensions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of the weakness of the League, composed of various different humours, and of the Kings Forces, which had more secure foundation in the concurrence of the major part of the Nobility, than the party of the Union had in the conspiracy of the common people. The same was told him at *Florence* by *Ferdinando* Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who being perfectly informed of the interests which were on foot in the Kingdom of *France*, perswaded him to keep himself Neuter, and not to refuse those overtures of Agreement which might be with the profit of the Catholick Religion, and the reputation of the Pope. But both the advice of Cardinal *Morefini*, and the Great Dukes counsel were suspected by the Legat, doubting that the one sought to make him fall into the same faults whereof he was accounted guilty in the Court of *Rome*; and that the other did not counsel him sincerely: Wherefore as a man bent with severity to sustain the greatness and power of the Church, and accustomed to the affairs of *Italy*, where the Popes authority, by the piety of the Nation, and the nearness of the Princes, is held in high veneration, he firmly perswaded himself, that by the meer terrour of Spiritual Arms he should keep all the Catholicks

Catholicks at his devotion, and excluding the King of *Navarre*, make a King to be declared and obeyed, wholly depending upon the Apostolick See, and neatly joyned and obliged to the Crown of *Spain*, to which, both by his ancient breeding, and the new practices of the *Conde de Olivares* the Spanish Ambassador at *Rome*, he was infinitely inclined. He was the more confirmed afterwards in this his thought, that all ought to depend upon his Authority; when being arrived at *Turin*, he saw that the Duke of *Savoy* did with exquisite terms of submission intreat him (as one that might dispose of matters at his pleasure) to consider his right to the Crown of *France*, as born of *Margaret* Sister to King *Henry* the Second, by whose right (the course of the Salique Law having been formerly interrupted) he alledged, the Crown ought rather to be confirmed to him than to any other, that in ancient times had pretended title by the womans side; and alledging his deserts to the Apostolick See, since, that still with continual pains, and exceeding great charge, he endeavoured to subdue the City of *Geneva*, the basis and foundation of *Calvinism*; he laboured to win the protection of the Legate, who not being well informed how matters went, did not take notice that the Duke brought on his pretensions that way, because he had no better prop to uphold them, and strove to get into favour with the Pope and Legate, to draw supplies from them of men and money, whereby he might bring those of *Geneva* under his yoke, and fortifie and establish himself in the possession of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, against whosoever should at last be elected and acknowledged King of *France*, wherein he saw he could not have a more safe Protector, than the Pope.

But the Cardinal Legate being come into *France*, was not long before he found effects contrary to his opinion; for having sent to require Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, not only to forbear molesting *Grenoble* and *Valence* (which Cities alone held for the League in *Dauphine*) but also, that as a Catholick and a Stranger, he should forsake the King's party, and joyn with the *Union*, that trial proved vain; for the answer he received was, That he was indeed a Catholick, and an obedient Son to the Apostolick See in Spiritual things; but that having made his fortune, as a Soldier, in the service of the King of *France*, he could not desist from following him; and, following him, he was bound to do that to *Grenoble* and *Valence*, which he thought fit for the affairs of the Prince whom he served, By which answer, the Legat was a little dashed, who was so much the more troubled, when being come to *Lyon*, he found the business of the League in such disorder, by the King's prosperous success, that he was so far from obtaining any thing else, that he could neither have security, nor convoy, to prosecute his journey; for the Count of *Brissac*, appointed at first by the Duke of *Mayenne* to meet him, and secure his passage, was necessitated to face about, and employ himself in the affairs of *Normandy*, and Monsieur de *la Bourdaisiere*, to whom that Commission was given afterward, had been defeated by the King's Forces under the command of the Sieur de *Pralin*, near *Bar* upon the *Seine*; so that being reduced into very great perplexity, he knew not by what resolution to steer his course, so various were the things that represented themselves to his consideration. The Duke of *Nevers* being retired home, and not interessed on either side, invited him to come into his State, where, standing neuter, as befitted one that represented the Apostolick See, he might freely take those wayes that should appear most convenient to him; and this determination seemed to agree with the Popes intentions and instructions. On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* ceased not to sollicite him to come to *Paris*; shewing him, that without the authority of his name, and without those helps which were hoped for from him, the League was in danger to be dissolved, and to be subdued by the King's Forces; and by consequence, not only the City of *Paris*, but all the rest of the Kingdom would remain oppressed by the Hugonot party. The King did not at all despair, but that, if he could not be wrought to come into the places under his obedience, he might at least be perswaded to stay in some Neutral Town out of the way, and perchance to go to the City of *Avignon*, till he saw the issue of the Duke of *Luxembourgs* Embassie at *Rome*; to forward which hopes, he had caused to be published, That if the Popes Legat, who was reported to be coming, should take his journey toward him, every one should receive, honor, and reverence him, taking care neither to offend him, nor any of his followers, and should by all means give him safe conduct and security: But if he went towards the quarters of the League, he did expressly forbid every one to acknowledge him for a Legat, or to receive him into those places that were under his obedience, upon pain of Rebellion.

K k k

But

1590.

The Cardinal Legats request to Colonel *Alfonso Corso* and his answer.

1590.

But the Legat did not only think it unsafe to go to the Duke of *Nevers*, a weak Prince, who had neither Fort nor principal City, wherein he might shelter himself from the snares of the *Hugonots*, and unhandsome to return back: But also he esteemed it much more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholick party; and by that demonstration, utterly to confound and deject the mindes of those who were for the League, with a manifest increase of the King's Forces and reputation; from whence a greater mischief would have followed in Spiritual then in Temporal Matters; because, to the Popes dishonor, the Catholick party would have been abandoned through his default, and the King, who at that time, for fear of his enemies, made shew both in words and actions that he would turn Catholick, would be left free with power to do what he pleased, without respect of any Body; and finally, he thought with himself that he was come into *France*, not onely to compose the Discords, but principally to endeavor the suppression of the King of *Navarre*, an enemy to the Church, and the election of a new King depending wholly upon the Pope, as a friend and confident to the Kingdom of *Spain*. This opinion had so much power with him, that being grounded upon decency, and not finding any obstacle to the contrary in his Commission, he resolved at last to satisfy the party of the League, and to go on without delay to *Paris*: Wherefore seeing the Duke of *Mayenne* extreemly taken up with Military employments, he sent *Monsignor Bianchetti* to the Duke of *Lorain*, to demand a Convoy of him for his safe passage; which being obtained without difficulty, passing by *Dijon* and *Troys*, he came upon the Twentieth day of *January* into the City of *Paris*, being received with most solemn pomp, and lodged in the Bishops Palace, richly and sumptuously furnished with the King's stuff, taken out of the Lodgings of the *Louvre*. At his arrival, he caused the Popes *Breve* of the Fifteenth of *October* to be published; wherein, after an honorable commemoration of the merits of the Kingdom of *France* toward the Apostolick See, and of the reciprocal benefits and kind demonstrations of it towards the most Christian Kings in all times, and after having compassionately deplored the present troubles and calamities, he attested, that with the counsel of the Cardinals he had chosen Cardinal *Gaetano* Legat to the Kingdom of *France*, with power to use (by the Divine assistance) all means which by him should be thought fit, to protect the Catholick Religion, to recall Hereticks into the bosome of the Church, to restore the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom; and finally, to procure, that under one onely, good, pious, and truly Catholick King, the people of the Kingdom might, to the glory of God, live in quietness and tranquillity, after so many dangers and calamities of War: Wherefore he did pray and exhort all the Orders and Degrees of *France* to persevere in the Catholick Religion, and labor, by the glorious example of their Ancestors, to extinguish and root up the evil of Heresie, to cut off the occasions and roots of discord; and that particular enmities and quarrels being finally buried, and those fatal ruinous Civil Wars being laid down, they should resolve to yield obedience to a lawful truly Catholick King; and the Divine Worship being restored under his shadow and protection, to live in charitable union and concord; being in the mean time obliged to receive the Cardinal Legat with due reverence, and to put in execution his fatherly admonitions; thereby to reap, besides temporal earthly fruits, the divine heavenly benediction.

The Cardinal Legat having overcome many doubts and difficulties, arrives at *Paris*.

The Publication of the Popes *Breve* at *Paris*, and the content thereof.

The Parliament of *Tours* forbids to acknowledge the Legat; and the Parliament of *Paris* exhorted all to give him due reverence.

All the learned men fight for their factions with their Pens, as the Soldiers with their Swords.

Two different Declarations followed upon the publication of this *Breve*; one, of the Parliament of *Tours*, by which all persons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legat; the other, of the Parliament of *Paris*, by which all were exhorted to receive the fatherly love of the Apostolick See, and to give due reverence to the Legat's Admonitions. After which contrary Declarations, (learned men desiring to fight for their Factions in their way, no less ardently then the Soldiers,) there came forth many Decrees of Parliament, and infinite Writings of particular persons, decisions of the *Sorbonne*, Letters of the Legat, Answers of those Prelates that followed the King's party, and so great a quantity of Books spread abroad thorough all parts by curious men, that it well appeared there was no Brain that laboured not, nor Pen that writ not in the defence and confirmation of the Rights of each party; but with so much pertinacy of Minds and Reasons, all striking as it were at the mark, of the coming and power of the Legat, that it was an easie thing to consider, how Spiritual arms, wrested and interpreted divers ways, in the heat and inconsiderateness of War, were rather like to supply new fuel to the fire, then to extinguish the flame already burning; whereby Cardinal *Gaetano* within a few dayes perceived the falsity of his first opinion, and that

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it had been better counsel to have staid neutral, since that by coming to *Paris*, he made himself Legat onely to one of the Fa^ctions; which did not onely trouble him, because it was very different from the mind and designs of the Pope, but because he began also to know clearly the weakness and disorders of the League.

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The affairs of the *Union* were at this time, very doubtful and uncertain: For the diversities of pretensions, and the contrariety of the ends of the Confederates, did (as the custom is) disturb the course of the enterprise, and did not onely hold the deliberations of mens minds in suspence, but also the effects and operations of common interests, which by reason of the King's celerity and resolution, had no need of delay. The Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince of the Fa^ction, and Head of the Enterprise; who with the Authority of his Person, the Prudence of his Government, and his experience in War, managed the weight of all things, esteemed the reward which should result from the blood of his brothers, and his own industry, justly to belong unto himself; and designed either to transfer the Crown upon himself, and his own posterity, as had happened in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*; or if that could not finally be obtained, to confer it at least upon some Prince who should acknowledge it totally and absolutely from him: Yet observing his wonted integrity and right intention, he was resolved never to suffer, that the Kingdom should in any manner be divided, much less, that it should fall into the hands of a Foreign Prince. The King of *Spain* on the other side, who from the beginning had secretly, and now openly protected and fomented the League, and who in late years had spent Two millions of Gold in the service of the Confederates, and was fain now, besides the maintaining of Horse and Foot, to contribute vast sums of money, both in publick and private; and who saw, that without his Supplies, which must be great and potent, not onely the Enterprise could not succeed, but also, that the League could not so much as subsist, but be speedily dissolved, thought it more than reasonable, and more than just, that the expences and losses being his, the fruits and profits should be so likewise; and therefore, besides a most secret hidden intention of uniting the two Crowns, or to make that of *France* to come to his daughter the Infanta *Isabella*, born of Queen *Elizabeth*, Eldest sister to *Henry* the Third: He sought also to be publicly declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with Royal pre-eminencies, and authority to provide for the Offices of the Crown; to chuse the Governors and Commanders in War, to dispose of Prelatical dignities, and to have the power belonging to a supreme Prince: and this was demanded and openly laboured for by his Agents, who were Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, the Commendatory *Morrea*, *Juan Baptista Tassis*, * *Veedor General* of his Armies, who was newly come for that purpose from *Flanders*. The *Parisians*, who saw the foundation of the Fa^ction consisted in them, not onely by reason of the abundance of people, and the power of the City, but also of the continual Contributions from whence they derived the sinews of the War, thought it belonged to them to dispose of the Crown: And being ill-satisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, because of his unprosperous success in the War, both in that the *Fauxbourgs* seemed to have been lost by his delay, and that through his want of diligence, the City was in a manner besieged, and in great scarcity of provisions, they inclined to submit themselves to the will of the *Spaniards*, hoping by means of their Forces utterly to destroy the King, whose very name they hated bitterly; to extirpate the Religion of the Hugonots, whereof they naturally were enemies; and by the Moneys of *Spain* to be eased of the intollerable burden of Contributions, as the Catholick King's Ministers went cunningly, promising and bragging both in publick and private. On the other side, the Nobility who followed the party of the League, and in whose hands were the Arms and Fortresses, averse from submitting themselves to the Spanish dominion, desirous of a French King, and affectionate to, or interested with the House of *Guise*, inclined to favour the Duke of *Mayenne*; and following his Name, and obeying his Command, necessitated all the rest of their party to depend upon him, and to order themselves by the motions of his will, and the authority of his Government. In the Parliament many were inclined to favour the King, and desirous that he would turn to the Catholick Faith, that they might acknowledge and obey him: and universally the major part of the Counsellors were far from suffering either that the Kingdom should be divided, or that it should come to a forraign Prince. The Duke of *Lorain*, from whom the League received no small increase of strength and reputation, thought that the Kingdom appertained to his Son the Marquis *du Pont*, as being born likewise of *Claude*, the Sister of *Henry* the Third, and took it very

Princes that
aspired to the
Kingdom of
France.

* *Commissary-
General*.

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ill that any other of the House of *Lorain* should dare to stand in competition with him, the Head and Chief of the Family. The Duke of *Savoy* likewise pretended a right to the Kingdom, because he was born of *Margaret*, the Sister of King *Henry* the Second; and trusted that he should perchance be favoured by the Spaniard, but perswaded himself certainly, that he should have the protection of the Pope. These two Princes, besides their designs upon the Crown, had also other particular aims; The Duke of *Lorain* to get *Metz*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, and the Dutchy of *Sedan*, upon which places he had divers pretensions. The Duke of *Savoy*, to conserve the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, and by that (as it began after to be discovered) he hoped to joyn *Provence* to his State; a very commodious Province, and opportune, by reason of the footing he had there already, possessing in it the City and County of *Nizza*. The Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mercur* thought also of this division of the Kingdom into many parts: The first, out of a desire to reduce his Government of *Lyons* into a proper Signory; the other, to attain *Bretagne*, which by ancient rights he pretended did belong unto his Wife: and many others among particular men, who, out of a design to reduce their Governments into patrimonies, would willingly have followed that resolution. Of so great diversity of humours and designs, and of so great variety of Counsels was the League composed, who jussling and thwarting one another, interrupted the course of affairs, and slackned that fervour wherewith from the beginning they had conspired to establish that bond, which seemed to have no other end, save that of Religion.

Nor could the variety of counsels, or the uncertainty of the resolutions of the League be unknown to the King, by reason of the experience he had of them, and of the intelligence which came daily to him, and therefore endeavouring to draw advantage from them, and make profit of them, he had, from the time he departed from *Diepe*, given liberty, upon his parole, to the Marquis of *Belin* (who had been taken prisoner in the business of *Arques*) with Commission to proffer peace to the Duke of *Mayenne* in his name, and to exhort him, as a Prince of a good moderate nature, not to consent to the pernicious thoughts of strangers; but that freeing himself from the vexations of the common people, and from the arts of the Spaniards, he would hearken to a good wholsom Accommodation, for by that means he might with more desert and honor obtain whatsoever he himself could desire of him: And at the same time he had brought to pass under-hand, that the Catholics of his party should pray the same Marquis to beseech the Duke of *Mayenne* from them, that he would exhort and perswade the King to turn Catholic; for that was the way to reduce him into the bosom of the Church; and with his honor and reputation to restore peace and tranquillity, so necessary, and so desired of all *France*. But the Marquis having done his message, and reiterated it again after the King's departure from the *Fauxbourgs* of *Paris*, the thoughts and reasons were different, not onely in the minds of his Counsellors, but also of the Duke of *Mayenne* himself. They that favoured the Propositions of the Catholics of the King's party, said, There could be no resolution taken, either more to the purpose, or of more benefit and honour to the Duke, let the event be what it would; for if the King should accept the invitation, and make himself a Catholic, Discords would thereby be buried, Religion secured, the Kingdom come into the hands of the lawful Successor, and an end put to the fatal revolutions of Civil War: That the name of the Duke would thereby remain glorious to all the World, as the Author of so great a good; his intentions would be justified, and the end of his taking up Arms would plainly appear, with the eternal Benedictions of all the people of *France*: That as a consequent of so pious a work, would result the freeing of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who, in so decayed an age, one ought to believe, desired rather his liberty, and a quiet passage out of this life, than a vain shadow of dominion accompanied with a most strict imprisonment: That thereupon likewise would follow the freeing of the Dukes of *Guise* and *Elbeuf*, of whose recovery they had for a long time had but small, or no hopes: And finally, that the state of the Duke himself, and of his posterity, would be as great as he himself knew how to ask or desire. But if the King should refuse to satisfy his request, and should persevere in the Hugonot Religion, then not only the reasons of the League would be justified to all the World, to the confusion of those who did sinisterly interpret the actions of the Confederates; but also the Catholics who followed the King, despairing of his conversion, and having found the falseness of his promises, would all forsake him; whereby he remaining onely with the dependence of a few Hereticks, it would be easie to suppress him, and make an honorable end of the War by Victory.

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A Treaty of Agreement between Henry the Fourth, and the Duke of Mayenne.

On the other side, they that dissuaded from that resolution, said, That the War being wholly grounded upon the point of Religion, that overture could not be made without a precedent Licence from the Pope, whom it concerned to approve and confirm the Kings Conversion: And that the Duke of *Mayenne* not being absolute Prince of the League, but onely Head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all those that followed his party, and of all the Princes that adhered to and favoured the League: For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever he should have treated or resolved on, would remain void and of no effect; and if the Confederates should not follow his determination, they would chuse another Head, and he would be left deprived of the prop of the Catholick party, and unhappily exposed to the will of his enemies: That this was a plot of the King himself, to beget distrust between him and his party, and to sow discords and suspicions among the Confederates: That it might be, he would fain himself a Catholick, to the end, he might more securely dispose of Religion at his own pleasure; in which case, the too hasty, and too simple credulity of the Duke, would for ever be condemned; and likewise that the King, to break the Union of the League, would promise mountains of Gold, but without any security; that being settled King in peace, he would not after observe that, or the least part of that which he had promised; from whence, to his eternal blame, would follow the ruine of himself, and all his adherents: That the course of present affairs required, he should continue united with the rest of the Confederates: That he should not disgust the Pope, nor alienate the Catholick King, nor the Duke of *Lorain*: That he should not be abashed for the ill success of the beginning, but hope, that as God had revenged the Blood of his Brothers; so he would give him assistance to establish Religion, and exalt his state to the greatness he hoped for. The Duke was moved on the one side, by the justness of the Proposition of those of the Kings party, as also by his anger at the instability and impertinency of the Parisians: The scarcity of money afflicted him, for want whereof he knew not how to pay his Foreign Forces, nor how to satisfy the demands of all the Garrisons, and all the Governors, who addressed themselves to him for whatsoever they needed; but the cunning and obdurateness of the *Spaniards* troubled him more than all the rest, who having caused the *Sieur de la Mothe*, Governor of *Graveline*, to come out of *Flanders* with Supplies, to the very Frontiers of the Kingdom, denied to make him advance any further, or to pay any sum of Money for the maintenance of the War, if the Catholick King were not first declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the principal Dignities, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (which they called *Les Marques de Justice*) whereby he would have power and superiority over the League; which things seemed to him so exorbitant, so prejudicial to the Crown, and so unfit, that neither he himself could endure to hear of them; nor did he believe, that any of the Confederates, except the Parisians, would condescend unto them; knowing, that it was a putting off the Bridle into the hand of the Catholick King, to give him leave to guide the event of things whithersoever he pleased, at last, to direct them. But on the other side, the doubt of being left alone and forsaken, the uncertainty of the Kings Conversion, and of his Word, the ancient enmity stirred up against him, and much more the hope of attaining the Crown for himself at last, did not suffer him to consent to the Marquis *de Belin's* Propositions: Wherefore he sent him back to his imprisonment with general ambiguous words, and cut off the proposed Treaty of Agreement. And, to remedy (as much as in him lay) the disorders of present affairs, partly by importunity, partly by cunning, partly by terror of Arms, he caused the Council of the *Union* to be very much moderated, which from the beginning was composed of seditious persons, and such as did not depend wholly upon him, and would have the Archbishop of *Lyons* (newly set at liberty by Captain *du Gast* for a great sum of money, and come to *Paris*) to execute the Office of High Chancellor, and in that quality to be President of the Council; and brought into it the *Sieur de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, Men that were his Confidants, and averse from condescending to the will of the *Spaniards*; and increasing the number, he put in so many of the principal Gentlemen, that he did no longer fear the insolency and instability of the common people in those deliberations which occurred daily; and yet to satisfy all in appearance, he caused a Decree to be made in the Council, by which the Princes, Peers, Marshals of *France*, Governors of Provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the Three Orders of the Kingdom were appointed

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The *Sieur de la Mothe* refuses to advance beyond the Frontiers, unless the King of *Spain* be declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the chief Ecclesiastical and Temporal Dignities; which Prerogatives were otherwise called, *Marques of Justice*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* will not hearken to an agreement with the King.

The Archbishop of *Lyons* lately prisoner at *Ambuse*, is made High-Chancellor to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

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1590. pointed to meet at *Melan* in the Month of *February* following, to hold the States-General there, where all present affairs should be deliberated, and resolved on with the common consent: Which appointment, though men of understanding saw, that in respect of the confusion of the War, it was like to prove vain, it not being possible, either to meet, or stay together in a place that was in the middle of the combustion, served nevertheless to bait the common people, who are sooner caught with vain, but specious things, then with such as are serious and substantial.

With the Spaniards (who importuned him most earnestly for the Declaration) the Duke held another temper, excusing himself by the coming of the Cardinal Legat, who already was very near, without whose assent and presence, he said it was not fit to conclude a business of so great moment; and fed them with hopes, so artificially, and with so much dissimulation, that, they not distrusting the inclination and ready consent of the Legat, it was easie to perswade them to stay his coming: Neither therefore would they make the supplies advance, or disburse any sum of money, alledging the same reason, that for their parts they would stay for the approbation of the Cardinal Legat. But because the Parisians, straightened with scarcity of Victual, murmured exceedingly, (nor did it appear, that in that, they were much to blame) the Duke drawing together all the Forces he had in being, laid siege to *Pontoise*, to open out that side a passage for the provisions of *Normandy*.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Legat arrived, with whom the Duke of *Mayenne* having had an interview at *Paris*, many of the principal Lords, who were nearest at hand, being there present, and among the rest Cardinal *Gondi* (who since the King's death, being retired to *Noyssy*, a house of his Brothers the Marechal de *Retz*, had kept himself neuter) they began to treat of the progress of the affairs of the League. The Spaniards above all insisted upon declaring the Catholick King Protector, and upon the Marks of Justice they demanded for him; and were fomented by the Council of Sixteen, who affirmed, there was no other opposition against it, but that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; and that the whole party would willingly concur to satisfy the Catholick King, as he from whom they acknowledged the security of Religion, and their own safety. On the other side, the Duke resisted, with the major part of the Nobility, and with the Counsellors of Parliament, who were resolved not to consent unto it: And some inconveniency might have sprung from it, if Cardinal *Gaetano* had not put the Spaniards in mind, That it was no time to stand upon those demands, nor to force the wills of the French unseasonably: That it would make them agree, and reconcile themselves to the King of *Navarre*, who not being wanting to himself, proposed large and advantageous conditions: That the maturity of the business was to be waited for, and mens mindes were not to be put into suspicions unseasonably, for that without doubt the event would be the dissolution of the League, with the danger of Religion, and ruine of the whole enterprise: That it was needful first to withstand the Arms and progress of the King, lest he by means of those discords should have time to establish himself; and then that danger being removed, neither ways nor occasions would be wanting to satisfy the Catholick King's interests, which he in due time would advance and favour with all his power; And it fell out very opportunely, that about the same time, either by chance or cunning, some Articles of Agreement were divulged, between the King, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which were reported to have been concluded by Monsieur de *Villeroy* for him, and the Marechal de *Byron* on the King's part; and many affirmed, that they were most true, and already subscribed by the Dutcheffes of *Nemours* and *Mayenne*; the one Mother, the other Wife to the Duke, who indeed were against the Spaniards demands; whereby that hapning, which ordinarily is wont, that Fear overcomes all other Passions, and removes all other impediments, the Spanish Ministers agreed at last, that *Juan Baptista Tassis*, one of their number, and the Sieur de *Rosieux* for the Duke of *Mayenne*, should go together into *Spain*, to know personally the Catholick King's intentions, which the Duke of *Mayenne* affirmed to be different from what his Ministers reported, and to bring back the order that was to be observed in the administration of common affairs.

In the mean time they consented, that the Supplies from *Flanders* should advance, to unite themselves with the Army of the D. of *Mayenne*; who, *Pontoise* being once taken, purposed to march forward and meet the enemy. The Cardinal-Legat added the Three hundred thousand Crowns which he had brought from *Rome* in Bills of Exchange, which (seeing for the present, they could not be spent for the enlargement of the

A false rumor is divulged, of a Treaty of Agreement, which increases the confusion of the Parisians.

The Spaniards consent, that the Supplies of *Flanders* should advance, and join with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

the Cardinal of *Bourbon*) he had, upon the necessity of the enterprize, granted to the Duke, since he absolutely denied that the Army could move, if it got not at least some part of the arrears of its pay.

On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* consented, that the Colledge of *Sorbonne* should make a Decree, confirmed by the Cardinal Legat, that no Agreement should be treated of with the Hetericks, nor particularly with *Henry of Bourbon*, who was declared to be relapsed and excommunicated; nor should hold any commerce or intelligence with him, upon the same pain of Excommunication and Heresie: To which the Duke more easily gave consent, because at that time his mind was utterly averse from an Accommodation, and full of hope, remaining victorious over his enemies, to reduce things to that point which he aimed at secretly in himself.

The discords being thus composed and quieted, the Duke, desirous to piece up his reputation lost in the assaults at *Diepe*, and in the loss of the *Fauxbourgs* of *Paris*, being stirred up and filled with hopes by the Cardinal-Legat, moved with his whole Army to besiege *Meulan*, a small place, but seated upon the Pass of the River *Seine*, at the entering into *Normandy*, which therefore next to *Pontoise*, hindered the bringing of Victuals to the City of *Paris*. *Meulan* is a little Bourg enclosed with ancient Walls, which spreads it self along the bank of the *Seine*: from thence there is a convenient passage over a spacious Bridge into an Island in the midst of the River, which reduced into the form of a Fortrefs, is defended and flanked with four Ravelines after the modern way; and from the Isle there is a passage over another Bridge to the other Bank of the River, where there is a great Tower of ancient building, which serves as a defence and fortification to the Bridge. Colonel *Berangueville* was in *Meulan* with four Companies of French Foot, fifty Switzers, and eighty Light-Horse; who thinking that after the taking of *Pontoise* (which Town had capitulated to surrender) the Duke of *Mayenne*, to satisfy the Parisians, would come on to besiege that place, had with exceeding great diligence caused the Bourg to be encompassed with a good Trench, flanked with Half-moons; and the same had he done to the great Tower which stands beyond the River upon the entry of the Bridge, the Isle being already well enough fortified before: At the same time he likewise dispatched several messengers to the King, to demand relief; and having ordered his men in a readiness, and given Arms to those of the Bourg, had taken a resolution to defend himself to the uttermost. The siege being laid on that side where the Bourg stands, the Duke of *Mayenne* caused a Battery to be planted, which began to play upon the Defendants with eleven pieces of Cannon; but so great was their diligence in repairing their Works, and so great annoyance did the Army receive as it were in the flank, from two pieces of Artillery planted in the point of a Raveline in the Island, that the siege went on with great difficulty, and exceeding slowly: Wherefore the Duke, angry that so small a place should make so obstinate a resistance (for he had already been ten dayes at work about it) caused the *Sieur de Rhosne*, one of his Camp-Marschals, to pass over to the other side of the *Seine*, and make a Battery against the Tower of the Bridge, to straighten the Defendants on all sides.

In the mean time, the King, who was quartered between *Lisieux* and *Pontean de Mer*, with a design to besiege *Houffleur*, which was the onely Town in the lower *Normandy* that held for the League, having had notice of the eager siege at *Meulan*, resolved to march presently to relieve it: for the greatest hope of his Arms consisting in the blocking up and cutting off provisions from the City of *Paris*, with confidence that he should break the stubbornness of the Citizens, and that the impatiency of want and necessity would make their mindes incline to Peace; he saw that the taking of *Meulan* would open a large passage for abundant supplies of provisions: wherefore being departed from *Lisieux* the fourteenth of *February*, and having taken *Vernueil* by the way, he marched (though orderly) with so great diligence, that having gone forty leagues in seven dayes, he appeared upon the one and twentieth with his Army in Battalia within sight of *Meulan*, on that side where the Tower was besieged and battered by the *Sieur de Rhosne*, who having but a small part of the Army with him, and therefore unequal Forces to continue the siege on the field-side, drawing off his Cannon, passed the River in Boats that waited for him, and went into the Duke's Camp; and the King entering personally into *Meulan* on that side, and giving due commendations to the Defendants, left Three hundred Swisses, and two hundred French Fire-locks there; and retiring to his Army, quartered in the places near adjacent.

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Cardinal *Gues-
tano* grants
unto the D.
of *Mayenne* the
three hundred
thousand
crowns,
brought for
enlargement of
the Cardinal
of *Bourbon*.
The Decree of
the Colledge
of *Sorbonne*.

Meulan stands
upon the *Seine*
below *Paris*.

A description
of the situati-
on of *Meulan*,
and of the
siege laid to it
by the Duke
of *Mayenne*.

The

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The Duke of Mayenne, after 25 days, raises the siege of Meulan, and marches towards Rouen to appease new troubles.

The King besieges Dreux.

The Duke of Mayenne knowing that the King would not attempt with inferior Forces to pass the River in the face of his Army, continued with confidence to batter the place; and the Cannon having made way with about Five hundred shot, the assault was given upon the Two and twentieth day; which was so sharp, that the Defendants would not have endured it long, if the King at the same time, sending in fresh men on the other side of the River, had not given them new courage and new strength; and yet nevertheless, having lost the first Trench, they were reduced to their inner Works, with small hope of defending them, if the Marechal de Biran had not come in with a great many Foot; who bringing other Cannon into the Isle, which raked thorough their flank with a very great slaughter, forced the Assailants at last to retreat towards the evening. Yet the Duke of Mayenne still persisted in his resolution to force the place, judging, that his glory would be so much the greater, if he could take Meulan before the King's face, by how much the more difficult he esteemed the enterprise, in regard of the hourly relief which the besieged received from the far side of the River. But the King having changed his quarters, and after having furnished Meulan with all things necessary, having lodged his Army upon the great high-way that leads to Paris, the Duke of Mayenne was constrained to send the Duke of Nemours thither with some Light-horse, to prevent the tumults and precipitate despair of the people: after which diminution of his Army, it fortuned, that news came presently, how the old Castle at Rouen was seized upon by some seditious persons, and that the whole City was brought into very great danger and confusion: wherefore, upon the five and twentieth day he resolved to raise his siege, and to march that way without delay, (so much did accidental chances alwayes assist the King's proceedings) and yet the danger of Rouen vanished without any trouble: for the Sieur de la Londe, who commanded the Soldiers, having driven out those that made the tumult the same night, and also the Sieur d'Allegre, who was the Head of them, restored the City unto its former quietness. But the Duke of Mayenne, thinking it at last impossible to take Meulan, considering the hourly relief it had from the King; and not being willing to lose time, and destroy his Army upon a vain enterprise, resolved to draw off, and with easie marches to meet the Supplies from Flanders and Lorain, which he had intelligence were advancing speedily towards him.

On the other side, the King being intent upon cutting off provisions from Paris on all sides, resolved unexpectedly to assault the City of Dreux, his mind giving him that he should take it before the Duke of Mayenne returned, and so not only totally shut up the passage of Normandy, but also keeping a strong Garrison there, cut off and molest the wayes of Beaufse, and hinder the free passage between Chartres and Paris. The Sieur de la Falandre and Captain la Viette, were in Dreux, both valiant Soldiers; who having a sufficient Garrison, received the siege very constantly, which was begun upon the last of February, shewing in the first skirmishes both firm resolution of mind, and great experience in War: which opinion conceived of them, they did the more confirm at the Marechal de Biran's viewing and discovering the place: for they laid him an Ambush of many Musketers, secretly placed in the moat, by whom Charles Brise the chief Cannoneer, who was close by him, Captain la Boulaye, and two others of his own servants were slain; he himself being shot upon the Target with three bullets, and beaten to the ground, was not wounded by reason of the goodness of his Arms; but yet he had much ado to get off, and had certainly been taken prisoner by the Enemy, if his son the Baron, who followed him very near, had not opportunely succoured and disingaged him. The valour of the Defendants was not less in other actions: for the Artillery having made a great breach by the third of March, the King commanded the Foot to assault the Curtine, at which fighting gallantly from noon to Sun-set, the Defendants at the last beat back the King's Forces with a very great slaughter; and following them victoriously into their Trenches, slew three Captains there, and two hundred soldiers. About this time the King received seasonable assistance from many parts: for having called unto him all the supplies of the Provinces, first of all the Marechal d'Aumont joyned with him, who led the Gentry of Champagne, and One thousand and two hundred Reiters newly sent out of Germany by the Sieur de Sancy; and a while after, the Grand Prior and the Baron de Guiry came up with Two hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred Light-horse; and at last Captain Raulet Governor of Pont de l'Arche, the Commendatory de Chatter, the Sieur de l'Archant, and other Gentlemen, brought in the Forces of Normandy: after whose arrival,

val, the King, desirous to try the last push for the place he had besieged, caused four other pieces of Cannon, with great store of Ammunition to be fetched from *Menlan*, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with very great violence.

But the news of the besieging of *Dreux* being come to *Paris*, it is not credible how much mens minds were altered by it, and how much the people murmured and mutined at it, being exposed more than all others to future dangers, and to the present distresses of hunger: wherefore the Cardinal-Legat, and the Spanish Ministers being very much troubled, endeavoured not only by means of the Preachers, to appease and cheer up the Citizens, but solicited the Duke of *Mayenne* with frequent Letters, and resenting Messages, spurring him up with often vehement complaints, and seeming to wonder, that having much a stronger Army, he should let the principal City, on which the most secure hopes of the League relied, to be brought into such scarcity, that it was necessary to prevent those imminent insurrections which were secretly laboured for on the Kings part; that so much money had now been spent, and so much pains taken, and that nothing had been done save enterprizes of small or no account to the sum of affairs; and that it was evident, nothing else was endeavoured, nothing else pretended, but to consume time unprofitably, and tire out the patience of the Confederates; and the Three hundred thousand Crowns sent by the Pope being once spent, with what money would he maintain his Army for the future? with Contributions of the Parisians, who having been already long blocked up, and reduced to extream want of necessaries, were fain to pay ten Crowns for a Bushel of Wheat, and to live upon Bread alone without any other subsistence? that every one desired he would at last make tryal, whether the Swords of the Confederates could cut as well, and were as sharp, as those of the *Bearnois*, (so they called those of the Kings party) and that the Catholick King had not emptied his Garisons of *Flanders*, to the end, his Souldiers should lose their time in idleness; that it was manifestly seen how much a mans resolution was to be valued: for the King without money, without being prop'd up by Confederates, without Friends, and in a manner without any Towns, had in a few months traversed all *France*, taken more places and Forts than there were days in the year, and now fiercely and resolutely threatned the City of *Paris* it self, even in the face of the Army of the League.

The Duke of *Mayenne* moved by these complaints, earnestly redoubled many times, though in his own mind he feared the unexpertness of his men, and did much esteem the valour of the Nobility that followed the Kings Camp; yet was he resolved to put it to a day, because the great advantage he had in number made him conceal his own opinion; and his being Head of the Confederates, forced him to manage the War by the directions of others, fearing many inconveniences if he should have gone about to manage it his own way: Wherefore being joined with Count *Egmont*, who brought from *Flanders* Fifteen hundred Lanciers, and Four hundred Carabines; and having met Colonel *St. Paul* some two days after, who brought Twelve hundred Horse, and Two thousand German Foot out of *Lorain*; he began his march without further delay to raise the siege of *Dreux*, and come presently to the issue of a Battel. The Flemish Cavalry were excellently well horsed, and gallantly set forth with Silk and Gold, but generally undervalued in respect of the French Gentry: On the other side, the Carabines, armed for the most part with back, brest, and pot, and mounted upon nimble horses of a middle size, being expert in all encounters, were not only esteemed by their own, but, which imported more, feared by their Enemies. The Germans led by *St. Paul*, had been raised in the name of the *Sieur de Sancy*, who sent by the King to the Princes of *Germany*, and having obtained money from the Lant-Grave of *Hesse*, the Count of *Mombelliard*, and from the Cities of *Ulme* and *Norembergh*, had levied Horse and Foot to join with the *Marschal d' Aumont* in *Champagne*, which the Cavalry prosperously did; who by the way of *Langres* (though by a various passage) came to the place appointed; but the Infantry being come near the City of *Strasbourg*, was encompassed by the Duke of *Lorain*, and to free themselves from danger, broke their Faith; and having received new money in the name of the Confederates, was come into the Camp of the League, under the command of Colonel *St. Paul*: With these Forces, and the old Army, which amounted in all to the number of Four thousand five hundred Horse, and little less than Twenty thousand Foot: The Duke furnished with victual, and all things necessary, reviewed his Army diligently upon the Ninth of *March*, and having given his Souldiers leave to rest all the day following,

1590.

At the news of the siege of *Dreux*, the people of *Paris* mutiny.

The Duke of *Mayenne* joins with the Spanish Supplies from *Flanders*, and marching towards *Dreux*, resolveth to fight.

The German Infantry raised for the K. of *France*, turn for the League, under the command of Col. *St. Paul*.

The Army of the League being 4500 Horse, and 30000 Foot, march to relieve *Dreux*.

1590.

The King advertised of their coming raises the siege.

A terrible Prodigy seen by the Kings Souldiers.

The Kings Army 3000 Horse, and 8000 Foot.

Reasons moving the King to fight, though his Army was less by half than that of the League.

upon the Eleventh day in the morning he moved toward *Drenx*, which Town was still fiercely battered and assaulted by the King.

But the King having intelligence, that the Duke of *Mayenne* increased in strength, advanced towards him with a resolution to fight; being deceived both by the constancy of the defendents, from whom he did not think to have met with such resistance; and by the celerity of the Duke, who he did not believe would so suddenly have joined with the Supplies of the Confederates, determined to raise the siege, being not well resolved to fight, by reason of the inequality of Forces; yet intending (in case he should come to a battel) to find out the most convenient place, and most advantageous ground that he could for his Army. The Artillery was drawn off upon *Munday*, being the Twelfth of *March*, in the morning; but because the King would have the Baggage to go before, and that the Army should march in Battalia, the day was already almost spent when the Camp moved, nor did they arrive at *Nonancourt*, their appointed Quarter, till many hours of the night were past: At which time, a mighty storm of rain falling from Heaven, among terrible thunder and lightning, put the whole Army into a very great fright, as well because retreats are always formidable to those that know not the intimate secrets of command, as by reason of the fame which was spread abroad of the powerful Forces of the Enemies; and because both Fortune and the Weather seemed to conspire in prejudice of that Army, which almost half drowned, marched as if they were flying under favour of the dark, though close in the ranks and files of their Divisions. The terrour of the rarer men, was increased by a prodigious Apparition, which as the rain ceased, appeared in the midst of the Skie; for there were seen two wonderful great Armies, of a red bloody colour, which rushed visibly together in the Air, amidst the horrible noise of the thunder; and, within a while after, the event not appearing, they both vanished, and were covered again with exceeding thick and most obscure clouds; which though it were diversly interpreted by many, seemed most probably to portend mischief and ruine to that Army, which inferiour in strength, and altogether void of other help, than that of their own Forces, retired, as it were already conquered, while the Enemy advanced; and so much the more, because those were the very places, where, in the first Civil Wars, the Kings Predecessors, and his Faction of the Hugonots, lost the first Battel against the Duke of *Guise*, wherein the Prince of *Conde* in the midst of the terrible slaughter of his men, was both wounded and taken prisoner. But the Army being come to *Nonancourt*, (a Town which had been taken two days before) and refreshed both with great fires kindled in every place, and with plenty of victual, which the *Mareschal de Byron* caused to be disposed with very good order thorow the whole quarters, as well of Horse as Foot, the Souldiers recovered strength and courage: and the King being come to his lodging with the *Marschals of Aumont* and *Byron*, began to consult whether he should venture the hazard of a Battel. One thing dissuaded him from it, which was the inequality of the number of the two Armies; for in the Kings, there were not above Eight thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, which were about half as many as that of the League; and if he had a mind to avoid the encounter, there was also conveniency to retreat beyond the River *Eure* into places of lower *Normandy*, all abounding with provisions, and all reduced to the Kings obedience; where, with variety of opposition and of effects, the Enemy might be hindred and kept in play. But not only the promptness of the Kings nature inclined to generous resolutions, but also the condition of present affairs withstood that determination: For his Forces consisting in the Union of the Gentry, who served upon their own charge, without pay or reward, it was necessary to make use of them in the first ardour of their courage, and not to suffer their first fury to be cooled by their expences and sufferings. To this was added, the want of money, which was very great and irreparable, for the payment of the Swisses, and other strangers; so that they could not be long maintained and kept together: Whereas on the other side, there was no doubt but the Enemy would never want means, not only to sustain, but also to increase their Forces to a greater number, whensoever it should please the Pope, and the King of *Spain*: And finally, the Kings foundation was wholly grounded upon frankness of courage and resolution, it being necessary to hazard the lesser to obtain the greater: and because all other hopes were weak, necessity perswaded to set the sum of affairs upon the edge of the Sword; nor could it seem other than faint-heartedness and cowardize, not to second that prosperous beginning, which fortune had favorably shewed him. To all these reasons was added, the opinion of the *Mareschal de Byron* (whose

(whose counsels, by reason of his wisdom and experience, were by the King observed as Oracles) who thought it not only difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to avoid the putting of it to a Battel, and to retire without receiving some notable loss in passing the Rivers, if the Duke of *Mayenne* should follow them in the Reer: And he judged it better advice to fight resolutely with the vigour and forwardness of the Army, than to be destroyed piece-meal, without the least hope of any good: Wherefore the King, being determined to fight, designed the form of the Battel; and having asked the counsel of the oldest Souldiers about it, all of them approved his opinion without contradiction.

The King knew the Enemies Army abounded with a great number of Lanciers, who being spread at large along the field, there was no doubt but they would break in, and by consequence endanger the putting of his Cavalry in disorder, composed all of Gentlemen-Voluntiers, who serving upon their own expence, without pay or obligation, had in the revolution of the Civil Wars given over the use of Lances, for their conveniency, and as more ready, had taken Pistols in their steads, in imitation of the Reiters: Wherefore desiring by industry to remedy this disadvantage, which he, and the most experienced Commanders were wont to deplore, he divided his Cavalry into many Squadrons, to render the encounter of the Lances less effectual; in whose passage, two or three lesser Bodies might charge them on all sides, and not receive the shock of their front, with a firm encounter and continued order. To every Body of Horse he joined Squadrons of Foot, to the end that the hail of small shot might not only favour his own men in the encounter, but that falling among the Enemies, and doing execution upon them, it might make them weaker, and their violence the less united: a remedy which for the need thereof in the difference of Arms; having often been consulted and approved of, did that day give proof how considerable it was in effect. The King having invented the Form wherein the Army was to be drawn up and imbattelled, gave the design thereof into the hand of the Baron *de Byron* Camp-Master-General; and chose Monsieur *de Vicy*, an old Colonel of the French Infantry, and a man of great valour and experience, Serjeant-Major-General; an Office, for the high importance of it, not wont to be conferred but upon such persons as by their approved knowledge and long practice in remarkable occasions, had gotten the credit and reputation of Command, and consequently both knew and were known of all. The remainder of the night was spent in rest, till the Drums and Trumpets, at the first peep of light, gave notice of the approaching day; in the beginning whereof Mass was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholicks, and the Hugonots made their Prayers apart: after which, the whole Army being come forth into the field, the Carriages of provision passed without tumult or confusion thorow all the files, the *Mareschal de Byron* having care thereof, whose orderly Government, to the admiration of all, shewed his great experience in the discipline of War.

The Army being refreshed and fed, they began with less haste than they had done the evening before, to march toward the field of *Tury*, appointed by the King for the place of Battel, as well because it was large and spacious on all sides, as by reason of many places of advantage, which he (preventing the Enemy) had designed to make himself Master of. This field takes the compass of many miles in a circular form; it is bounded on the left side (on which the Kings Army came) by two great commodious Villages, one called *Fourcanville*, the other *St. André*; and on the other side, where the Army of the League marched, a thick Wood shuts up the Plain, commonly called by the Country-people, * *Le clos de la prairie*: on the West-side, towards which both Armies marched, it ends in a deep Valley, in which runs the River *Enre*, of a reasonable breadth, upon whose banks are two great Bourgs, *Anet* towards the South, and *Tury* situated on the other side towards the North. The River under *Anet* is wont to be easily forded without danger; but a large Bridge of planks, upon great pieces of timber, leads from the further side into *Tury*. The field flat and open on all sides, not encumbered with hedges, nor uneven with banks and ditches, hath only a little natural hollownes, which extends it self a little way, almost in the midst of the plain right over against the above-named Village of *Fourcanville*. The *Sieur de Vicy*, and the Baron *de Byron*, together with the *Sieur de Surene*, and Captain *Fayos*, who that day executed the Office of Adjutants, being all rode before into this place, drew up the Army as it came, and disposed it in such manner, that the Village of *St. André* flanked it on the right side, and *Fourcanville* on the left; wherein, the ill weather continuing, they

1590

The King designs his form of Battel, and draws it with his own hand:

* The hedge or inclosure of the meadow.

The manner of drawing up the Kings Army for the battel in the field of *Tury*.

1590. might quarter upon all occasions conveniently under cover: and the hollow of the Plain happened to be in the Front of the Army, where the Forlorn-hope (which they call *Les Enfants perdus*) was to be placed. The Duke of *Montpensier* led the Van, the King commanded the Battel, and the *Marschal de Byron* the Reer. The Cavalry of the Army was drawn into five Bodies, whereof the first, led by the *Marschal d'Anmont*, with two Regiments of Firelocks by it, stood upon the left hand, in the uttermost part of the field. Next it, was the second, commanded by the Duke of *Montpensier*, flanked on the right hand by a Squadron of Swiss Infantry, and on the left by another of the Germans. The third, bigger than all the rest, in which was the Kings Person, the Prince of *Conty*, the Count of *St. Paul*, and the choicest number of Lords and Gentlemen, was flanked by the Swisses of the Guard on the right hand, and by those of Colonel *Balibazar* on the left. The fourth, led by *Marschal de Byron*, followed on the right hand of this, and had neer it two Regiments of French Firelocks. The fifth and last, of German Horse, led by Count *Theodorick of Schomberg*, reached down to the houses of the Village of *St. Andre*. Two other Squadrons of Horse besides these were in the front of the Battel, some fifty paces before all the rest; one commanded by the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Ginry*, wherein were four hundred Light-horse; and the other by the Baron *de Byron*, in which were three hundred Cuirasses: And in the midst, between these two Squadrons, were placed the Artillery, commanded by *Philibert de la Guiche*, with * fifty Harquebusiers on horseback, two hundred Pioneers, and the ordinary company of Cannoneers. The Forlorn-hope, led by three Colonels, *St. Denis*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, some fifty paces before the Artillery and the whole Army, lay close in that hollow that was in the midst of the Plain, so that it could not be hurt by the Enemies Cannon; and kneeling with one knee on the ground, could hardly be discovered by those that knew not of their being there. In this manner the Army, not in a crooked form, or shape of a Half-moon, but spreading it self in a straight line, had an equal front, except only that the Grand Prior, and the Baron *de Byron* with their Squadrons, and the Artillery, being advanced forwarder than the rest, covered the main Body of the Battel. They had not yet made an end of ordering and imbattelling the Army, when two several supplies from several parts came up unto the King: for the *Sieurs du Plessis, de Monty, and de la Tremouille*, came out of *Poitou* with about two hundred Horse; and out of *Picardy* the *Sieur de Humieres* with about * fourscore Gentlemen, stirred up by the report which was spread abroad that there was like to be a Battel about that time: which supplies, though small, yet coming so opportunely, and being increased by fame, gave wonderful courage and assurance to every one, all being of opinion that it was clearly the mercy of Heaven in favour of the King, who unexpectedly received those helps, in so urgent a time of need: and every one more esteeming the happiness of the Omen, than the considerableness of their Forces, they were welcomed with loud joyful acclamations: and that they might not disturb the order of the Army, they went into the Kings Squadron placed just in the middle of the Battel.

* The French Translation says five hundred.

* The French say four hundred.

The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side having intelligence that the King was risen from the siege of *Dreux*, and that being neither stayed by any hinderance of the rain, nor by the darkness of the night, he marched with exceeding great speed towards *Normandy*, was of opinion that he, by reason of the inequality of Forces, would have avoided the hazard of fighting, and therefore hastened the march of his Army, hoping that the usual confusion of all Retreats might afford him some opportunity (especially in the passage of so many Rivers) to break, or at least endamage the Enemy: and being not only the belief of the General, but the universal opinion of the whole Army, every one of his own accord quickened his pace, promising themselves an exceeding easie, and very secure Victory without loss of blood: from which haste it came to pass, that though the Army marched as close as they could in their ranks, yet were the Squadrons of it something confused, and almost quite disordered, by the unequallness of the way. But going on with this diligence towards *Tury*, with an intention to take the King in the passage of the River, the *Sieurs de Rboisne and Gessan*, who led the first divisions, in the entry of the Plain discovered the Kings Army; which, drawn up in Battalia, and having the advantage of the Field, expected the encounter of the day. This news, which passed from Van to Reer, did in great measure cool the courage of many, who already had inconsiderately promised themselves the Victory without fighting, and caused the Army to make a halt to draw up and recover their order.

The

The Army of the League was divided into two Battalions, whereof the right was led by the Duke of *Nemours*, and the left by the Chevalier *d'Amale*. In the point of the Right Wing was the Count *d'Egmont*, with the Lanciers he had brought out of *Flanders*; next which were a Body of Swisses commanded by their Colonels, *Fifer* and *Berling*, and flanked with the Regiments of *Ponsenac*, *Disemieux*, and *Chatteliere*. Then the Duke of *Nemours* his Regiment, wherein were Four hundred Horse; and between these and the Swisses were placed the Artillery. In the Left Wing Four hundred Light Horse, Burguignons and Spaniards, spread themselves in the uttermost parts to the very edge of the Field, and by the side of them, the Body of German Foot, commanded by the Colonel *St. Paul*, and flanked by the French and Lorain Regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Teniffay*, and *Chastaigneraye*; and next these, was placed the Squadron of the Chevalier *d'Amale*, wherein were the Troops of the *Sieur de Longchamp*, *de Perdiel*, and *de Fontaine Martel*. The Duke of *Mayenne* with his Cornet and Four hundred Gentlemen; which in all made Seven hundred Horse, was in the midst between the two Wings, flanked by the Flemish Carabines; and before all were two Squadrons of Reiters led by the Duke of *Brunswick*, and by *Bassompier*, who were to charge, and wheel off after their wonted manner, and so passing between the two Wings, should fall as a Reserve, and rally themselves in order, that they might return more fresh into the Battel.

1590.
The manner
how the Army
of the League
was imbat-
tled.

In this order, the Army marching gently toward the Plain, and by degrees turning their backs to *Jury*, and the banks of the River, came up to face the Kings Army, when the day was already almost spent; for having marched disorderly, they had been forced to waste a great deal of time to rank themselves again: Whereupon the near approaching of night, together with the constant extreimity of wet weather, withheld both Generals from giving way, that the Battel should be begun; but after they had stood thus some two hours, faintly skirmishing, because each was careful not to engage their Forces, the day being already shut in on every side, the King drew his Army with a great deal of conveniency into *Fourcanille*, and *St. Andre*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* with as much inconveniency was fain to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houses; which want he supplied by the help of Tents and Pavillions, set up within the descent of the valley, toward the bank of the River. The night was full of unquietness, and continual stir on both sides, kindling great fires very thick in each Camp, and Sentinels being set out all over the field, which were changed every half hour by the Colonels who went the rounds; though the Kings Army, by reason of the abundance of victual, of the conveniency of houses, and because the Infantry was enclosed on all sides with barricadoes, rested more quietly, and by their ease received greater refreshment. The Duke of *Mayenne*, a Friend to secure counsels, would willingly have avoided the encounter of a Battel, spinning out the War in length, to tire out the forwardness of the Nobility that followed the King, to reduce them into want of money, and in length of time to make them consume their Ammunition of War, whereof he knew they had no very great store; thinking by these arts, he should at last perfect his designs. But on the one side, Count *Egmont* opposed it with fierce protestations, that he was not come to consume the Catholick Kings Souldiers unprofitably, who depriving his Low-Countries of their own Forces to assist Religion in *France*, desired the War might be ended with one manly blow. And on the other side, it was opposed (though more modestly) by Monsignor *Girolamo di Portia*, who was present in the Camp in the Legats name, and who alledging the weariness of the Confederates, and the great superiority of Forces, excited the Duke to a generous resolution: Nor was he himself without some consideration of the Parisians, whom he knew to be tired with contributions, pinched with dearth, unsatisfied with him, and ready (if things should be drawn out in length) to embrace the opportunity of a revolt; wherefore at last, he resolved he would no longer defer the encounter. Thereupon the next morning, being *Wednesday*, the Drums and Trumpets calling at the first appearance of day, the Armies were imbatteled in the same place and manner as they had been the night before: But because the Viscount *de Tavannes*, who put the Horse in order, while the *Sieur de Rbofne* did the like unto the Foot, was extremely short-sighted, he placed the several Divisions so close to one another, that he not only left no space thorow which the Reiters, according to order given, might wheel about, and rally behind the Army, but even the very Divisions themselves, not having any intervals, by means whereof, they might open when they moved, if they did

The Armies
face one another,
but being
overtaken by
the night, they
retire to quarters.

The error of
the Viscount
de Tavannes
in drawing up
the Divisions
of the Horse.

1590. did but stir never so little, jostled and crouded one another; a fault, which not being taken notice of by any body, and being therefore left without remedy, put the Army of the League into great confusion.

The King all arm'd on horse-back, visits and exhorts his Soldiers with great efficacy, and at the head of his Army, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, prayeth heartily.

On the other side, the Kings Forces, by reason of their lesser number being easier to put in order, were not only set in Battalia without confusion; but first the Marechal *de Byron*, and then the King himself visited every Division with great diligence, and reviewed every thing very carefully. The King was upon a great Bay Courser, armed all over, except his face and head, and galloping up and down thorow all the several Squadrons, did more by his looks and gestures, than by his words, which could scarcely be heard by the multitude, recommend his own fortune, and the common safety unto his Army; in which, his whole strength consisted, and with it the height of their common hopes: And he with an undaunted countenance, but sometimes with tears in his eyes, put his Commanders, and all those that heard him, in mind, that not only the safety of the Crown of *France*, but the sole way to save each mans particular life depended upon the point of the Sword, and the valour of their own Arms; that there were no other Armies to be drawn together, nor other Nobility to take up Arms, or open any other way of safety, than to fight stoutly to the death: And at last, standing still at the head of the main Battalion, joining his hands, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he said so loud, that he was heard by many, *O Lord, thou knowest the intentions of my heart, and with the Eye of thy Providence, thou piercest into the secretest of my thoughts; If it be best for this people, that I should attain the Crown, which belongs to me by right, do thou favour and protect the justice of my Arms: But if thy will hath determined the contrary, if thou takest away my Kingdom, take away my Life also at the same time, that I may shed my Blood fighting at the head of these who put themselves in danger for my sake.* At the end of which words, there arose in the Front of the Battel, a loud acclamation from those that heard him, with an unanimous cry of *Vive le Roy*; which being taken and redoubled from Squadron to Squadron, thorow the whole Army, gave a most happy beginning to the Battel. But he having taken his Helmet, covered with a long gallant plume of white Feathers for a mark, that he might be followed, and knowing that the wind was against him, which would have covered and blinded all his Army with the smoak of the Muskets and Cannon, began with great art to make his Divisions wheel to the left hand, turning to gain the wind, yet moving but a very few paces; which the Duke of *Majenne* seeing, who likewise stood in the Front of his Battalion, and being desirous to hinder whatsoever the Kings intention was, caused presently the sign of Battel to be given by the Generals Trumpet; at the sound whereof the Cannon fired with a thundering noise, but with so different art, care, and fortune, that the Dukes shot all too low, and killed not any body but a Gentleman of the Duke of *Montpensier*; and the Kings, by the diligence and skill of Monsieur *de la Guiche*, being charged and discharged the second time, did with a very great slaughter disorder the two Squadrons of Reiters which were in the Front of the Army, and also did much mischief to Count *Egmont*, who with his Lanciers stood on the outside of the Left Wing, and who being unwilling to stay till they should fire the third time, and utterly rout his men, was the first that gave the On-set, falling upon the Grand Priors Light-horse with so much gallantry, that they not being able to resist the violence of the Lances, and the furious shock of stronger horses, were broken into, and charged quite thorow the very midst of their Squadron; so that the Flemings in contempt ran in, turning their horse tails upon the Kings Cannon, and killing many of the Cannoniers and Pioniers which were by them; but having half disordered themselves by this vanity, they were at the same time charged with very great fury on the Right hand by the Marechal *d' Aumont*, on the Left by the Baron *de Byron*; and the Grand Prior with the Baron *de Guiry*, having rallied their horse again, being full of spight and anger, gave them so desperate a charge in the Front, that being surrounded by all these in Van, Flank and Reer, they were all instantly cut in pieces with the Count that commanded them. At the same time the Squadrons of the Duke of *Montpensier*, and that of the Duke of *Nemours* in the Van-Guard, and the Count *Schomberg*, with that of the Chevalier *d' Aumale* in the Reer-Guard, charged one another with so much valour and courage on both sides, that it was hard to know which would have the advantage at the last: For the Duke of *Montpensier*, whose horse was killed under him in the first encounter, and who by the great care and courage of his men was mounted upon another, being incompassed by the Gentry of *Normandy*, fought

The sign of Battel given.

Count *Egmont* and his Lanciers all cut in pieces.

fought with admirable valour : and the Duke of *Nemours*, very young, but of a generous spirit, raised by the advantage of the greater number of his Forces, (after the encounter of the Lances) was with short weapons fallen pell-mell into the midst of the Battel. On the other side, the Count *de Schomberg* with the German Horse, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very Body of the Enemy, with Volleys of Pistols, did great execution upon the Squadron of the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, who, no less valiant than fame reported him, being seconded by a strong party of his men, made the Conflict very sharp and dangerous. But the Reiters who were placed before the Duke of *Mayenne*, having received much damage by the Artillery, advancing nevertheless wheeling to make their charge : but when they came into the hollow of the field, they found the Forlorn-hope, who standing up courageously upon their feet, welcomed them with a terrible storm of Musket-bullets, by which the Duke of *Brunswick*, one of their chief Commanders being slain, and many other wounded and beaten to the ground, as soon as ever they had discharged their Pistols, they fell off according to the custom of their Discipline, turning to get behind the Body of the Army, as they had received Orders from their General : but not having found the passage open, as by directions it should have been, they, by reason of the narrowness of the Intervals between the Squadrons, rushed upon and disordered that great Body of Lances where-with the Duke of *Mayenne* followed them to charge the Battel, so that he was constrained to stop, and make his men couch their Lances, setting himself to keep off the Reiters, and disengage himself from them, lest he should have been routed by their inconsiderate violence : which the King observing, and laying hold of the opportunity that disorder of his Enemies afforded him, setting spurs to his Horse, and being boldly seconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his Cornet, he fell in fiercely to the Battel before the Duke of *Mayenne* could recover himself from the incumbrance of the Reiters, and make his Lances take their career ; whereby they becoming useless, because they do their effect and receive their force and vigour by running, it was necessary to throw them away, and fight with their Swords alone, against the Kings Squadrons, in which all were Knights and Gentlemen, who besides their Tucks, were admirably well armed, and had each man a Case of Pistols at his Saddle : yet did not this startle the valour of the Duke, nor make those that followed him lose courage ; but after a furious Volley of Carabines, rushing in boldly with gallant horses, they made the Victory first doubtful, and then bloody to the Enemy : for in the very beginning, the *Sieur de Rhodes*, a youth of great expectation, who carried the Royal white Cornet, being slain with a thrust thorow the sight of his Bever, and a Page falling in the same place, who wore a great Plume like that of the Kings, it was commonly believed of all that the King himself was dead : upon which mistake, the Squadron began to break, some yielding back to the right, some to the left hand : But the Kings Horse and Plume being known afterwards, he himself fighting desperately with his Sword in his hand in the first rank, and with his voice exhorting those that were near to follow him, they turned, and shut themselves close together all in the same place, and taking their second Pistols, fought with the wonted valour of the French Nobility : so that all impediments being overcome and broken to pieces, they at length overthrew the Enemy with an exceeding great slaughter, and made them turn their backs ; and being mingled with them, pursued them, terribly wounding and killing, to the very entry of the Wood, into which the Reiters also, being disordered, first falling foul upon their Cannon, and then sometimes upon one Squadron, sometimes upon another, were retreated, without ever turning their faces, to their own infinite dishonour, and the no less prejudice of their Army. Almost at the same instant, the Duke of *Montpensier*, relieved by the *Marschal d' Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the Vanguard of the Duke of *Nemours* ; and the Count of *Schomberg*, relieved by the Baron *de Byron*, had likewise beaten the Rearguard of the Chevalier *d' Aumale* ; and the Grand Prior, having rallied his Light-horse, had broken and done great execution upon those of the Spaniards and Bourguignons, who shut up the Rearguard in the very uttermost parts of the Army : so that all the Cavalry of the League being disordered and put to flight, had left the field free unto the Enemy ; and fleeing with all speed, made towards *Ivry*, to save themselves by passing the River.

But the Victory was neither secure nor pleasing in the Kings Camp, because they did not yet see the Kings Person ; and the first news of his death that was dispersed, was yet believed true by many : nor would there have been any joy in the Army, if he had not appeared

1599.

A page being slain who wore a great white Feather like the Kings, it was thought the King himself was killed

The Cavalry of the League being defeated, saved themselves by flight.

1590.

The Swisses
have quarter
given them.

The Dutch
that had been
raised by the
King, and had
taken Arms
for the League
are put to the
Sword.

The Kings
clemency to-
wards the
French.

The Reiters
of the League
being reduced
to necessity,
fight till they
are all de-
stroyed.

Six thousand
of the League
sain.

appeared at the head of his Squadron, wherewith he had routed and pursued the Enemies : But at his appearance, who had put off his Helmet to be better known, that joyful cry of *Vive le Roy* was reiterated, which in the beginning had given an happy Omen of the end of the Battel. The Infantry of the League remained untouched, but invironed on all sides by the Kings Forces. The Swisses made shew as if they would defend themselves; but seeing that the Cannon were bringing up to rake thorow and break them, they took a resolution to yield; which the King seeing, because he would not exasperate that Nation, whose friendship was nearly to be valued, as soon as they had laid down their Colours and Arms upon the ground, they were received, and quarter given them by the Marechal de Byron. The Germans thought to have done the like; but being the same who having been raised with the Kings money, had revolted to the Duke of Lorain, and with a mercenary spirit had born Arms in favour of the League, after they had ordered their Pikes, and laid down their Colours, were by the Kings command all cut in pieces, for a punishment of their perfidiousness. The French Infantry that yielded, had their lives given them: for the King from the very beginning of the Victory, having, to gain the general love, cried out aloud often times, that the strangers should be put to the Sword, but the French saved alive: the same voice being taken up by the whole Army, thorow all parts of the field, and every one, even in the fury of the Battel, enjoying the benefit of this remarkable clemency, the French that yielded themselves were received without any difficulty. These things being dispatched with very great haste, and the Army remaining Master of the whole field, the King rallying his men in order, followed towards *Tury*, whither the Enemy was gotten; in which place the tumult was dreadful, and the confusion miserable: for the Duke of Mayenne having passed the Bridge, had caused it to be broken down, that the Enemy might not have means to follow him: Whereupon a great number of Run-a-ways crowding and stopping one another, by reason of the narrowness of the place, and of the deep dirt that was in the Town, did in that terrible hurly-burly delay and hinder their own flight; which disorder the Kings Infantry being come up, who flesh'd with the slaughter of the Germans, pursued fiercely to destroy their Enemies, many precipitated with fear, resolved to venture the wading over the River, which being deep of it self, and swelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miserably drowned. But the Reiters not having the heart to hazard themselves in the water, cut off their horses legs, that they might serve them for a Brest-work, and resolved now to give that proof of their valour and courage, which they should much more fitly have done in the Battel. This execution, rather than fight, lasted above an hour: for the Muskets playing upon them on all sides from the higher grounds and places of advantage, destroyed those reliques in such manner, that very few of them remained alive; but not without much blood; for many of the Conquerours, by their too hasty desire of getting to them, were either choaked in the mud, and slaughter of dead bodies, or slain by the Reiters with their Pistols. The Duke of Nemours, the Chevalier d' Aumale, Bassompierre, Rhosne, the Viscount de Tavannes, and others, took a different way, and passing by the Wood side, with a longer, but more secure journey, retired to Chartres without being followed. The Duke, Colonel St. Paul, Monsignor di Portia, and a great many Gentlemen who escaped from the Battel, having fled seven leagues with very great speed, came to Mante, into which Town they were received the same evening, though the people at first wavered in their resolution. The King omitted not to prosecute them in the heat; but not being able to pass at the Bridge of Tury, which was already broken and beaten down; to avoid the danger of whirlpools, he was forced to go about, and ford the River near Anet; by which delay having lost above two hours time, he could not possibly overtake the Enemy, but quartered in a Village called Rhosny, a league from Mante, where the Marechal d' Aumont, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of Montpensier arrived also; the Marechal de Byron staying behind with the Infantry and the remainder of the Army.

There died that day, what by the Sword, what in the passing of the River, above six thousand of the Army of the League, among which the Count d' Egmont, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Sieur de la Chastaigneraye. There were taken the Sieur de Cygogne, who carried the Dukes white Corner, the Count of Anfrist, a German, the Marquis de Magnelay, the Sieurs de Bois-Dauphin, de Medavid, de Long-champ, de Flandre, de Fontaine Martel, and their Colonels, Temissay, Disemicux, and Chasteliere.

The

The Conquerors took twenty Cornets of Horse, the Standard of the Flemish Lances, the Banner of the Colonel of the Reiters, Four and twenty Ensigns of the *Swisses*, Sixty French Colours, Eight pieces of Cannon, with all the Baggage and Ammunition which followed the Camp. The number of the dead on the Kings side, were not above Five hundred, among which the *Sieur de Clermont*, Captain of his Guards, one of the German Colonels, the *Sieur de Grenay*, who carried the Duke of *Montpensier's* Cornet, the *Sieur de Lonscaunay*, a Norman Gentleman, who being Threescore and twelve years old, died fighting in the fury of the Battel, and the Marquess *de Nefle*, who being left wounded upon the ground, died within a little while after. Among the wounded, who in all were not full Two hundred, were the Baron *de Byron*, the Counts of *Cheffy* and *Lude*, *Maximilian de Bethune*, *Sieur de Rosny*, and the *Sieurs de Moniluet*, *d' O*, and *de Lavergne*, of which hurts, they were cured within a few days without any danger.

This was the Battel fought in the field of *Lury*, upon the Fourteenth day of *March*; wherein, as the Kings valor appeared eminent, and his prudence wonderful; so there was no doubt, but that, after him, the first praises belonged to the Marechal *d' Amont*, the Baron *de Byron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*; since that the first two in the beginning of the day, fighting gallantly, repelled the violence of the Flemish Lances, who were victoriously come up to their very Cannon; and in the latter end they defeated the Carabines, who having done much mischief to the King's Squadron, roving afterwards up and down, and wheeling about the Field, did furiously infect, and hinder all the other Squadrons of the Victory: And the Duke of *Montpensier* charging the Enemies Right Wing, wherein was the flower of their youth, though his Horse were killed under him, he being fain to fight desperately, in very great danger, to get upon another, and that before his eyes the *Sieur de Grenay* was slain, who carried his Cornet, which he was fain to recover with much hazard; yet fought he with so great courage, that the enemies being routed and scattered, he was one of the first that followed the King in the pursuit of those that fled.

But in all the revolutions of the Battel, which was for the most part between the Cavalry on both sides, the bravery of the French Gentry appeared very singular, who fighting for no other reward, save only honor, being excellently well armed, and gallantly mounted, had still the victory in all encounters, though fighting often with Swords and Pistols against the violence of Lances; they also did sometimes find the disadvantage of those Weapons, which their own conveniency, not the Direction or Discipline of their Commanders had taught them to make use of. On the other side, the error of the Viscount *de Tervanne* was very remarkable, in placing the Divisions so near and close together, that they could not turn without falling foul upon one another; so that not onely the Reiters, who were much feared, became useless; but even the Duke of *Mayenne*, who with great conduct disengaged himself from that so great disorder, was fain after to lose the effect and vigor of his Lances: Which notable example teaches, That in matters of War, Prudence, and bravery of Courage, ought in a Commander to be also accompanied with a strong and perfect constitution of body, free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the Flemings less considerable; who out of a pride to turn their horse-tails upon the Cannon, disordered themselves in such manner, that it was very easie to break into them, and beat them back: For if with the same fury, wherewith they charged thorough the Grand Priors Squadron, they had rushed upon the Duke of *Montpensier* who followed him, and had been backed by the Duke of *Nemours*, who should presently have given him a second charge, the Victory might very easily by that means have inclined in favour of the League. At the same time, the Kings Justice and Clemency, worthy of eternal glory, appeared likewise; who, with an example of memorable severity, commanded, that the Germans who had broken their Faith, should all be put to the sword to the last man: And on the other side, with exceeding great benignity, he received not onely those who yielded voluntarily, but even those also who fighting constantly were taken prisoners. His wisdom also and policy in Government was noted by many; for knowing how much the Gentry love the Gentry, which are like themselves, and how nearly those very men are linked, either in blood or friendship, who in Civil Wars charge one another in a hostile manner, he shewed a very great and anxious care, even to the commanding with a hoarse voice, and crying aloud thorough the field every moment, that the French Gentry should be spared; which act was so plausible and po-

1590.

Two hundred and four Ensigns and Cornets taken by the King, with all their Cannon, and Baggage: On his side but Five hundred slain.

1590.

After the Victory, the King made his Commanders sup with him at Roissy familiarly, speaking to every one, and praising even the meanest Soldier.

pular, that it gained him the eternal love of his own soldiers, and no small praise from his very enemies; every one confessing him to be a worthy King, and a worthy Father, who, with so much affection, spared the blood of his Subjects and Sons, though they were disobedient and rebellious. His familiarity likewise gave great satisfaction; for supping in publick at Roissy the same night, he would needs have his Commanders sit with him at the same Table, adding these memorable words, *That those who had been partakers of the same dangers, ought worthily also to be partakers of the same conveniencies and honors*: And, while Supper lasted, calling all those that were present by their Names, praising, cherishing, and thanking even the meanest soldier, with demonstrations (in his present weakness) of a full gratitude of mind in time to come, he filled all men with wonderful great hope, and infinite desire to follow him: Arts, to say truth, admirably well suited to the narrowness of his present condition, and to the urgent need he had of the help of every particular man.

The news of this defeat came the next day to Paris, brought by the *Sieur de Tremblay*, who being a prisoner upon his Parole, had not been engaged in the Battel, and had had opportunity to retire with the first: Which news being told by him to the Archbishop of Lyons, deputed Chancellor, and head of the Council of the League, was afterward communicated to the Legat, and the Spanish Ambassadors, every one of which being exceedingly dismayed, feared with reason, that this news would make the people rise, and very much disturb the City of Paris, which expecting every hour to be eased of its distresses by the success of a Victory, being now deprived of all hope to free its self of the straightness of its present condition by the way of Arms and Force, would think of doing it by way of composition and agreement; hunger being the quickest and sharpest spur that can stir up an Insurrection among the common people, who, not withheld with the Bridle of Decency, is alwayes most prone to follow their present profit; wherefore, desirous to remedy that inconvenience as much as possibly they could, after long deliberation they determined, that the Preachers (in whom the People had a wonderful great Faith) should be the relaters of the news of this Battel in their Sermons, endeavouring, with the wonted effects of Eloquence, to confirm their courages, and perswade them stoutly to resist the crossness of their present fortune. The first of them that executed this charge, was Don *Christino de Nizxa*, who, Preaching to the People upon the Sixteenth day of March being Friday, in the first part of his Discourse, took an occasion to bring in these words, *Quos ego amo, arguo et castigo*; upon which he enlarged himself, foretelling, that God would not fail to prove the Faith and constancy of the Parisians, as by infinite examples of Scripture he gave clear testimony, that he was wont to try the courage of his Children; and then in the second part, being come into the Pulpit, with Letters in his hand, which seemed to be delivered to him at that instant, he lamented that he had not that day done the office of a Preacher, but of a Prophet; and that God had been pleased by his mouth to advertise the People of Paris, of that temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate; since that the Catholick Army having fought with the Enemy two dayes before, was come off with the worst; to which news, he, with the force of his Eloquence added so many, and so effectual Prayers and Exhortations, that the people who hearkened to him, did not onely not stir in the least manner whatsoever, but shewed themselves most ready to persevere in the defence of themselves, and of Religion, without fearing the heavy tryals of a future siege or famine. The same did *Guillaume Rose*, *Boucher*, *Prevost*, and all the other Preachers; and last of all *Monsieur Francesco Panigarola*, who, though he Preached in the Italian Tongue, was nevertheless continually followed by abundance of persons, by reason of the fame of his Eloquence.

The Duke of Mayenne came three dayes after; but not having the heart to appear in sight of the Parisians; and fearing those Tragical accidents which of late years had been seen very frequent among the people, he staid at St. Denis, whither the Cardinal Legat, the Ambassador *Mendoza*, the Commendatory *Morreo*, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the *Sieur de Villeroy* came to him: and, at last, the principal Deputies of the Parisians, by whom (but much more by his sister *Madam de Montpensier*, who by the quickness of her wit upheld the Affairs of the League exceedingly) having understood the good inclination of the People to persevere constantly in their defence: first praising so generous a resolution, he afterwards discoursed with them about the state of present matters, shewing, That the loss of the Battel having proceeded rather from the disorders of the Reiters, and several accidenta

chances!

Father *Christino* of Nizxa tells the Parisians in the Pulpit, of the defeat, and makes them resolve to endure any thing for the Catholick Religion, taking an occasion to discourse of these words, *Those whom I love I rebuke and chasten*.

chances, than from the great Forces of the Enemy; and his Army, especially the Cavalry, being rather routed than defeated, he hoped within a short time to draw together a Body of men more powerful than the former: That he could not doubt either the Pope or the Catholick would be wanting to Religion, and to the conservation of the State; and so much the rather, by how much the need appeared to be more urgent; and that thereby they should within a few weeks see a greater Army on foot, with which, fresh, and entire in strength, he doubted not to subdue the wearied and tired Troops of the *Navarrois*: That all consisted in opposing the first on-set, and in valiantly supporting the first brunt of the siege which he was confident was preparing against *Paris*; for the defence whereof, he would willingly have shut himself up in the City, and, by his example, have taught them how to endure hunger, (for as for any other danger, there was nothing to be feared from the Enemy) but that it was generally much more profitable for all, and particularly for the relieve of the Parisians, that he should march to the confines of *Picardy*, to gather an Army with all speed, and receive supplies from *Flanders* and *Lorain*, and thence with sufficient Forces to return and raise the siege; which he was certain, if they had but patience to suffer a little inconveniency, would, in the end, prove vain and fruitless: That in his stead he would leave his brother the D. of *Nemours*, a youth of wonderful high courage, and his Cousin the Chevalier d' *Aumale*, to command the Soldiers, and have care of the Military part of their defence; and for other things, the Cardinal-Legat, and the Ministers of the Catholick King being there, and seconded by the ardent zeal of the Council of *Sixteen*, he could not doubt, but all things would be managed with that prudence which need required: That to shew how little he feared the City could fall into the Enemies hands, and for a pledge of the speedy relief which he meant to make ready for them, he would leave his Mother, Wife, Sister, and Children in the City, to bear part in that fortune which the Citizens should run: That finally, there being nothing else requisite, but to persuade the people, and resist the greediness of the belly, he could not doubt of a happy issue, with the exaltation of the League, and total subversion of his enemies. All of them commended his advice, and the Heads of the people promised to keep united and constant in defending the place to the last man; beseeching him, onely to use all the speed he could possibly, to prevent the extremities of the peoples sufferings, who, for Religion, and in hope of his promises, disposed themselves boldly to meet all those many weighty dangers which they saw hang over their heads. The next day the Duke departed towards *Picardy* to meet with the D. of *Parma*, General for the Catholick King in the Low-Countries, knowing that to be the principal point; and that if the Spaniards lent not their assistance in a considerable manner to him, it would be a very difficult business to get a sufficient Army to raise the siege, and relieve *Paris*: and in the City they began with infinite diligence to repair the Walls, to scowre the Moats, to cast up Works, to dispose their Artillery, to arm the People, and principally to provide whatsoever they possibly could against the imminent necessity of hunger.

In the mean time *Mante* and *Vernon* had yielded themselves to the King since the Victory, in which places he was constrained to stay longer than he intended: for the extremity of ill weather, and continual abundance of Rain, had not onely overflowed the fields, and made the wayes exceeding deep, but had made it impossible to lie in the Field, or march with Cannon and Baggage; for men and horses could hardly save themselves and be secure within the shelter of houses. In which time notice came to the King of another encounter which had happened in the Province of *Auvergne*, near the Wall of *Issire*, where the Sieurs de *Florat* and *Chaseron*, who were for him, had routed and slain the Count of *Randan*, who commanded for the League; and with the death of about Two hundred of the Enemy, had made themselves masters of the place. Nor was it long before other news came from the Country of *Mayne*, where *Guy de Lansac*, who commanded the party of the League, and the Sieur d' *Hertre* Governor of *Alaucon*, Head of the King's Forces, charging one another, had not altered the wonted event of things; but *Lansac*, Three hundred of his men being slain, and the rest dispersed, was fain to save himself by flight, leaving the King's Forces master of the field in those parts.

These several disasters, the news whereof came to *Paris* one upon the neck of another, did much perplex the thoughts of those that governed; but above all, of the Cardinal-Legat, upon whose shoulders lay the weight of all present affairs, every one thinking, that

1590. he, as one that represented the Pope's person, should, in a cause wherein Religion was the principal object, give supplies both of Men and Money for the relief of that adversity which the League was in at that time: and the Duke of *Mayenne* complained publicly concerning it, and wrote freely to the Pope, that his backwardness to help so necessary a Cause, was the principal occasion of all those evils. The Spanish Ministers made the same lamentations, being of opinion, that the Legat was the cause the Catholick King was not satisfied in his demands; and that while he, neglecting his own businesses, succoured the danger of Religion with Men and Money, the Pope keeping his Purse close, and nourishing ambiguous thoughts in his mind, did neither send those necessary supplies which he had often promised, nor consent to the satisfaction of the Catholick King, who, if his just demands had been yielded to, would have employed his utmost Forces for the common benefit. Nor were the Parisians backward in complaints than the rest, who groaning under their present necessities, and the extraordinary scarcity of provisions, did importunately beg to be assisted by the Legat, and relieved by the Pope, since they did all, and suffered all for the Catholick Faith, and for the service of the Holy Church: so that the Legat being surrounded by these troubles, was in wonderful great anxiety of mind; which was augmented to the extremity, when he understood, that by the Duke of *Luxembourg's* arrival and negotiation, the Pope was almost utterly withdrawn from the designs of the League; and moreover, that he seemed ill satisfied at his being gone on to *Paris*, and that he had not rather stayed in some neutral place, as a disinterested Mediatour between both parties, and as a labourer for such a Peace as might be effected without danger or damage to the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* was gone to *Rome* with the name of Ambassador from the Catholics that followed the King, but indeed, to see if he could reconcile the King himself to the Pope, and to the Church, and to take away those opinions, which, being spread abroad by those of the League, were generally believed of him, that he was an obdurate Heretick, a persecutor of the Catholics, obstinate, and disobedient to the Apostolick See, and a perverse enemy to the Church: Wherefore, having first made a little stay at *Venice*, to determine with that Senate what manner of proceeding was to be held; all things being resolved on with most prudent advice, he continued on his way boldly to *Rome*; where, having in his first audience, by the dexterity of his carriage, introduced the Cause of the Catholics into his discourse, he excused them for following the King, attributing it to be an advantage to the Catholick Religion, not to abandon the lawful King in the hands of the Hugonots, but to hold him on with protestations of service, and win him by modest seasonable instances to return into the bosome of the Church; which would absolutely have been despaired of, if being forsaken by them, he had been necessitated to have cast himself as a prey to Hereticks; he began afterwards to let the Pope know those interests, which, under a cloke of Piety, and under the name of Religion, did sway and govern the Lords of the League, how under that pretence, they sought to rob the lawful Successor of the Crown, to bring it into the power of stranger Princes, or to divide it into many parts, and so Canton the Kingdom; which, as in it self it was unjust by all Laws, both divine and Humane, so would it prove exceeding prejudicial to Religion it self, and to the See of *Rome*, which would come to lose that Crown that had ever held the protection of the Church, and bring it into the hands of many weak impotent Princes and Tyrants, or else unite it with the too great power of the Spaniards, to the general ruine: That it was much more just, much more easie, and much more profitable for the benefit of Christendom, to invite and perswade the King to his Conversion; which he not only shewed himself inclined to, with those means that were suitable and convenient for his honor, and which befitted a King of *France*; but to which, he was also brought by the necessity of his affairs, finding daily how little he could promise himself from the Hugonots, toward the attaining of the Crown, since that in all his most weighty occurrences, he had for the most part been attended and followed by the Forces of the Catholick Lords, who would fall off from him at last, if he should not resolve to return into the Church; which considerations accompanied with all their circumstances, set forth and amplified by the Dukes eloquence, made a deep impression in the Pope; to which, another motive of the Ambassadors being added, that his Holiness should not think the Catholics that followed the King to be few and weak, but the best, soundest, and most considerable part of *France*, and that with the League there concurred very few of the Gentry, but a rabble of mean, disorderly common people;

people; and that not onely men of better quality, but also in a manner all the chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdom followed the Kings party, upon caution of the promiſe he had made to turn Catholick, and forſake the rites of Calvinism, ſtirred up in the Popes conſideration, beſides the fear of loſing the Kingdom of *France*, and increaſing the greatneſs of the Spaniard, this other weighty reſpect alſo; not to exaſperate ſo much Catholick Nobility united together, which it was moſt difficult to overcome by force; but to ſeek by milde remedies, and gentle wayes, to win the King, and procure the union of the Kingdom by the means of peace; and the Ambaſſador having affirmed unto him, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, *Lenon-court*, and *Gondy*, together with the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and other Prelates, had offered the ſame conſiderations to the Legat, praying and exhorting him to ſtand neutral, till matters being come to the knowledge of his Holineſs, he might have been able to have given him ſuch Commiſſions as he ſhould have thought moſt convenient: The Pope began to ſuſpect no leſs than others, that Cardinal *Gaetano* was too much enclined to favour the deſigns of the Spaniards; and therefore did no longer give that belief, which was requiſite unto his Letters, and withheld his hand from furniſhing them with more money; wherefore the Legat being encompaſſed with many difficulties, either to take off that ſuſpicion that lay upon him, of his depending too much upon the King of *Spain*, or ſeeking to recover that name of Neutral, and diſ-intereſſed, which perchance he might more wiſely have maintained from the beginning; or endeavouring to hinder the ſiege of *Paris* (as he affirmed and told the Spaniſh Miniſters) invited the Mareſchal *de Byron* to a meeting with him at *Noyſy*, a Caſtle of Cardinal *Condy's*; a dayes journey from *Paris*, to find out ſome remedy to put an end to the preſent miſeries, which not diſpleaſing the King, for whom it was, by all means, good to ſhew an affection to the Apoſtolick See; and that he was not backward to do what lay in him, to put an end to the War, the interview was agreed upon, and performed within a very few dayes.

There met on the Kings ſide the Mareſchal *de Byron*, the Baron *de Ginry*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieur *Liancourt*, and *de la Verriere*: And on the other, the Cardinal Legat, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, the Marquiſs of *Belin*, and other Lords of the League. Their reception was very honorable on both ſides, but the event fruitleſs: For the Legat trying either to perſwade the Catholicks to forſake the King, or without any ſure foundation of peace, to delay the ſiege of *Paris*, which was already ſet in a way; and on the other ſide, the Mareſchal labouring to get the Cardinal Legat to come to the King, and exhort him to turn to the Catholick Religion, with ſecurity to bring all his Subjects unto their obedience, who had alienated themſelves for reſpect of Religion; intentions ſo diverſe, could not agree, and the wiſdom of both parts did not ſuffer the one to make it ſelf ſuperior to the other, ſo they parted again without fruit or concluſion, the Legat having neither obtained the name of Neutral, nor the revolt of the Catholicks from the King, nor the diverting of the ſiege, which perhaps was his principal aim in the procuring of that meeting. Yet neither was all treating utterly broken off by this parting: for the Sieur *de Villeroy*, either with a hope of concluding a good Accommodation, or for the ſame end of delaying the Kings coming, did, with the Duke of *Mayennes* conſent, introduce a Treaty of this buſineſs with the Sieur *de Pleſſis Mornay*, a great Confident, and ancient ſervant of the Kings; but being a Hugonot, very unproper for the preſent buſineſs.

But the King not loſing time, for all the Treaty of Peace, and knowing, that by how much more the Enemy was ſtraitned, ſo much more advantageous would be the conditions of Agreement, was wholly intent upon taking in thoſe places near the City, and upon making himſelf maſter of all thoſe Paſſes, by which provisions were brought thither, in ſhutting up the Paſſages of the Rivers, and cutting off the ways into the Country; by this means to obtain that by the neceſſity of hunger, which was in a manner impoſſible for him to imagine could be done by force of Arms. To which end, marching with his Army from *Monte* upon the Twenty ninth of *March*, he poſſeſt himſelf without difficulty of *Chevreuſe*, *Montl'bery*, *Lagny*, and *Corbeil*, all places proper to block up the City; and upon the fifth of *April* ſate down before *Melun*. *Melun* is a little Town, but well fortified, ſeven Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, through which run two Currents of the River *Seine*, and therefore is divided into three parts by the Stream, and onely joyned together by Bridges. Monſieur *de Ferone* was in it with ſixty Horſe, and Five hundred Foot, but little provision of things neceſſary for their defence, and by terror of the Victory not of too reſolute a courage: Yet made they a ſhew as if

1590.

Pope Sixtus V. grows jealous, that Cardinal Gaetano is inclined to favor the Spaniſh deſigns.

The Cardinal Legat meets with the Mareſchal *de Byron*; divers things are treated of without any concluſion.

Melun ſtands upon the *Seine* above *Paris*.

1590. if they would stand out, and the rather, because Five hundred Townsmen well armed and experienced were joyned with them: But the Raveline of the Gate being battered with seven pieces of Cannon, and two very great Culverines, the Kings Foot (now accustomed to master great difficulties) assailed it with so much fury, that though the breach was very narrow, and high from the ground, yet entred they both the Raveline and the Gate, killing above sixty of the defendents, who retiring into the further part, beyond the second Bridge, and opposite to the Town, set fire on the place they quitted, to keep the assailants, who were at their heels, from being able to follow them; many houses were burned, and the rest furiously sacked by the violence of the Soldiers. But the other part of the Town whither the defendents were retired, being altogether deprived of the means of making resistance, agreed to yield (as it did) if within two dayes there came no relief.

The siege and taking of Melun by the Kings Army.

The Sieur de Villeroy being come to Melun to treat an Agreement with the King, persuades him by many reasons to turn Catholick, and propounds a Cessation of Arms.

The King being lodged there personally in the Suburbs, the Sieur de Villeroy having a safe conduct, came unto him, and perceiving that the Sieur du Plessis, for fear the King should change his Religion, did not go on heartily in the Treaty of Agreement, he had obtained leave, by the means of the Sieur de la Verriere, to have admittance to the King himself, and to that end was come thither unto him. The Duke of Mayenne, who was already gotten to Soissons, had refused at first to give way that Villeroy should enter into this Treaty, thinking it might be ascribed to want of courage in their present fortune; but afterward, whether he sought by making the Spaniards jealous of a peace, to stir them up to the giving of greater and more resolute supplies, or that he hoped to delay the siege of Paris by the hope of an Accommodation, or that he sought by this means to penetrate into the Kings designs and intentions, or that all these ends moved him together, he permitted Villeroy to meet, and to introduce that negotiation; for which purpose, being come to Melun, and kindly received by the King, he began (with his wonted efficacy, not accompanied with very deep Learning, but naturally copious and powerful in speech) to represent unto him, how being anxious for the danger and calamity of his Country, and desirous to see it out of those ruinous distractions, wherein it perished miserably, he had obtained leave from the Duke of Mayenne, Head of the party of the League, to come unto his Majesty, to see if any remedy could be found, whereby discords being composed and buried, a happy Peace might be procured; that he hoped (nay, was certain) that His Majesty would have no less desire to end the Civil Wars, and restore the former quiet and tranquility to that Kingdom, which God, Nature, and his Valor had destined to him; that the onely means to attain so great a good, was very easie, and depended wholly upon his own will; for the sum consisting onely in the point of Religion, the Duke of Mayenne proffered to acknowledge and obey him, as soon as he, at the Petition of the Catholicks (not at all for fear, or for their threatnings) should resolve to return into the bosome of the Holy Church: Wherefore, upon his will depended, not onely the settling of peace in the Kingdom; but also the making himself the most flourishing, most powerful, most obeyed, and most revered Prince that France had seen of many years; that the present conjuncture of time was very seasonable for that resolution; for having conquered and overcome his enemies with the Sword, it could not be said, that his conversion was caused by fear, or that he embraced the Catholick Religion by force, but that good would be attributed to his own will, his own conscience, and his own election: That this opportune and wholesome effect would make his Victory twice as fruitful and happy, as his vertue had made it glorious and magnificent; and he might thereby attain that true end which ought to be proper to all Victories (especially those in Civil Wars) which is, The enjoying of Peace: for, that goodness of his would bring more Cities under his subjection in one day, than he could take by the force of his Arms (though victorious) in the course of his whole life: That by prosecuting Victory with the Sword, would ensue an infinite number of mischiefs, and lamentable calamities; the ruining of Fortresses, sacking of Cities, slaughters of Men, desolation of Countries; which all redounded to his own loss, who naturally was the master of them: but, the War ending by this conversion, the Victory would redound to the general security, tranquillity, safety, and happiness, which ought to be more dear to him, being a lawful Prince, than all the Victories that could be imagined in the World: That His Majesty ought to consider, though his Victory had been great and signal, yet had it neither dismayed the Cities, nor terrified the adherents of the League in such manner, that any of them had been moved by it to forsake their party, and yield themselves up to his devotion;

devotion; the reason whereof was only the power and command which Religion hath in the hearts of men, which perswaded every one to suffer all the calamities which could be presented to imagination, rather than put their soul and conscience in danger: but if the common people of their side, perswaded by this respect, were so constant, he might think, by consequence, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Heads of that party, the Pope, and the Catholick King, would be much more constant, being resolved to employ all their Forces for the securing of Religion: That he knew well, and had often had experience of it in his Hugonots, that the respect of Religion is so great, that it makes mens minds invincible, and can neither be tamed by Arms nor Force: That it would be a prudent consideration, to foresee how much use strangers might make of this pretence of Religion for their advantage; which, if in former times it had perswaded the Hugonots to make Agreements with the *English*, it would be no wonder if the urgency of present necessity should force the Catholicks to consent unto the demands of the *Spaniards*: That this danger ought to be foreseen and prevented by securing mens Consciences, and not reducing them to utter desperation: That his Majesty should set before his eyes how many Cities he must of necessity assault, how many Provinces he must subdue, how many other Armies he must conquer, how many Fortresses he must take in, before he could settle himself King in peace by means of War: And that he might overcome all those difficulties in one day, by satisfying his subjects in point of Religion: That his Victory had been great, but that it was necessary to secure it from the inconsistency of fortune; which he might do, not by hazarding new enterprises, but by moderation, and the satisfaction of his subjects: That time and opportunity invited him to that worthy and holy resolution, and not to stay till the Duke, and the other Heads of the League, should be so nearly engaged and interested with the Catholick King (whose assistance was necessary while the War continued) that they would no longer have power to dispose of themselves: in conclusion, That both duty and profit were joyned together in this resolution: for having received so great a blessing from God, it was no longer time to defer his Conversion, since now by the favour of his Divine Majesty, he might do it with reputation and glory, and without suspicion of baseness of mind, or meanness of spirit.

The King answered graciously, That he commended the *Sieur de Villeroy's* intention to endeavour the peace of the Kingdom, and was glad to hear that the Duke of *Mayenne* was well disposed to it: That he acknowledged the Victory he had obtained, first from the hand of God, and then from his Nobility: That God, the Protector of Justice and Right, had protected his Cause; and that those invincible Lords and Gentlemen that followed him, had been the instruments of his Divine mercy: That the Kingdom appertained to him of right, by a direct and natural succession, and by a lawful way known to all; so that forraign Princes were most manifestly to blame for disturbing him in the possession of it; and much more his Subjects, for denying him their due obedience: That he had never offended any, nor deserved so unjust an opposition, as was made against him: That he had alwayes moderately and modestly defended himself, and had done neither violence nor injury to forraign Princes, nor to the Subjects of the Crown, for which they now had any reason to revenge themselves; but that when he called to mind the miraculous power, and merciful favour of God, wherewith he had preserved him in the times of his weakness and miseries, and had defended him from so many, and so long persecutions, when the whole World seemed to have conspired against him, he could not believe his Divine Majesty would leave so great a work unperfect, but was assured in himself that he would look upon the justice of his Cause, and those Prayers which he to that end always made unto him from the bottom of his heart; and therefore he neither feared the Arms of *Spain*, nor the Forces of Rebels, but trusted in God, and the faithfulness of his Nobility, that he should ruine and defeat them: That he knew well, modesty and moderation were more profitable in Victory, than at another time; but he neither pretended to oppress nor wrong any body, but only to make himself be rightfully obeyed by those who by nature were his subjects, and put under his authority: That his aim was to be King indeed, as he was by right; and that the end of the D. of *Mayenne*, and those that followed him, ought to be, to live in peace, security, and honor, under the obedience of that King which God and Nature had appointed for them by lawful succession: That in this he was ready to give them all security, and all satisfaction, and to afford them a gracious share in his favour, without ever calling to memory what was past: That he desired to conquer

1590.

The King's
Answer to the
Sieur de Ville-
roy.

Moderation
more profitable
in Victory
than at ano-
ther time.

1572

quer rather by pardon, benignity, and liberality, than by the Sword, as well because it was the shorter way, as because it was sutable to his genius and nature, averse from blood and revenge, and inclined to do good unto his Subjects, and to pacifie the troubles of his Kingdom: That it belonged to him to give the Law unto his Subjects, and not to receive Conditions from them; yet nevertheless, if, jealous of their Consciences, and of Religion, they desire to secure it any way, he would give them all convenient satisfaction; and that the candour and firmness of his Faith was already known to every one by many proofs; which having never broken for the time past, he was most fully resolved never to break for the time to come: That the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen that followed him, which were much more numerous than those that followed the Duke, had contented themselves with the promise he had made them, and with the security he had given them, that they should live peacefully, in their conscience, liberty, and religion, and that therefore the others ought to be contented with the same; and being secured in their own particulars, ought to permit him to think of his own salvation, by those means which it should please the Lord to inspire into him, in a seasonable time, and a fitting convenient manner. Then he asked the *Sieur de Villeroy*, if he had seen his Promise and Declaration made after the death of the late King: who answered him, That he had; and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of his party had seen it likewise; but that they all believed they could not in conscience, upon any condition whatsoever, obey a King that was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion from that which they held by succession from their ancestors. To which the King replied, That he was neither Infidel, Pagan, nor Idolater; that he adored and served the same God with the Catholicks; and that he esteemed the Religion in which he had been bred up, not to be incompatible with the Roman: That in such a case as concerned his Conscience and Salvation, God was to work, and not men: That it ought to be done by kind gentle instruction, and not with Sword and Pistol: That if he had not yielded to turn in the late King's time, when he saw his ruine and destruction before his face, much less would he do it at the request of those that rebelled against him, now that by the favour of God he had the upper hand: That he was not obstinate, but would yield to the truth, and be informed and instructed in it; yet that he would satisfie his Conscience in it: and if he left freedom of Belief unto his Subjects, it was not fit that he should be constrained by them to do that in a rash humour, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and in the time prefixed by God's Divine will and pleasure: That he was a man of Conscience, and one that esteemed more the salvation of his Soul, than all earthly things; and therefore he would go very circumspectly about that business, with due and convenient cautions. The *Sieur de Villeroy* replied, That because he was by all accounted a Conscientious Prince, affectionate to his Religion, every one doubted so much the more, that, being settled in his Kingdom, he would not tolerate his Subjects to live in a Religion different from his, and which he held to be false and damnable: That he had ever heard say, and even by *Theodore Beza* himself, in the Conference at *Poissy*, that the belief of the one is further from the other, than Heaven is from Earth; but that those Disputes were not to be made with Arms: That his Majesty had alwayes said he would cause himself to be instructed, but never came to the act of that instruction: That there wanted not Prelates and Doctors, who, in a short time, might certifie him of the truth: That it was not good to foment War any longer, and let Discords run on without end, but, by the observation of his promises, to comfort all his Subjects, as well those that had gotten the Victory, as the others, who for the zeal of Religion, stood alienated from him: Finally, That it could no longer be said, that either contumacious or seditious persons were cause of the War, things being now reduced to that point, that it was in his Majesties power to give Peace by his Conversion; which if he should not do, after so many promises, all future evils and calamities would be imputed to him, and to no other body. These last words pierced the King's mind to the very quick, who answered, That he would take the Opinion of his good and faithful servants that followed him, and that therefore he would confer with them about it, and give his resolution the day following: At which time, he, being already upon the point of his departure from *Melan*, sent for the *Sieur de Villeroy*, and bad him return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and tell him, That he took in good part what had been delivered from him, that he desired to be reconciled, and to do good to every one, and particularly to the Duke

Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the rest of his Family, if by them he should be assisted to settle peace in the Kingdom, as they might easily do, and that in it he would give them all reasonable satisfaction: That for the point of Religion, he had already contented those Catholicks that followed him, who were many, of great extraction, of exceeding great strength, and of profound wisdom, to whose determination he thought all the rest might accommodate themselves: That if they desired to have more security and caution for the preservation of their Religion, and safety of their Consciences, he was ready to give it most fully, having taken into consideration, all that he had represented to him; but that he could not proceed to treat further with him, having no power nor authority at all from the Duke of *Mayenne*, to conclude any thing; but if Deputies and Commissioners should be sent unto him with sufficient power, he would willingly admit them; use them well, and endeavour to give the Dukes party the greatest and most compleat satisfaction that might be, out of his great desire to free his people from the afflictions and calamities of Civil War. The *Sieur de Villeroy* answered, That his Majesties consideration of not treating, but with such as had power to conclude, was very prudent and reasonable; but that he should remember, the Duke of *Mayenne* was not absolute Master, but Head of his party, which hath relation to all the other members, without whose consent he could not acknowledge his Majesty to be King of *France*, nor determine in point of Religion: That it was necessary for him to confer with them, and that they should resolve together; how his Majesty having been so many years Head of his party, had by his own experience found, that that could not be done without delaying time; it being needful to unite those that were interested from so many several distant Provinces: That while the War was so hot, it was impossible to make that Assembly; wherefore a Cessation of Arms was necessary, or at least a sufficient number of passes, to draw those together who were to deliberate about the sum of affairs. At the naming a Cessation of Arms, the King replied suddenly, That that was not to be spoken of; for he would not by any delay, lose the fruit of his Victory, nor slacken the progress of his Arms, having had experience of how great importance that was to the whole business; but that for the manner of assembling his party, he left the thought to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being resolved not to forbear the prosecution of his Arms, no not for a moment: With this answer, and such like discourses had with the *Mareschal de Byron*, *Villeroy* departed without any conclusion, either of Peace or Truce, and all the endeavours used to divert the siege of *Paris* proved ineffectual.

The *Sieur de Villeroy* is dismissed without conclusion, the King being resolved not to grant a Cessation of Arms.

Wherefore, the King (to whom *Cressy* and *Mort* (weak places) had surrendered themselves, and *Provins*, a rich Town, but not strong, though chief of the Province of *Brie*, and but twenty leagues from the City of *Paris*) marched to *Nangy*; where having re-united his Army, which had been divided to gain these places, he advanced upon the Fifteenth day of *April* to take other Towns which might streighten and block up *Paris*; *Montereau*, *Bray*, *Comte-Robert*, and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, yielded without resistance; but *Mery*, a little place, having had the boldness to stand out, was by the violence of the Souldiers most furiously taken and sacked. There remained on that side, the City *Sens*, a great Town, and affectionate to the League, seated upon the Confines of *Brie* and *Bourgogne*, wherein were the *Sieur de Chanvalon*, and the Marquiss *Fortunato Malucino*, but they agreed not well together; for *Chanvalon* sought an opportunity to go over to the King, and to make his peace by giving up the City into his hands; but the Marquiss on the other side would defend it, as his honour obliged him, having (as a stranger) no other aim but to shew himself a gallant Souldier, and to do service for the Duke of *Nemours*, being Lieutenant of his Troop of *Gens d'Arms*; wherefore *Chanvalon* having treated secretly with the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, and exhorted the King to come before the Town, siege was laid unto it, the Cannon planted, and they began to batter, with hopes that some tumult might arise among the Citizens in favour of the King; but having, to try the constancy of the Defendents, made an assault, which the Marquiss and those of the Town resisted valiantly, the King not willing to lose time about that place, which was not very necessary, and interrupt his design upon *Paris*, wherein consisted the sum of his affairs, raised the siege without delay, and minded the taking and fortifying of those other places, which might cut off the passage of provisions to *Paris*.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legat, anxious and solicitous, both for his own danger, and the imminent siege of the Parisians, had caused a new Treaty of Agreement

1590.
Marc' Antonio Mocenigo Bishop of *Ceneda* treats with the *Mareschal de Byron*, and propounds a Cessation of Arms; but it is not accepted.

The Bishop of *Ceneda* confers with the King; prays him to grant a Truce; the King absolutely denies it, complaining of the Cardinal Legat.

Some are put to death by the fury of the people, for saying, it was better to make Peace with the King than starve with hunger.

to be introduced between the Bishop of *Ceneda*, and the *Mareschal de Byron*, for which purpose, the Bishop came to *Bray*, to confer with the *Mareschal*; and as one, who because he was a Venetian, and so of a Country favourable to the Kings affairs, had freer access than any other, he treated with a great deal of liberty about his Conversion; and afterwards descended to speak about a Cessation of Arms, by means whereof they might have leisure to negotiate Peace maturely on either side; but this attempt was no less vain than the rest, the King being resolved not to delay the progress of his Arms; and by how much the more the Enemy laboured for it, so much the more unwilling was he to allow them any space to take breath; and the more he saw the Lords of the League intent upon gaining time to get Armies and Supplies, the more did he enter into a secure hope, within a while, to obtain the City of *Paris* by means of a siege, without danger, and without blood. Wherefore all things proving contrary to the Bishops design, he procured to confer personally with the King, but in such manner as it might seem to have hapned by chance, and not to have been sought by him; which having spoken of to the Abbot *del Bene*, he brought to pass, that the King should go forth betimes in the morning a hunting, and that the Bishop should depart a little later to return to *Paris*, so that they met, as it were, accidentally upon the way; which encounter began with kind salutations, and then riding together a good part of the way, the Bishop entred into the discourse which he had intended to make, exhorting the King to his conversion, and to return into the bosom of the Church. To which the King having made his wonted answers, That he was not obstinate, but would be made capable of the truth by those circumstances of times, persons, and places which were fitting; nor would he be driven by force, or the threatnings of his Enemies, but be drawn by the Grace and Inspiration of God. The Bishop replied, The best means for that, would be a Truce, wherein the commotions of mens minds, kindled by the exercise of Arms, ceasing, he might have opportunity to receive instruction, and to do with honour and deliberation whatsoever was needful. But as soon as the King heard him motion a Truce, he answered with a loud voice, That if he had been a good Venetian, he would not have given him that counsel; but, that these were the devices of Cardinal *Gastano*, who shewed himself a much better Spaniard, than a Church-man. And here he began to complain very much of him, that, carrying himself differently from the Popes Commission, he had declared himself his Enemy at his entry into the Kingdom, and made his residence in that City, which was Head of the contrary party; whereas it had been fit for him that represented the Apostolick See, to have stood Neutral, and to have endeavoured and procured a Peace by his good counsel, and by actions conformable to right, and his profession, which then would have had more credit; but, that now terrified by the present danger, or else co-operating with the designs of the Spaniards; he sought not to introduce Peace, but to frustrate the effects of his labours, and the fruits of his Victories, while the League might gain time to recover strength; and that therefore he was not disposed to give any ear unto it: With which words they parted, and the Bishop returned with this final answer to *Paris*.

But at his return, all hope of Truce failing, they set their minds with so much the more sollicitousness to make necessary provisions to sustain the strict siege which the Enemy was preparing. The people was already disposed by the long exhortations of their Preachers, and the earnest negotiation of those that governed, to endure the siege, and hazard their lives rather than their consciences; being wrought upon by the frequent Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and by the Declarations and Protestations of the Cardinal-Legat, that an Agreement could not be treated with the Hereticks without damnation, and that a King of a different Religion, obstinate in his opinion, a Persecutor of the Church, and an Enemy to the Apostolick See, was not to be received. By these opinions, which every hour were thundered out of the Pulpits, and discoursed of in meetings, mens minds were so effectually moved and confirmed, that they were not only ready to suffer constantly the danger and toil of bearing Arms, and that which was much more evident, and more terrible, the extream misery of an enraged hunger; but moreover, they could not so much as endure any one that durst hold or affirm the contrary: so that many who let slip some words, that it was better to make an Accommodation than starve for hunger, and that Peace was better than a Siege, were by the fury of the people either executed in publick, or cast headlong into the River, as damned persons, Enemies of the Catholick Faith, and infected with the poison of Heresie. This constancy was augmented by the presence of the Cardinal-Legat, the residence of the Dutchesse of

of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Mayenne*, the forwardness and vigour of the Duke of *Nemours*, and Chevalier *d'Anmale*, and much more by the most certain hopes which the Duke of *Mayenne* gave them every hour by effectual Letters, that he would relieve the City powerfully within a few weeks. The Heads being desirous to increase and confirm this inclination of the people, by some outward circumstances, a great solemn Procession was made by order from the Cardinal-Legat, to implore Gods assistance in those present necessities: in which Procession, the Prelats, Priests and Monks of the several Religious Orders, walked all in their accustomed habits; but besides them, armed openly with Corslets, Guns, Swords, Partezans, and all kind of Arms offensive and defensive, making at once a double shew, both of devotion, and constancy of heart prepared to defend themselves: which Ceremony, though to many it seemed undecent and ridiculous, was yet of great use to augment and confirm the courage of the common people, who saw the same men that exhorted them with words to stand it out, prepared and armed to hazard the same dangers, and unanimously to undergo the same sufferings. Thus sometimes even the vainest slightest things, help forward the most weighty important thoughts and designs.

A solemn Procession, in which the Ecclesiastical Orders appear in their religious habits; and not only so, but armed as Soldiers.

After this Procession, they made another of all the Magistrates of the City; and among the Ceremonies of it, the Duke of *Nemours* their Governour, and other Commanders of the Souldiers, and the Magistrates of the people, swore publicly in the great Church, to defend the City to the last man, nor ever to incline to yield, or make an Agreement with an Heretick Prince, for any calamity, danger, sufferance or necessity whatsoever that should fall upon them. There were in the City two hundred chosen Horse, commanded by the *Sieur de Vitry*, the Duke of *Nemours* his Company of *Gens d'Arms*, and that of Chevalier *d'Anmale*; one hundred Harquebusiers on horseback, and eight hundred French Foot, part whercof hath been in *Melun* with the *Sieur de Forone*; five hundred Swisses, and one thousand and two hundred of those German Foot that were levied by the Count *Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbestein*: But the foundation of their defence consisted in the union and constancy of the people, which infinitely numerous, and now by long use accustomed to Arms, being disposed under their Magistrates, and divided into several Bands, according to the division of their Quarters, presented themselves voluntarily, and ready for all encounters; and by the example of the Priests and Friars, who went armed up to the Works, and engaged themselves in all things with admirable constancy, failed not in any duty that was necessary for their defence. Double Chains were drawn cross the Rivers, where it enters, and where it goes out of the City; the Walls and Brest-works were repaired in those places where they seemed to be decayed; Platforms were made in convenient places, and parapets made upon some new places of the Wall: the Artillery was disposed of orderly to the most dangerous Posts; and the readiness of the Citizens appeared wonderful in every business. But this troubled not those that bore the sway in the Government: for every one was certain that the King would never attempt to take the City by force, defended, in so great a number of Citizens, rather by the bodies of men, than by the strength of their Bulwarks; but that he would strive to tame it by Famine; which seemed to be very easie, by reason there were so many people accustomed to live in plenty and abundance, who now were in so great necessity, that being deprived of all other sustenance, they were forced at an extraordinary rate to feed only upon bread: and there was no doubt but if relief were delayed, and that the King should straighten the siege closer, the City would be reduced to the last intolerable calamities of want; which they foreseeing, most earnestly solicited the Duke of *Mayenne* to draw forces together for their relief; and the Cardinal-Legat dispatched his Nephew *Pietro Gassano* into *Flanders*, to exhort the Duke of *Parma*, according to the Catholick Kings order, with all haste to send speedy supplies: and the *Commendatory Morreo*, Pay-master and Commissary of the King of *Spain's* Forces in *France*, was gone thither for the same purpose. To these provisions abroad, were added also others within: for the Governours in chief being intent to remedy the necessity of the people as much as they could, did with very great care cause that Corn that was found in the City to be divided; the price whercof being infinitely beyond the ordinary rate, and the common people not having means to help themselves, Cardinal *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*, not out of any inclination he had to favour the League, but out of pity to see the poor wretches perish who had not money to relieve themselves, all Trading being quite left off in the City, gave way that all the Silver and Plate that had been offered to the several

A solemn Oath taken by the Magistrates.

The City being blockt up on every side, is in great scarcity for want of Victual.

1490.
The Bishop of
Paris gives
way that the
Church-plate
should be
turned into
money for the
relief of the
poor.

Churches, should be taken out and turned into money, to feed the poor, with an Obligation to restore them as soon as the present necessity was over. The Cardinal-Legat intent upon the same, distributed among the poor fifty thousand Crowns extorted from the Pope with much ado; and causing his own Plate to be melted and coined, did, with a great deal of praise, give it among those that stood in need. The Ambassador *Mendoza* promised sixscore Crowns a day in bread: and the Dutcheffes and the richest Lords helped to the uttermost of their abilities, selling their household-stuff, jewels and ornaments for the so miserable necessity of the common people. But these provisions began already to be very scarce, in respect of the infinite number of mouths, and the continual wasting of Corn: for the King advancing, by the taking in of the Neighbouring Towns, did straighten the siege every day more and more: nor was there any kind of Victual at all brought into the City by the Rivers: for *Lagny*, *St. Maur*, and the Bridge of *Charenton*, (the care of which places was committed to the Baron de *Guiry*) shut up the passage of the River *Marne*: *Montereau*, where there was a strong Garison under the command of Monsieur de *Chabliot*, shut up the passage of the River *Tonne*: the Garisons of *Moret*, *Melan*, *Bray*, and *Corbeil*, stopt up the *Seine* from above: and from below, the Mareschal d' *Aumont* quartered at the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, a league from the City; and *Poissy*, and *Conflans*, well Garison'd, did wholly interrupt the passage up the River; as *Beaumont*, strongly guarded, hindred all Boats from moving upon the River *Oyse*. So that the Rivers which are commonly called the Nurces of the People of *Paris*, being shut up, there remained only that little which could be gotten thither secretly by Land: to cut off which, the King having passed the *Seine*, and being come into the Plains near the City, spread his Army from the *Porte St. Antoine*, which looks toward the East, to the *Porte Mont Martre*, which stands towards the West; and making use of the advantage of ground, caused two Pieces of Cannon to be planted upon the Hill of *Mont faulcon*, and two others at *Mont Martre*, enclosing them with Trenches, and guarding the place with a strong Guard: and the next day, which was the ninth of *May*, he caused his Horse to make incursions even to the very Gates of the Fauxbourgs *St. Martin*, and *St. Denis*, which stand between the two aforesaid Gates, and to burn and destroy the Wind-mills every where: yet could they not get into the Fauxbourgs, because they were fortified with trenches, banks, and barrels full of earth: which day, while they were smartly skirmishing with the *Sieur de Vitry's* Horse which sallied out of the *Porte St. Martin*, with some Companies of Foot-Souldiers and Citizens, the *Sieur de la Noüe*, in whose conduct and courage every one trusted very much, was, according to his wonted misfortune, wounded with a Musket-shot.

The King had made choice to quarter his Army on that side, for two principal reasons: one, because the *Bois de Vincennes*, seated on the East-side near the River, and the Town of *St. Denis* on the West-side holding still for the League, he might not only send out parties of Horse, and cut off the ways conveniently, so that there might be no passage from those places to the City; but he also besieged them in such manner, that he hoped to take them within a little time; the other reason was, that relief being expected out of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, he was quartered just upon the great highway which leads from those Provinces to the City of *Paris*, so that he was ready to turn his Army thither where he should see the Enemy appear. Thus the Army being spread from the banks of the River *Marne*, to the lower part of the *Seine*, the whole field was obstructed with continual parties, and there were every hour great skirmishes with those of the City, who being streightned with want, strove to catch either Corn, Roots, or other Victual, even to the very dead Horses that lay there, which they could very seldom effect; and at the very same time *St. Denis*, and the *Bois de Vincennes* (a very strong Castle) were closely besieged, and the Count *Montenrier* having passed the *Seine*, had laid siege to *Dammartin*, a Town belonging to the Lords of *Montmorancy*, seven leagues distant from the City, into which, there was gotten a great deal of provision; so that the Parisians being shut up on all sides, began already to feel the extremity of hunger, and only sustained the bitterness of their present fortune, by the constancy of their courage.

While the siege and defence of the City of *Paris* is thus laboured with infinite contention on each side, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, burd'ned with years, and wasted by the tediousness of his imprisonment, departed this life at *Fontenay*, whose death gave evident proof to all the World, that his person had only served for a cloak to cover the passions

The Cardinal
of Bourbon dies
at Fontenay,
which produceth
no alteration
at all; only
the Duke of
Mayenne invites
the Deputies of
the Provinces to
Meaux to chuse
another King.

passions and interests of those that were most powerful; for it caused no alteration at all in the party of the League, but both the Parisians continued their constancy with new Decrees of *Sorbonne*; That a new King of a different Religion could not be accepted of; and the Duke of *Mayenne* setting forth a *Manifest* to invite the Deputies of the Provinces to meet at *Meaux*, for the electing of a King, with the common consent, kept the same title of Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, and continued in the same manner to make War, the end whereof at present was wholly set upon the way of relieving the City of *Paris*, which being not to be done without powerful assistance from the Catholick King, the Duke of *Mayenne*, both to agree upon the means, and to hasten the execution, went to *Conde*, a place upon the confines, to confer with *Alessandro Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, under whose Government were all the Spanish Forces.

The intention of King *Philip* was, that the League should be relieved, and the people of *Paris* delivered from the present danger, but with such moderation, that so many sums of money profusely spent, and so great forces as were employed in that enterprise, might not prove vain and unprofitable to his proper Interests: For he foresaw, That if the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League should agree to acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, he should reap no other benefit from so many labours, but the gaining of a powerful Enemy; and likewise, if the Crown should fall to the Duke of *Mayenne*, or any other of the House of *Lorain*, he knew he should advantage himself but little more, since the interests of State would in a short time make him his Enemy, whosoever should be free and sole Possessor of the Crown; weighty present interests having more power with men, than the remembrance of past obligations: Wherefore he being to spend vast sums of money for the bringing a powerful Army into *France*, and in the mean time leave the affairs of *Flanders* in great danger, where the States of the United Provinces, under the command of *Grave Maurice* of *Nassau*, not finding the wonted obstacles, were like to make very great progress, he desired, that at least things should be composed in such a manner, that the benefit might in good measure redound to him, which should succeed from his charges, dangers, labours, endeavours, and from his Armies; which by reason of the nature of the French, and the present state of affairs, was most difficult to be brought to pass: For the Duke of *Mayenne*, Head of the League, and absolute Master of the Forces, did not only pretend to obtain the Kingdom for himself, but was also firmly resolved, not to consent that any Member, Province, or City, that belonged to the Crown should be alienated from it; and the major part of the people being naturally Enemies to the Spaniards, and made their adherents now only by necessity, would never endure to be commanded by them, and thought it should suffice the King of *Spain* to be cryed up for the Protector and Defender of the Catholick Religion, and that the King who should be established should assist him to subdue the Provinces of the Low-Countries, without pretending any other benefit from that principal relief which he lent to the common cause. Wherefore it was very hard to find a middle way among so many difficulties, and almost impossible to keep such leight uncertain minds from inclining to acknowledge and take part with King *Henry*, a home-born Natural Prince; and therefore it was necessary to govern that design with huge expences, great industry, long delays, and infinite patience, which, among so many suspicions, and so many difficult businesses, appeared to be of great loss and detriment, without much hope of proportionable advantage. For this cause the Duke of *Parma*, a prudent wary Prince, and an Enemy to leight adventuring upon the arbitrement of Fortune, thought it pernicious counsel to leave his own businesses of *Flanders*, to employ all his Forces in so uncertain an enterprise, wholly founded upon the instability of the French, and had endeavoured to divert the Catholick King from such a thought; but the Council of *Spain*, either desirous to augment their glory in the defence of Religion, or perchance too much allured by future hopes, having judged otherwise, and order being come from the King that he should apply his mind principally to the affairs of *France*, he thought that might more easily be brought to pass which was desired in *Spain*, if avoiding the necessity of venturing whole Armies, and hazarding all their reputation at one clap, the protracting of the War, and the spinning of it out with slow proceedings were endeavoured; by which means, the Party of the LEAGUE no less wearied out than the KINGS, it would in the end remain in the King of *Spain*'s power, to dispose of the Affairs of *France* and Religion his own way; and therefore he

15901

The interests
and designs of
the King of
Spain.

The Duke of
Parma's opi-
nion.

was

1590

The Duke of Mayenne having met the Duke of Parma at Conde, and not being able to persuade him to go into France, obtains some supplies for the relief of Paris.

was not so ready to give aid, as the urgent need of the Parisians required, and as the Duke of Mayenne would have had him; who being come to Conde, and having met him there, endeavoured by most effectual persuasions to move him to march without delay to the relief of Paris: But he considering that the reputation of the Catholick King, and the sum of affairs, ought not without convenient Forces to be put in danger against a valiant and expert Souldier, and against a victorious Army, shewed, That the provisions that were requisite, could not be got together so suddenly, neither could he so soon give order, as well for the drawing of the Army into a Body, as for the defence of their own businesses in Flanders; and concluded finally, that he could not be in France before the beginning of the Moneth of August, a time which seemed wonderful long to the Duke of Mayenne; and doubting, or rather thinking for certain, that the Parisians could not hold out so long, he desired him in the mean time to let him have some number of men, with which, added to his own, he might attempt some way to put victuals into the City: With that the Duke of Parma was contented, it being a proposition suitable to his own thought, which was to keep the War alive with slow proceedings; on the one side, by little and little to consume the Kings Forces; and on the other, by length of time to tire out and break the constant resolution of the Duke of Mayenne and his adherents, not to admit a stranger to the Crown, nor to dismember any part of the Kingdom: And therefore he willingly granted him Fifteen hundred Spanish Foot, who had been out in a plundering mutiny, and being now entred again into service, were commanded by Don Antonio Quiroga, Twelve hundred Italian Foot led by Camillo Capuzichia, a Roman, and Eight hundred Flemmish and Bourguignon Horse; with which Forces, the Duke not losing any longer time, marched with all speed toward Picardy.

The Spanish Ministers deal with some Governours of places, to deliver them up into the hands of the King of Spain.

But at the same time the designs of the Duke of Parma had like to have been ruined, and the minds of the French to have been stirred up to some commotion by the counsel of the Ambassador Mendoza, and the other Spanish Ministers that were in France, who being more intent upon present benefit, than the greatness of the future design, and not being well acquainted with the secret intentions of the Duke, began to deal with some Governours of places in Picardy, to the end, that being well rewarded for their pains, they might deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards; which practices would not only have expressly shown the Catholick Kings intentions to be different from the outward appearance, but would also have so moved the hasty fiery minds of the French, that without any regard they would have agreed to acknowledge the King, that they might not be deceived by the suspected arts of the Spaniards, and would have smoothed the way to the revolt of the Parisians, who with so much art and patience were kept firm in their resolutions. But the Duke of Parma, as soon as he came to the knowledge of it, instantly cut off all those Treaties, and laboured to make appear that it had been the inclination of those Governours, but neither the will of the Catholick King, nor the practice of his Ministers, being most averse from any other Interest save that of Religion: and yet the Duke of Mayenne, deeply moved at those Treaties, was fain to lengthen his journey, passing in his return by all those places that were suspected, and making some stay in each of them, caused all the Governours to promise, and take a solemn Oath not to fall off from that party, nor to hold any private Treaty with any Prince: but not trusting wholly to this, he strove to secure those Fortresses with all possible provisions; and it being necessary to leave strong Garisons of his own men in every place, he was constrained to diminish his Forces in such manner, that they were not sufficient to give any considerable relief to the siege of Paris: yet because he would not fail in any thing that was possible, he advanced upon the way that leads to Paris, with an intent either to raise the King from the siege, or at least to slacken it in some part; which was not altogether without success: for the King being advertised of the Dukes advance with his Forces, went from the siege with one thousand and two hundred Cuirassiers, five hundred Reiters, and one thousand and two hundred Harquebusiers on horseback; and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, met him near unto Laon upon the fifth day of June, and arrived so unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was constrained to retire apace into the Suburbs of the Town, and there to quarter his men under favour of the Walls and Cannon, that he might not be forced to a Battel. The skirmish was hot and furious the next day, Quiroga's Spaniards coming on very boldly encouraged with the spoil they had gotten while they were out in mutiny, armed

armed with excellent Arms, and wonderfully gallantly set forth. But the Baron *de Byron* having made the Harquebutiers alight from their horses, and two Troops of *Reiters* to advance one upon each flank, they retired without much disputing, leaving a greater opinion of their vain ostentation, than of their valour and Military discipline, which ill agrees with the licence of plunderings; so that the Italian *Ternia*, made up of old well-disciplined Souldiers, was fain to second the skirmish, in which those of the League, neither suffering themselves to be beaten off from their place of advantage, nor from the shelter of the Town, it continued till the evening without coming to a Battel.

1590.

But while the Forces skirmish thus at *Laon*, the *Sieur de St. Paul* (who from the beginning had separated himself from the Duke of *Mayenne* with that intention) being with eight hundred Horse and great store of Victual advanced by the way of *Champagne*, came safe to *Meaux*, and from thence along the bank of the River *Marne*, (having avoided the Guards of the Kings Army, which, because their number was diminished, could not scowre the ways with their wonted diligence) entered safe into *Paris*, where having put in the provisions, he retired without having received any prejudice: which being come to the Kings knowledge, both because he might not leave open the passage for other Succours, and because he saw that his staying to face the Duke of *Mayenne* (safely intrenched in the Suburbs of *Laon*, and well furnished with Victual) was no way advantageous, he returned upon the ninth of *June* to his old quarters, where he was more careful in the besieging of *St. Denis*, and in cutting off all passages to the City; in which business he himself spending many hours both of the day and night, and by his example the other Commanders doing the like, and particularly the Baron *de Byron*, a young man, in the full strength of his years, and unwearied in all toil and labour, all attempts proved vain which were used by the besieged, or by the Provinces bordering upon them, to get any quantity of Victual (though never so little) into the City: but how exact soever the diligence of the Kings Commanders was, yet was it no more than was necessary in the present occasion: for a Bushel of Wheat being sold in the City at one hundred and twenty Crowns, and all other things at a sutable rate, not only the Friends and Confederates of the League, but even their Enemies also, and some of the Kings side, moved by the greatness of the profit, endeavoured to get some small quantity of Corn and Flesh to pass secretly into the City; which nevertheless, by reason of the multitude of those that scowred the ways, happened but very seldom, and was in a manner but an insensible help to the Parisians, who afflicted by extream miseries, only sustained themselves by constancy of courage, and the near hope of relief; which that it might be kept alive, both the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was without, and the Lords that were within, used marvellous art and industry, in making rumours to be spread, sometimes that the Forces were upon their march from *Flanders* to raise the siege; sometimes that provision of Victual was making ready to supply the City; sometimes that some favourable accident had befallen their party: so that Letters and Messages arriving every day, and mingling true things with false, both published in the Pulpits, and divulged upon the Guards, fed the people with hopes for some few days: But the necessity increasing daily, these arts at last became unwelcome to the ears of men of understanding; sad doleful voices being heard, and many signs of discontent observed thorow the whole City. The month of *July* was already begun, and the Corn of the City was quite spent, nor was any thing left for the people to live upon but Oats, of which some little quantity remained; and that being ground in the Mills that stood in the streams of the River within the City, sometimes was turned into bread, sometimes cooked into pottage, which the French call *bouillie*; and for dainties, sometimes a little flesh, either of Horses, Dogs, Asses, or Mules, keeping no other Horses alive, but those which were made use of in the War; the rest being publicly sold, to keep the Families of the greatest Lords. But this manner of living was tolerable, and to be wished for, in respect of the common people, who drawing no profit at all from their Trades, and being reduced to extremity of misery, without money, and without bread, were fain, like brute beasts, to feed upon those herbs which they found in the yards, and streets; and along the *ramparts*; which yet not being sufficient for so great a multitude, and either giving little nourishment, because they were dried up with the heat, or else by their poisonous qualities producing vomits and fluxes, the miserable people were often seen to fall suddenly dead in the streets; which was so sad and lamentable a spectacle, as would have caused horror in any heart, how fierce or cruel soever.

The *Sieur de St. Paul* puts in relief into *Paris*.

The description of the miseries the people suffered in the siege.

Yet,

Renard the
Procureur of
the Chastelet,
with some
others, execu-
ted for having
cried in the
face of the
Council, *Bread
or Peace.*
* *Bread or
Peace.*

An Insurrec-
tion appeased
with the death
of divers of
those made it.

The Parisians
make Bread of
Dead mens
Bones.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Heads of the Faction, and those that governed the people, the Legat, the Ambassador *Mendoza*, and the Princes, were so constant and so firm, that they never so much as entertained a thought of yielding, but with exceeding great severity caused one *Renard* the *Procureur* of the *Chastelet*, and some other of his accomplices to be executed; who desiring to free themselves from so great danger, had had the boldness one day when the Council was assembled, to cry out with a loud voice, * *On Pain, on Paix*: and even the common people, in the midst of so great straits, and the expectation of present death, rejoiced to suffer and endure their misery, being fully perswaded that it was a kind of true and glorious Martyrdom, for the safety of their Consciences, and the maintenance of Religion. Not, but that some more compassionate of themselves, or of weaker spirit, or perchance not so constant in matters of Faith, sought and contrived to make some uproar, either to introduce a Treaty of Agreement, or to open a way for the King to be received by the people, and went so far stirring men up, by the apparent terror of unavoidable death, and the most cruel torment of hunger, that some having made an Agreement among themselves, resolved to meet one morning and seize upon the Heads of the Government, who assembled themselves in Council in the Palace of Justice: but the business being secretly come to the ear of *Don Christino de Nizza*, one of the chief Preachers that laboured to make the people hold out the siege, he caused the Princes and Legat to be informed of it, who having put all the Militia in Arms, divided the care of the City, and ordered, that the Duke of *Nemours* should ride armed both that day and night, thorow all the Wards of the City, and that the Chevalier d' *Aumale* should stay constantly to guard the Palace: yet nevertheless they of the Plot came in great numbers at the time appointed, crying, *Bread or Peace*, and threatening to cut the Council in pieces, if some course were not taken; when one of the City Captains, whose name was *Goix*, inconsiderately going about to oppose them, was shot and killed by one of them, with a Pistol which he carried privately: But the Chevalier d' *Aumale* having caused the Gates of the Palace to be shut, and the Duke of *Nemours* and the Ambassador *Mendoza* coming suddenly with the Militia in Arms, he that had discharged the Pistol was thrown down from the Galleries of the Palace; and some other of the chief of them, who could not escape, being taken and executed the same day, the tumult dissolved of it self, leaving the City free from danger, but not the Heads from fear, that hunger would cause many of those commotions: the state of things still growing worse, and no certain hope of relief appearing. The excessive heats which this year followed the excessive rains, as they made the sufferings more grievous, so did they hasten the ripeness of Corn in the Field; which being seen by the besieged, who watched night and day upon the Walls, was a cause that they went out armed and unarmed in divers Companies, sometimes Horse, sometimes Foot, with Sicles and other reaping Instruments, hoping to catch some part of it: But the diligence of the Kings Army was great in running to beat back the besieged as often as they came forth, burning up the Corn, and with shot driving those Women and Children in again, that came out unarmed to get some by stealth: So that the whole Field being full of burnings and bloody incursions on all sides, the Parisians could not furnish themselves with any fruits out of the Field, save those that grew within shot of their Walls, which was so little as sufficed not to keep them above five or six days, after which, the famine grew more miserable and deadly than ever; they being fain from Meal and Oat-pottage, to come to the eating of noisom things, and even to the grinding of Dead-mens Bones to make Bread; a food not only loathsome and abominable, but also so unwholesome and pestiferous, that the poor people died wonderfully fast. They likewise wanted Wood for firing so much, that they eat the flesh they got almost raw; and the skins and hides tanned for shoes and for mens clothing, were boiled and devoured by those, who pulling down their own houses, or other mens, could find wherewithal to kindle fire, nor was there any kind of nourishment so strange, but it came into mens fancies to make use of, being become ingenious by necessity, which forced them to invent ways to keep themselves alive; and that which gave the greatest relief was, that by reason of the infinite number that were dead and fled away secretly, some streets, especially those of the Suburbs, being not frequented, brought forth Grass, which gave marvellous relief to those poor famished Wretches.

But even this small help was likewise quickly taken away: for the Prince of *Conty*, the *Sieur de Chastillon*, the Duke de *la Tremouille*, the Marquis *Pisani*, the Duke of *Nevers*,

Never, and other Lords of *Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, Gascony* and *Laugnedoc* being come unto the Army, which was by that means much increased in number, the King caused the siege to be more nearly streightned, and the Suburbs to be therefore assaulted and taken: to which end, upon the Four and twentieth day of *July* at night, being the Eve of *St James* the Apostle, the whole Army being disposed in several places under their Commanders, as the Clock struck three, all the *Fauxbourgs* were assaulted at one time, clapping a great number of Scaling-Ladders against the Works. The Baron *de Byron* assaulted the *Fauxbourg St. Martin*, the *Sieur de Fervaques* that of *St. Denis*, *Monfieur de St. Luc* fell on that of *Mont-Marte*, the *Mareschal de Biron* at *St. Honore*, the *Mareschal d'Amont* at *St. Germain*, *Monfieur de Lauardin* near the *Portes de Buffy* and *Nesle*, *Monfieur de Chastillon* assaulted *St. Michael* and *St. Jaques*, the Prince of *Conty* and Duke *de la Tremouille* did the like at *St. Marceau* and *St. Villoire*, in such manner, that being attacked and stormed all at the same time, the Defendants strove, but in vain, with their Cannon and Musket-shot from the Walls of the City; for all the Suburbs were taken by the Army, and the City and People thereby much more incommodated and streightned.

1599.

Upon Saint James his day the King assaults and takes the Fauxbourgs of Paris.

The Town of *St. Denis* was taken before this upon the seventh of *July*; in which siege the defendants having felt the same calamities, capitulated at last to yield, if within three dayes they received not relief from *Paris*, or some other place; which not being come to pass, by reason of the weakness of the Parisians, and the places near adjacent, and because the King had obstructed all the Avenues, sitting on Horseback himself Forty hours together, they in the end gave up the Town, marching out with their Arms and Baggage: And the same did they, who held the Castle of *Dammartin* on the lower part of the River. So the whole Army being now set to streighten the City, which had before been divided to besiege those two places, the evil proved now without remedy; there coming no certain news from any part, that the Forces were upon their march to relieve them. Wherefore, though formerly they had refused to answer many of the Kings Letters, in which, promising them their lives, and security for their consciences, he exhorted them to desist from so great stubbornness, and yielding up themselves, to acknowledge and obey him for their Natural King: yet now some Messages having passed between the Legat and the Marquiss of *Pisani*, who had been Ambassador at *Rome*, they were content at last to yield to some treaty of Peace, but more with an intencion to satisfie the people, or to slacken the siege in some measure, than with a thought of concluding any thing. Wherefore due security being given and received, the Legat and Cardinal of *Gondy* went to the *Hôtel* of *Giralamo Gondy* in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, whither a while after came the Marquiss of *Pisani*, with others from the Camp: but after a long discourse nothing was concluded; for the Legat insisted to have the whole business remitted to the Pope's arbitrement, and that there might be a Cessation of Arms till the Decision came from *Rome*; and the Marquiss demanded to have the Parisians submit themselves unto the King's obedience, who would afterwards give the Pope due satisfaction in point of Religion; which things being so distant, and so general, could produce no conclusion at all of agreement. The Legates return into the City without effect, deluded the Peoples expectation, and every one being afflicted at it, increased the consideration of their present misery, and of the certainty that they should lose their lives within a few dayes: so that the cries and groans of the people not only filled all the streets, but did also multiply the number of those, who being overcome by the sharpness of their sufferings, called out for *Bread, or Peace*, cries most frequent in the City, especially in the night. This beginning of insurrection was increased by the *Sieur d'Andelot*, brother to *Chastillon*, and some other Gentlemen of the King's party, who being taken by the besieged in the skirmishes, which were most frequent every day under the Walls, and having liberty given them to go abroad upon their parole, divulged among their friends and acquaintance the King's Clemency, his readiness to pardon, the liberty and security wherewith the Catholicks lived under his protection, the respect he shewed toward the Catholic Religion, his great strength, which increased more and more every day, wherewith he was resolved to meet their Succors and fight with them, having assured hopes to beat them, and to find the same facility he had done in the Battel of *Tury*, wherein the Forces of the League, though intire and united, were utterly dissipated; by which instigations, many already despairing of relief, and drawn by their necessity, inclined to

The King at the siege of St. Denis sits on his Horse back Forty hours together.

A Treaty proposed, the Legat and Cardinal Gondy meet the Marquiss of Pisani in the Fauxbourgs, but return without concluding any thing.

1590.

For fear of an
Insurrection,
the Council of
Paris chuseth
two Deputies,
the Cardinal
Gondy and
Archbishop
of Lyons to
treat with the
King.

The High-
Chancellor
Chiverny recall-
ed to the exe-
cution of his
Office by Hen-
ry the Fourth.
The Speech of
the City-De-
puties unto the
King.

The King's
Answer.

try the so much commended clemency and faith of the Conqueror. Whereupon there was like to be a very great insurrection of the People, to force the Princes to a resolution of yielding, and to make themselves masters of some gate, and let in the King's Army, which, if it should have come to pass, the Forces of the Soldiers and Citizens were so weakened by famine, that it was thought they would have been able to make little resistance against the fury of the Enemy: Wherefore the Parliament and Council being joyntly assembled in the Hall of *St Lewis*, they resolved to appoint two Deputies, that should go to treat with the King, and if he permitted, should pass on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to take care not to yield up the City; but if it were possible, to include the particular agreement of the City, in the union of the general Peace.

For this employment they chose Cardinal *Gondy* and the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, being assured, that neither of them would treat any thing that should be prejudicial to Religion; and yet the Duke of *Nemours* rose up almost angry from the Council, attesting, he would maintain what he had sworn in the beginning of the siege, and that he had resolved rather to die, than yield the City into any other hands than his Brother's, who had trusted him with it. Nor did the Cardinal-Legat seem altogether pleased, but said, he permitted that Counsel by necessity, but that he approved not of it, and that having done and suffered so much, they ought to have patience for a few days, and expect the coming and issue of the relief which was ready to appear every hour. But yet the Deputies went forth with safe conduct to the Abbey of *St Anboine des Champes*, half a mile without that Gate which is so called; where they found the King with a great many Princes and Lords, and among the rest the High-Chancellor *Chiverny*, who having lived retired from the time that King *Henry* the Third dismissed him from the Court, had a few dayes before been recalled by the King to execute his wonted Office in keeping the Seals. The Deputies told the King, that the Council and Inhabitants of *Paris*, moved to compassionate the miseries of the people of *France*, which were the consequences of an obstinate Civil War, had given them commission to come and treat with him, and from thence to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne* the Head of the Catholick party, to see if they could find out some way of accommodation; and therefore they who had willingly undertaken so honourable an employment for the general good and safety, exhorted his Majesty to hearken to those Conditions which were fit for the security of Religion, and the common peace of the Kingdom; but that he should not think, that for any suffering or danger in the World, the Parisians would ever accept of any Agreement which should in the least manner be prejudicial to their Conscience and Religion, being resolved rather to die a corporal death, than injure or blemish the spiritual life of the Soul, for which they were ready to suffer any kind of Martyrdom; which yet they did not fear, being certain to be powerfully relieved within a few dayes. Here Cardinal *Gondy* (though in himself affectionate to the King's party) added many other things, to make it be believed, that not driven by necessity, but moved with a charitable zeal of Universal Concord, they were chosen Deputies by the City and Council of *Paris*, to find out a way to the quiet of the Kingdom. Which things being spoken in publick, and amidst a great concourse of Soldierly Nobility, did so disgust every one that heard him, that the respect of the King could not so restrain the French impatency, but that it broke forth sometimes into laughter, sometimes in words of disdain, hearing a Message more proper for a disinterested, or a conquering people, than a City reduced to the last inevitable calamities of hunger. And the King, either through his own Spirit, or excited by the general resentment, which had, as it were, prescribed him the tenor of his Answer, replied readily, That he knew very well the common people of *Paris* had the knife at their throat; and that howsoever the true meaning of the Embassie were palliated, yet were the Deputies come indeed to find some remedy for the extremity of the condition they were brought to; but that the contents of their message was very different from what it ought to have been: That if the Senate of *Venice*, a State not depending upon any body but it self, yet by its antient resolution, always a Mediator of Peace among Christian Princes, had interposed to conclude a Peace between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, it would not have seemed strange to him, and he should have taken it in good part; but that the common-people of one of his own Subject-Cities, who having forgot their natural duty, had shewed themselves contumacious and rebellious against him, should dare to usurp the name of a Council,

Council, and presumè to be the Mediators of Peace and Concord, was a thing so ridiculous on the one side, and so worthy of scorn and punishment on the other, that it would be no small matter, if from his clemency they should be able to obtain pardon for themselves, without meddling any further in the business. And here with many expressions (wherein he was naturally very happy) desiring also to give satisfaction to the Nobility that heard him, he said divers other things, to shew that he desired Peace out of his own goodness and clemency; and for the preservation of the people which God had committed to his Government; but that he neither feared the War, nor the powerful succours which the Parisians fancied in their own imaginations: And finally concluded, that he would be contented to lose one finger from his hand, upon condition, the War between him and his Enemies and Rebels, might be ended with the Sword the day following; but that he would gladly give two, that by the way of Peace every one would acknowledge their own duty.

After which words, the Deputies were led forth into a room prepared for them, and the King retired to advise with his Council. The High Chancellor *Chiverny* shewed, that the Kings answer had been very sharp and high, and that though that scornful resolute behaviour seemed fit in publick, yet now in consulting the matter calmly, that stile was to be altered, not to lose that end which had till then been endeavoured with so many labours: That the Kings aim was to bring the City of *Paris* under obedience, but not with the desolation of the Citizens, nor with force of Arms; but that the way of siege had been chosen, as well by reason of the strength of the people united for their defence, as not to destroy the greatest and richest City of the whole Kingdom: Wherefore, now that the Parisians being tamed by hunger, began to treat of an Agreement, reason perswaded to use them gently, and not to stand upon any Conditions; but, provided they would but yield the most large and honourable Capitulation that could be, was to be accepted of; and that if the desire of saving *Paris* induced the Duke of *Mayenne* and others of his party to embrace an Agreement, it was not a thing to be contemned, but rather to be wished for: Wherefore he was plainly of opinion, that the Deputies should be moderately treated with in private touching an Accommodation; and also that they should be permitted to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to see if they could draw him to consent to Peace. The Mareschal de *Byron* approved the first part of the High Chancellors counsels, which was to give any conditions whatsoever to the Parisians, provided, they would submit to the Kings obedience; so much the rather, because by long watchings and continual sufferings, the Forces of the Army were much tired and lessened, and diseases, in regard of the season, began already to be very rife in the Camp: But he was not of opinion, that the Deputies should have leave granted them to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, shewing, that that was a prolonging of the time, till the relief should arrive out of *Flanders*: That the negotiating of a General Peace was a thing that required long time, and much maturity, which could not stand with the present business: That it was good to strike the Iron while it was hot, and to straighten the Parisians till hunger forced them to think of their own safety: For *Paris* being subdued, the foundation of the League was taken away, and it would afterward be most easie to make an Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne* and the rest of his party. All the rest concurred in this opinion; and therefore the Deputies being called, after many discourses, this was the conclusion, That if *Paris* would yield, the King would give them full satisfaction in the securities, and other matters they desired of him; but that he would not receive Laws from them, in what concerned his Conscience and Conversion, which he reserved to his own freedom, and to the inspirations of God; neither would he give way, that they should go treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*, he being resolved not to treat any Agreement, except concerning the City of *Paris*: And finally, he caused a Writing to be given unto them, penned by Secretary *Revol*, wherein he declared the same things with very gentle words, and proffers of all possible security and satisfaction. He added also private kind Letters to the Duke of *Nemours*, the Dutchess his Mother, and to Madam de *Guise*, exhorting each of them to Peace, and assuring them all, That they should receive more from his favour, than they know how to desire. With this Answer the Deputies returned: But the Duke of *Nemours* being averse from Peace, by the counsel of the Legat, and the Ambassador *Mendoza*, would not give way that the Writing should be read unto the people, but that the Deputies should tell them only, that the King would have no other Agreement, but that the City should put it self into his power, without the assent of, and without

1590

The opinion
of the High
Chancellor
Chiverny,

The Mareschal
de *Byron*s opi-
nion, to which
the Kings
Counsellors
assent.

The Deputies
return with
the Kings An-
swer: All
thought of
Peace is laid
aside.

1596. including the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of the League; which being contrary to the sense of the major part, especially of those of the Council, (for the City would by no means separate themselves from the Duke of *Mayenne*, but run the same fortune with him to the uttermost) the thought of Peace being laid aside, they returned to the care of their defence.

The Duke of
Parma, hath
express order
from *Spain* to
go and relieve
Paris.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* (notwithstanding that he had made his opinion fully known in *Spain*) had received a new absolute order from the Catholic King to march personally with the whole Army into *France* to relieve the Confederates, and to raise the siege of *Paris*; the Council believing that enterprise so honourable, so important, and full of so lively hopes, that it was without doubt to be preferred before the interests of the affairs of *Flanders*, which they thought to be reduced into such a condition, that they could receive but little or no damage by the absence of the Duke and his Army for a few months; and therefore approving, that part of the Duke of *Parma's* opinion which was to nourish and prolong the War, to obtain that from the weakness and the weariness of the French, which at first seemed impossible to be effected, they had nevertheless determined, that *Paris* should be powerfully relieved, purposely not to suffer the League to be so soon subdued, and the King to remain Conquerour; to whom, that City being once taken, all other things would become easie, and quickly be dispatched: Besides, that that Monarchy, even from the weakness of its beginnings, having been accustomed ever to unite its own ends with the so favourable and plausible pretence of Religion, it could not now in this important occasion disunite those interests so nearly joined, without taking off that glorious reputation which they so much boasted of, that they never had other Enemies, but the Enemies of the Church it self: Therefore they had caused a determinate order to be given the Duke, that having strengthened those Garrisons of *Flanders* as much as he could, which were frontiers towards the Confederate States, he should not defer to relieve the City of *Paris* with all his force; which being once delivered and freed from the siege, he should not care to proceed, or do any thing further. But the Duke, as soon as he had received this last so absolute order, was in much trouble which way to execute it: For on the one side, he could not leave the Cities of *Flanders* so well Garrison'd, but that some great loss was to be feared, which in *Spain* (where he saw the opinion in this business was very different from truth) would be imputed to his carelessness, and not to the necessity of things, and the Orders he had received: and on the other side, he could not march into *France* without the strength of the Army, being to make a War wherein there was little to be trusted to from his Friends, and much to be feared from a brave, valiant, unwearied Enemy, bred up in War, and guarded with almost an invincible Body of French Nobility; and so much the more, because it was necessary to go and find him at home in the midst of all his Forces. Moreover, the straightness of time troubled him very much, because he knew *Paris* was already reduced to the extreamest necessity of hunger, and yet first to furnish *Flanders* with what was requisite, and then to go into *France* with that order, and those provisions which were fit for the greatness of the enterprise, it was necessary to spend some time; so that it was infinitely to be doubted, the Parisians could not be able to hold out so long. But as a Prince of high courage, who to maturity of resolution joined celerity of execution, judging this (as indeed it was) the most weighty and difficult enterprise that had ever fallen within his conduct, he proposed to himself to overcome all difficulties, and to effect it with that glory which he had gained in his other actions; and therefore having disposed the order of all things in his mind, he betook himself to the effecting of them with so much diligence, that he hoped to be able to relieve *Paris* by the midst of *August*; wherefore desiring neither to deceive, nor be deceived, as he had told the Duke of *Mayenne* before, so he writ a Letter to the besieged, about the end of *July*, wherein giving them an account of his expedition, he assured them that he would be in *France* by the midst of the next month, and exhorted them to overcome all difficulties, and arm themselves with patience to expect that time, within which he hoped certainly he should be able to free them from all trouble. This Letter came to *Paris* upon the first of *August*, and being read by the Magistrates, and communicated to the people, filled every one with wonderful great despair, the time seeming so long to them, that they believed they should never be able to hold it out with life; wherefore the Souldiers began by stealth to forsake their Colours, and fly away by night: and the poor of the City being destitute of sustenance, sought to get out of the

At the coming
of the Duke of
Parma's Letters,
which
promised relief
within
fifteen days,
the souldiers
and people despairing,
strive to fly away
from the City.

the siege and escape some whither else, the Governours in chief not forbidding them, who from the beginning had given leave to all to depart freely. But the King, as he willingly suffered the run-away Souldiers to pass, so had he given strict orders that the Towns-men should be driven back, and forced to return into the City, knowing that the besieged sought to unburthen themselves; which order being punctually executed by the Guards, was the cause that very few of them could escape by stealth. Among the greatest difficulties that the Governours had, was the restraining of the Germans, who having lived in all kind of liberty, and without regard destroyed fair houses and gardens to sell the wood and get money; now that every thing was consumed, had given themselves over to all manner of villany, so that they might but get any nourishment by it; and many have reported, that they secretly killed all the children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their flesh; and notwithstanding all this they began to mutiny, and desire to disband, though both the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *d'Annale* did use all possible means to keep them together. The besieged finding themselves in this strait, writ to the Duke of *Mayenne* (for a final resolution) that if they were not relieved within ten days, it would be impossible for them to hold out; and having done all that was possible, they should be excused both before God and man, if they took care of their own safety: and the Dutchess of *Mayenne* wrote to her Husband to the same purpose, conjuring him by his affection to their children, that he should not suffer them to fall into the hands of so bitter an Enemy. Which Letters being received by the Duke, and being in no less perplexity of mind than the Parisians, he united all his Forces together and advanced to *Meaux*, ten leagues distant from *Paris*, and dispatched the Marquis *Alessandro Malaspina* to let the Duke of *Parma* know, that if he made not haste with his Army, all their labour would be lost, the besieged not being able to hold out any longer, and for assurance of it, sent him the same Letters he had received. There were with the Duke of *Mayenne* besides *Quiroga's* mutineers, *Capizucchi's* *Tertia*, and the Walloon Horse the Duke of *Parma* had given him, six hundred Lancers of the Duke of *Lorain's*, commanded by the Count *de Chaligny*, Brother to the Queen Dowager of *France*, the French Infantry under Colonel *St. Paul*, the Duke of *Annale* with the Troop of *Picardy*, the Marquis *de Montelay*, Monsieur *de Balagny*, Governour of *Cambrai*, and the Sieur *de Rhosne*, and *de la Chastre*, with their Regiments and Attendants, which in all amounted to the number of Ten thousand Foot, and Two thousand and four hundred Horse. With these Forces, though he advanced as far as *Meaux*, to be ready upon any occasion that should be offered, and to put courage in the besieged by being so near, yet he did not think them sufficient to be able to relieve or victual *Paris*, because he knew the King, by the addition of many supplies, had under his Colours Six and twenty thousand Foot, and more than Seven thousand Horse, among which, Five thousand were Gentlemen, who bearing Arms only for Honour, being well attended and gallantly mounted, were esteemed by him, both for their number and quality, without comparison superiour; and therefore he dispatched Letters and Messengers every hour to the Vice-Senechal *de Montellimar*, who resided for him near the Duke of *Parma*, to the end, that he might with all diligence sollicite his coming, without which he thought it impossible to relieve the besieged.

The Duke of *Parma* having called a Council of War upon the first of *August*, told them the Order he had received from the Catholick King, to march with the whole Army into *France*, and said, That that resolution was contrary to his opinion, alledging the Reasons for which he esteemed the enterprise to be of great danger, and little advantage: But since it had pleased the King their Master to command it so, as he was resolved in that Expedition to imploy all those abilities God had given him, so he prayed all the rest to apply their endeavours, to the end, that the Offices committed to their care, might be discharged to the praise of God, the Kings satisfaction, and to their own honour: And there, having given every one his charge, he commanded, that the Army already drawn down together, should be ready to march by the fourth of that month. He writ to the Duke of *Mayenne* the certainty and time of his coming, and gave the Parisians notice of the same, attesting to them, That for the only purpose of relieving them, and for the maintenance of Religion, the Catholick King neglecting his own Affairs, sparing neither blood nor money, and without those securities of strong Towns for Magazines of Arms, and places of Retreat upon the Confines, which are wont to be demanded and granted, to the end, that every one might know his candour in proceeding to be more lively, and more real, undertook that weighty enterprise; which

1590.

The German Souldiers in *Paris* having no other food, kill little children to eat.

The Duke of *Mayenne* to give hope to the Parisians, advances with his Army as far as *Meaux*.

The Duke of *Parma* declares, that he had never been of opinion, that the King of *Spain* should send his Army into *France* to serve the League.

never-

1590.
The Duke of
Parma moves
with his Army
from Valenci-
ennes to re-
lieve Paris.

The Duke of
Parma's man-
ner of conduct
in his march-
ing thorow
France.

The Duke of
Parma's arri-
val at Meaux,
where he joins
with the Duke
of Mayenne.

An Accommo-
dation is again
propounded;
but the Duke
of Parma say-
ing he had on-
ly order from
the King to re-
lieve Paris, and
not to treat,
the Deputies
return.

nevertheless he hoped, by the help of God, and the justice of the Cause, to bring to an happy conclusion; and with this Resolution, his Army moved upon the Fourth of *August* toward *Valenciennes*. The Marquis *de Ranti* led the Van; in the Battel with the Duke, were the Princes of *Ascoli*, *Chasteau-bertrand* and *Chimay*, the Count *de Barle-mont*, the Count of *Arambergh*, and many other Flemish, Italian, and Spanish Lords. The *Sieur de la Motte*, Governour of *Graveling*, commanded the Reer, in which there were twenty pieces of Cannon, two Bridges to be made upon Boats, and all those other warlike instruments, which are wont to be carried along in Royal Armies. The Duke of Parma's Armies had ever been very well disciplined, ready, and accustomed to hard-ship, punctual in obedience of commands, and no ways given to pillage or plunder in a Friends Country: And now knowing he was to enter into a Kingdom, where the name of a Spaniard was generally hated by the people, and that he was no less to govern suspicious minds, ready to rise upon every slight occasion, than to make War with a victorious Army, and a wary compleat Souldier, he was more careful than ever, and strove with all possible diligence to keep his Souldiers from doing any injury, using any violence, or giving any cause of complaint unto the French. He encamped always, as if the Enemies Army had been close by him, kept all his men together from strag-ling, and orderly in their quarters; he made careful discoveries, and marched without confusion or tumult; he came into quarters betimes in the evening, and while they were disposed of, and made defensible, he caused the greater part of the Army to stand to their Arms; he ordered strong Convoys to attend the Victual, whereof he had made, and did still make exceeding great provisions; and yielding the honour and advantage in all things to the French, strove to gain the love of the Nation; to which end, he having lived in *Flanders* among the Spaniards with retiredness and gravity, equal to the humour of those with whom he conyersed, now being come into *France*, he laid aside the state of Ante-chambers, and the strict keeping of doors, eat in publick, kept a Table for the French Gentlemen, and both in words and actions shewed himself wonder-ful affable and familiar. And because in that multitude of Officers of note that were about him, he resolved only to trust himself, he would personally hear the rela-tions of those parties that had been abroad to discover and scowr the ways, himself would talk with Spies, dispose the order of the Guards, and hearken to all things ap-pertaining to the discipline of his Army: for which purpose watching all the night, he only gave those few hours to sleep, which past between the beating of the *Reveille*, and the marching of his Army. With this diligence marching gently, not to tire out his men, he came to *Meaux*, ten leagues from *Paris*, upon the three and twentieth of *August*; and having, as he marched, met the Duke of *Mayenne* in the field, they joyned their Armies together in that very place.

There the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and President *Vetus* arrived; who having newly been with the King to introduce some overture of Agreement, and now with his Safe-conduct (for at the drawing near of the Spanish Army, he had yielded something from his former stiffness) were come to negotiate with the Duke of *Mayenne*, by whom being brought into the Council, they related in what extremity the Parisians were, and and that they could not hold out above four days longer: whereupon they earnestly desired, if within that space they could not be relieved, that an Agreement might be made, whereby the City might be freed from the certainty of that danger wherein it was. The Duke of *Parma*, with modest and grave expressions, made known that he was come by the Catholick Kings command, with order only to relieve the City, and to provide against the danger of Religion, and that he had no Commission to treat of any Accommodation; nor did his Conscience dictate to him any thought of making an Agreement with a Prince that was an Heretick, and an Enemy to the Church: but that the Parisians having with infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Chri-stian fortitude suffered so much, they should endure yet the delay of a few days; for he hoped, by the help of God, and the strength of that Army, that they should very easily be delivered; and that therefore they should return to the City, and perswade them to that short patience. The Deputies returned to the King, where they had left Cardinal *Gondy*, and declared that in the Army there was no intention of lending an ear to Peace, and that the Duke of *Parma* had dismissed them with assurance of a speedy and infallible relief: whereupon, being likewise dismissed by the King, the thoughts on both sides were turned wholly upon matters of War.

The King was in great perplexity of mind: for beside the diminution of his Army, caused by diseases, whereof many had died (and among the rest the Abbot *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great ability in State-affairs) many various and different resolutions represented themselves unto his thoughts. It seemed hard unto him to rise without fruit from that siege, after so many labours and so many dangers, and after having reduced the City to the last degrees of despair; and therefore he inclined to a desire of leaving part of the Army to make good the passes, and to advance with the other to meet the relief. On the other side, he thought the Duke of *Parma's* strength to be exceeding great, and that it would be requisite to use all his Forces to oppose and resist him; and therefore durst not hazard to go against him with only a part of his Army, which he believed not able to withstand him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he called a Council of all his Commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshals of *Aumont* and *Biron*, the Baron his son, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs de *Lavardin*, *Guitry*, and *de la Nove*, the Viscount of *Turenne*, the Duke de *la Tremouille*, and Monsieur de *Chaillon*; who not having their mindes possessed with passion, concurred all in the same opinion, that to divide the Army was a pernicious counsel; for that way the siege would neither be maintained, nor the relief hindred: That this was not the first siege, which after many experiments had been quitted by famous soldiers; and that if they could but effect the design, either of defeating the Duke of *Parma*, or making him return, the provisions which the Parisians could get in the mean time from places near adjacent, would be so considerable, that at their return the City would in a few dayes be brought to the same necessity: Which, after it was determined in the Council, the King having given such Orders as were fitting, that they might be ready time enough to oppose the Enemy, raised the siege upon the thirtieth of *August*, and marched with his whole Army to quarter in *Cbelles*, a Town three leagues from *Paris*, and but four from the Army of the League. *Cbelles* is a spacious *Bourg*, seated in a Fenny Plain; and overflowed with the water of a little Rivulet; which stands in pools round about it: It hath on both sides a large Campagne, and before it two hills, on whose ascent is the great high-way that leads straight from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Here the Army (wherein were Seven thousand Horse, and between eighteen and twenty thousand Foot) was disposed in such manner, that the Light-horse backed by the Foot of the *Vanguard*, possessed the bottoms of the hills, and the passage of the high-way: the body of the *Main Battel* lay under cover in the houses of the *Bourg*; and the Cavalry of the *Rereguard*, sheltering the back of the Army, lay at the entry of the Plain that leads towards *Paris*. On the right hand of the *Bourg* the Swisses were quartered, and the Sieur de *Chaillon*, with four French Regiments; and on the left the Germans with five Regiments of Firelocks, and with the Sieur de *Lavardin*: and on both sides were placed the Artillery.

The Kings Army was hardly quartered, when upon the steep of the hills the Italian and Bourguinion Horse of the League appeared, who began to skirmish at the front of the Quarters; and in the mean time the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with few in company; riding every where about, discovered the strength and disposition of the Army distinctly; which seeming to them admirably well ordered, they retired to their own Quarter, which was in the bottoms beyond the Hills, and were careful to fortifie it with a broad Trench and a high Brest-work, which flanked round about with Bulwarks and Half-moons, upon which the Artillery were planted, made their Camp secure from the fury of any sudden assault whatsoever. The Armies lay still on this manner for the space of four dayes: for the Duke of *Parma* knowing that the Parisians going out of the City, had both from the places near adjacent, and by those things that had been left by the Army, furnished themselves with sufficient provisions for some few dayes, did not hasten very much, nor would he precipitate his counsels: and the King, though desirous to fight, and full of hopes of the Victory, thought it an extreme rashness to assault an enemy stronger than himself in his own Quarters. In the mean time they skirmished very often, proved the valour of all the several Nations, and tried all sorts of Arms; the Horse often charging Foot, and the Cuirassiers sometimes Light-horse and Carabines, sometimes Lancers, wherewith the Army of the League abounded very much: in which time the King, anxious of that delay, and fearful lest the late sufferings, and want of money should make his men disband, or at least that his Army should decrease, it being full of dangerous diseases, resolved to try the courage of the enemies, by sending a Trumpet to let the D. of *Mayenne* know, That at last the time was

1590.

The Abbot
del Bene died.

Upon the 30
of August the
King rises
from the
siege of Paris,
and marches
to Chelles to
hinder the re-
lief.

The manner
how the Kings
Army was dis-
posed at Chel-
les.

The Dukes of
Mayenne and
Parma, while
their Hosts
skirmish, go
to discover the
situation and
strength of the
Army.

While the two
Armies lie still
observing one
another, the
Parisians make
some provision
of Victual.

come

1589

The King sends a Trumpet to the Duke of Mayenne, challenging him to Battel. The Duke of Mayenne sends him to the Duke of Parma, who returns a notable answer to the King.

come of settling the differences, and putting an end to the miseries of the War, and that therefore rising forth of his den, where he lay rather like a Fox than a Lion, he should bring his Army into the open field, where the valour and courage of men might presently decide the future Victory. The Duke of Mayenne sent the Trumpet to the Duke of Parma as superior: who smiling answered, That he knew very well what was fit for him to do, for the attaining of his own ends, and was not come so far to take Counsel from his enemy: That he saw clearly enough, that his way of proceeding displeased the King; but that if he were so great a Soldier as fame reported him, he should shew his skill in forcing him to a Battel against his will; for he would never put that willingly into the arbitrement of Fortune, which he had already safe in his own hands. But by this time the affairs of Paris began to press: for that little being consumed which they had been able to catch, the City returned to its former exigency; and it was necessary to open the passes, to the end that Victuals might go in: wherefore the Duke of Parma, having in these dayes tried the King's Soldiers, discovered the Country exactly, and maturely deliberated what he should do, gave out, that he would fight in the open field; and having drawn up his Army in Battalia upon the fifth of September in the morning, he advanced very early towards the enemy. In the Van he placed two great Squadrons of Lances, and all the Light-horse of the Army, and gave the Command of them to the Marquis de Ranty, giving him order, that as soon as he was out of the woody place, which was upon the ascent of the Hills, and was come to the top, where the Plain enlarged it self, he should cover and take up the space of the hills as much as possibly he could, by spreading his Lanciers out at length, commanded by the Prince of Chimay and Giorgio Basta, and by making two great wings of the Light-horse, and then marching toward the Enemy, should begin to descend, but very softly, to go into the open field, making many stands, and staying to expect his Orders. To the Duke of Mayenne he gave the charge of the Battel, in which he put all the strength of the Italian and Spanish Foot, together with twenty pieces of Cannon; and the Rere was led by the Sieur de la Mothe, with the Bourguignon Lances, and the Walloon Infantry. In the Flank of the Battel, but separated on the right and left hand, he put the Sieur de la Chastre, and Colonel St Paul with the French Horse and Foot; and he himself remained free to ride every where up and down, having with him Count Alessandro Sforza, Nicolo Cesis, and Appio Conti, with onely One hundred Horse.

The Duke of Parma draws his Army into Battalia, marches towards the Enemy, makes shew as if he would give Battel; then running suddenly, goes to Lagny, and deceives the King, who thinking to fight, had disposed his Army in a readiness.

As soon as the Army of the League was seen to march resolutely toward the Enemy along the great Highway, it was the general opinion of both sides, that they should certainly fight that day; and the King full of courage, his eyes sparkling for very joy, having, with admirable celerity and exact diligence, drawn up his Army, in the same manner as it lay quartered before, waited with a longing desire, till the Enemy coming down into the open field, should give him opportunity to fight with equal advantage. The Kings Squadrons were already all in order, with the Artillery placed ready to fire, and the Marquis de Ranty stretching forth his Body of Lances as far as ever he could, already leaving the Hill, descended but very gently toward the Plain; when the Duke of Parma, seeing all the Field covered with his Vanguard, and that the Kings Army stood intently expecting him with a thought to fight, set spurs to his horse, and galloped up to the head of the Battel, where having staid the Duke of Mayenne, who was still marching toward the Enemy, he made him turn suddenly towards Lagny, which stands upon the left hand; and having changed his order, so that the Battel became the Van, and the Rere the Battel, he marched speedily to possess the Suburbs of that Town. Lagny is seated upon the River Marne, in such manner, that the Suburbs, though but of a few houses, stand upon the Bank on the right side, on which both the Armies were, and the Town is built upon the left; the passage between is by a large Bridge over the River, which being the principal that brings Victual to Paris, was also one of the chief Passes that was to be opened. Monsieur de la Bis was in Lagny with Fifteen Colours of French Foot, who (contrary to his expectation) seeing the whole Army of the League turned against him, and not thinking he could defend the Suburbs, which stood beyond the River, on that side the Enemy was coming, having broken and thrown down the Bridge, to the end they might not so easily pass over, he retired with his men to defend the circuit of the Town, which before they could assault, it was necessary to pass the River. The Duke of Parma having taken and possessed the Suburbs without resistance, presently quartered the French

French Infantry there, and about half a mile from them he encamped in the field of *Pompane* with the rest of the Army, endeavouring, with infinite diligence, and with Trenches, Breast-works, Redoubts, and Half-moons, to secure the Camp, and to hinder and obstruct the passages of all the Country round about.

The Marquis *de Rantzau*, after he had with the Vanguard, held the Kings Army for many hours in suspense, with a hope of fighting, towards the evening began likewise to march toward *Lagny*, leaving the King very doubtful what the Enemys design should be; for he thought it necessary for them to pass the River, if they would take that Town, which he believed they could not do, without great danger of losing at least their Rear-guard, if nothing else; and it seemed to him much more difficult to believe, that the Duke of *Parma* would assault any place before his face; but most difficult of all, that he would march toward *Paris* on that side, leaving the pass of *Lagny* behind him, because so he should have shut himself up in the middle, and depriving himself of the concurrence of provisions, would have besieged his own Army himself; wherefore being doubtful in his mind, and not knowing what to resolve on, to try what the enemies intent was, he sent forth the *Baron de Biran*, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur *de la Nue*, to follow the Marquis *de Rantzau*, and to begin as best a skirmish as they could, to take some conjecture of the designs and proceedings of the Enemy; but the Carabines (who were got into the woody places that were there round about) having received the encounter very valiantly, and *George Basta* advancing with Four hundred Lances to second them, the Skirmish was various till night, which parted them, so that without further action they retired back to their own Quarters. The Duke still busied in taking and fortifying all the Posts that were between both the Armies, to defend himself if he should be assaulted in the Rear, caused the Artillery to be planted against *Lagny* that very night, though with the River between, and the next morning by break of day began to batter the Wall with eleven pieces of Cannon. *La Fin* at first despised the Dukes Battery, seeing the River between them, and that though a breach should be made, they could yet by no means come to assault it, by reason of the River; but he found himself much deceived, when he saw that the Duke having caused a Bridge of Boats to be cast over it two Leagues above, had commanded *Capitani's* Tents of Italians to pass over, with *Barlote's* Tents of Walloons, and *George Basta's* Eight hundred Horse, that they might be ready when it should be time to storm the Wall; which weak, and not lined with Earth, was like, within a few hours, to afford sufficient passage for the assault.

In the interim, the King at last suspecting what the Enemy was about to do (but at the time when the Quarter of the League was already well enough fortified, and all the passage stopp'd up with *Corps-de-Garde*, which the Duke of *Parma* had placed on every side) sent forth divers Troops, and several ways to relieve the ^{* In Lagny.} besieged, which all entered without resistance; for the Duke cared not, nor valued that Relief, so long as the whole Army march'd not: But the King could take no way that was not much difficult and dangerous; for if he moved not, *Lagny* was certainly lost, and the passage was open to victual the City on that side; and if moving to relieve it, he should pass the River, the Duke leaving *Lagny*, would march with the victual he had brought, the straight way to *Paris*; for which cause, he staying, as it were, unmovable, where he was, not being able to take any resolution, consult'd nevertheless what was best to be done. The *Marschal de Biran* was of opinion, that following the same way by which the Marquis *de Rantzau* was retired, and forcing two *Corps-de-Garde* that were on that side, he should assault the Dukes Camp on the left hand toward *Meaux*, where it was less fortified than in the other places. Monsieur *de la Nue* was of opinion, that it was better to pass the River, and placing themselves behind *Lagny*, to reinforce and refresh the Garrison every moment, hoping, that being so relieved, it might hold out against the violence of the Enemy. To both these the King answer'd, That either way the Duke had free passage left him to *Paris*; for, by turning towards *Meaux*, the way by *Chelles* was left open, and, by passing the River the same way, would be neither more nor less free to him.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* being resolv'd not to lose a minute, and assured of the solidity of his design, caus'd a furious assault to be given to the Walls of *Lagny*, though the breach was not very wide; where, while they are fighting stoutly on both sides, the King, drawn by anger, to see all his past toils and labors lost, could not contain himself from advancing that way with his whole Army in Battalia, but

1590. not with any settled resolution what to do. The Duke of *Parma* on the other side, not stirring out of the compass of his Works, put his Army likewise in order within the circuit of his Camp, facing toward the Enemy, and leaving the appointed Forces without impediment to prosecute the assault, which having at first been happily repulsed by those within, a disorder gave the victory to the enemies: For being about to change and relieve those that had endured the assault, they did it not file by file, as the good rule of defence directeth; but either for haste, or want of experience, would needs do it all at once, from whence tumult and confusion arising, the assailants not losing the opportunity, redoubled the assault with so much readiness, that the defendants being beaten off, who before were half disordered by themselves, they entered the Castle, and took *la Fin* prisoner; and the King, to the greater increase of his affliction, was only a spectator of the slaughter of his men, who being encompassed by the Walloons and Italians (who had given the assault with great emulation of each other) were, without mercy, put to the Sword. Wherefore, there being no more possibility of doing any thing about *Lagny*, neither to defend it, nor recover it, he was constrained, full of most bitter grief, and without any fruit at all, to return the same Evening to his old Quarters. *Lagny* being taken, and the passage of the River opened, the Victual already gathered together for that purpose, was carried from the far side of the River abundantly into *Paris*, the City opening their Gates with joy, and welcome to their deliverers, whereas six dayes before they thought they should have been forced with utter ruine and desolation, to have set them open to the Enemy. But the King seeing *Lagny* taken before his own eyes; and the hunger of the Parisians relieved by that means, resolved to withdraw from the enemy, because it was certain that the Duke of *Parma*, having effected his design, would not fight any more of his own accord; and, to force him in his quarters, strongly intrenched, and abounding with all manner of provisions, was not a thing to be thought on; whereas, on the other side, his Army, consumed by the continual toil and duty of the whole Summer, and therefore full of grievous diseases which increased daily, began also to suffer for want of Victuals, the whole Country behind him being eaten up; and the impatience of the Nobility, the want of money, the nature of the French, who having lost the hope of taking *Paris*, and of coming to a Battel with the Enemy, could no longer endure the sufferings and hardship of Arms, perswaded him to that willingly, which within a few hours, not dayes, he would have been necessitated to do by force: Whereupon, the next day, which was the seventh of September, having put his Army in Battalia, he stood firm a while defying the enemy to Battel, and none appearing, no not so much as to skirmish, but the Field remaining free, he marched away, retiring to the Walls of *St. Denis*.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Lagny* before the face of the Kings Army, whereby the passage of the River *Marne* being freed upon the sixth of September, great store of victual enters *Paris*.

The King withdraws his Army from the enemy, and marches towards *St. Denis*.

But being exceedingly troubled and afflicted for the unprosperous success of his affairs, and desirous to do something that might recover the spirit and credit of his Arms, it came in his mind to give an unexpected Scalado that night to the City of *Paris* it self, attempting to get that suddenly by force, which he had not been able to attain by so long a siege, and by so great an extremity of famine: nor was it without much reason that he fell into this thought: for the strictness of the siege being over, many of the Citizens, not well assured of the event, had taken refuge in the Country; and those that remained in the City surfeiting in their great wealths with excess of meat, which their hunger made them greedily devour, were so faint and sickly, that for the most part they lay unfit for service: besides, many of the Souldiers were gone forth to convoy the Victuals which were brought from *Chartres* and other places; and to guard them from the King's Garrisons which were near on every side: and, which imported most of all, it was credible that the Neighbourhood of so great an Army of Friends, which they knew waited close upon the King's, would make men already tired out, and spent with hard duty and suffering, more negligent in their wonted Guards and sitting Watches to keep and make good so great a circuit of ground. Now the King being resolved to attempt that enterprise, gave order that all should meet as at a general Rendezvous in the Plain of *Bandy*, not far from the City; and having put the Scaling-ladders together, which for that use were carried with the Army, he took his way toward *Paris* * between eight and nine of the Clock at night. The *Mareschal d' Aumont* led a count of hours beginning from Sun-set, and so to 24, which end at Sun-set again; it is plain the Author meant 2 hours within night, which, according to the time of Sun-set there in that season of the year, must needs be before Nine a Clock; for after 2 they could not have had time enough before day-light to march so far, and to make several attempts to scale the City.

* The Italian says, *Sul due bore della notte*; but their account of hours beginning from Sun-set, and so to 24, which end at Sun-set again; it is plain the Author meant 2 hours within night, which, according to the time of Sun-set there in that season of the year, must needs be before Nine a Clock; for after 2 they could not have had time enough before day-light to march so far, and to make several attempts to scale the City.

fleeing

fleeing Squadron with its Ladders; the Baron de Biron led such another; and a third, in the same order, was brought up by the Sieur de Lavardin. The King followed with all the Princes and Commanders, and with the Cavalry drawn up ready to fight; and having passed the *Seine*, went toward that part of the City, which, as being furthest from danger, they thought would be least guarded. The Scaling-ladders were presented to the gates and walls of *St. Germain* by the Marechal d'Amont; at *St. Michel* by Biron; and by Lavardin, between *St. Jacques* and *St. Marceau*. But they found the defendants ready and vigilant every where: for the Duke of Nemours, who caused the wayes to be diligently scoured, had had an inkling of their drawing together at *Bondy*, and of their marching toward *Paris*, and therefore had carefully disposed and visited the Guards in every place: whereupon, the foundation of the surprise failing, which was negligence, and the small Guards of the Citizens; the Commanders, without much obstinacy, brought off their Ladders, and returned to the place where the King with the Cavalry tarried for them; who facing about with an easie pace, drew off the same way he came: but not being able to withhold himself from trying to effect something, and thinking that the Defendants, having beaten off his men, would perchance, after that nights watch, be more negligent and secure in the morning, having caused his Cavalry to make an halt, he turned about again to lead up the three fleeing Squadrons into the Trenches of the Gate and Curtine of *St. Marceau*, being resolved there to make his last attempt: nor was his opinion altogether deceitful: for the Towns-men already wearied with long watching, were retired to sleep; by which means two Ladders were set up with great silence, so that none either heard the noise, or stirred to hinder them; but a Jesuite who stood sentinel without the *Corps de Garde*, which was kept by those Fathers, and Nicholas Nivelles a Book-seller, who was likewise upon the Gate, though farther off, hearing the noise, gave the Alarm, and running presently to that place with the Halberds they had in their hands, overturned one of the Ladders, which being too long, reached above the Wall, and made so good resistance at the head of the other, that the Sieur de Cremonville and Parabiere's Lieutenant being killed, who were near getting upon the Brest-work, gave time for the coming of help: for at the noise of *Arm, arm*, and the cry of the Sentinels, the Guards who were asleep drew forth armed, and a great number of Citizens running from all parts, before whom the Duke of Nemours was come, who, with singular diligence had rode round the Walls all that night: wherefore, the second attempt proving also vain, the King retiring with all his Forces when it was broad day, marched off to the Walls of *St. Denis*.

Many were of opinion, that in this occasion the King failed much in point of art and Military discipline: for if, leaving the principal post near *Paris* well guarded with part of his Army, he had advanced with the rest as far as *Claye*, a much more senny, and a much more defensible place than *Gibelles*, and had there fortified and intrenched himself, keeping that place diligently, he might perchance have held the Duke of Parma's Army so long in play, which could pass no other way to *Paris*, that the City being reduced to extreme necessity, would have been forced to yield, since the D. of Parma would not have been able to have forced that passage, kept by such a strength, if it had been fitly intrenched and fortified. Nor could he have had passage to have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been encamped on that way. Many others considered, that the King being resolved to fight, and being risen from *Paris* with that intent, he ought in the first encounter to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of Parma, before he had time to intrench himself: for though the time from night to morning was but short, yet the Duke's soldiers, accustomed to labour, wrought with so much order and industry, that in less than Twenty four hours they finished their Trenches; wherein the Commanders and Gentlemen working no less than the common soldiers, the Duke himself assisted likewise, making the Engineers draw forth, and divide the work in his presence. Some others taxed the impatiency of the King's Army, which had seen so great constancy in the common Trades-men, and the very women that were shut up in *Paris*, that after so many months of desperate hunger, they held out stoutly nevertheless to the uttermost; and yet that so many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, whereof that Army was composed, had not had the courage to endure, no not so much as the suspicion of hunger, but after a short stay, and in a manner no opposition, except only the shew of a desire to fight, left the field free, and the honour of the Victory to the enemy: whereupon on the one side, the D. of Parma's art and discipline was praised to admiration; and on the other, the French humours and impatiency was much

The King marches towards *St. Denis*; but in the midst of the night gives a scalado to the walls of *Paris*: yet the vigilancy of the Duke of Nemours makes it ineffectual. The Kings soldiers return at break of day to scale the walls again, a ladder is set up: but being discovered, they are repulsed, with the death of the first that went up.

Errors imputed to the King and his Army.

1590. blamed, having lightly believed that a Soldier of so great fame, would rashly put that into the hand of Fortune, which might securely be obtained by solid counsel, and upon this belief had neglected those things which the commodiousness of their ground afforded.

Excuses in favour of the King.

Others excused the King, and said (perhaps with as good reason) that the leaving of weak Guards about *Paris*, would have been but a giving of them up to be cut in pieces by the Citizens and Soldiers, who would have sallied desperately out of the City in great abundance; and that to assault the Duke's Army, much superior in number, so without consideration at their first coming, would have been a rash and ruinous advice: for though he were not absolutely fortified, yet was he already lodged; and that they should not have had to do with a tumultuary inexperienced body of men, gathered together in haste, which might have been frightened with an assault, or disordered, by being put into a confusion, but with an old Army, led by Commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make use of their own advantage, and the temerity of the assailants. They likewise excused their retiring so soon and ascribed it not to the impatience of the French humour, but to a wise well grounded counsel, since Armies are not to be adventured, nor put to endure certain hardship, unless a benefit equal to their suffering and danger might result from them: but the nearness of the King's Army could no wayes incommode the D. of *Parma*, who was intrenched in his Quarters, and had the passage of the River open behind him, nor could it hinder the carriage of Victuals into *Paris*; wherefore, that it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diseases, which increased very fast, and from other sufferings, being sure of hunger, and to reserve it for a better use, and a fitter occasion.

The King being come to *St. Denis* without money or victual, separates his Army, which was oppressed with many diseases.

However it was, the King, being come to *St. Denis*, seeing the diseases increase, and not having money either in publick, or particular to maintain his Army, resolved to separate his Camp, and providing for the security of the Provinces, only to keep a flying Army near himself, wherewith he might hinder the D. of *Parma* from making any greater progress. He therefore sent the P. of *Conty* into *Tourain*, the D. of *Montpensier* into *Normandy*, the D. of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, the D. of *Nevers* into *Champagne*, the Marechal d' *Aumont* into *Bourgogne*, he left Monsieur de *la Noue* in *Brie*, and he himself with the Marechal and Baron de *Biron* (having furnished and strengthened those Garrisons he held near about *Paris*) marched with a Body of men more expert then numerous, into the most rich and fertile places that are along the River *Oyse*, to refresh his Soldiers after so many sufferings: And being come to *Clermont* (a Town which, because it was reasonably well garisoned, had the boldness to shut its Gates against him) he fell to batter it with so much violence, that the Walls being beaten down, it was taken the third day, and sacked with a very great slaughter; and the next day after, the Castle yielded it self to him without resistance; whereupon, remaining Master of the whole Country round about (for *Senlis* and *Compeigne* were already at his devotion) he had conveniency to quarter at large, and refresh the Army he had with him; at which time, the Sieurs de *la Guiche* and *Sippierre*, having left the Camp to return to their own houses with a good number of Horse, met with the Viscount de *Tavannes*, and the Sieur de *Falandre*, who were conveying victual from *Dreux* to *Paris*, and without having time to discover one another, they charged at the first encounter, with exceeding great valour on both sides; but after a sharp fight, for two hours, the Kings party had the better; *Tavannes* and *Falandre* leaving their victual and carriages, saved themselves in the Town by flight.

The King assaults and batters *Clermont* so violently, that upon the third day he takes and sacks it.

Claude Prince of *Fainville* defends *Troyes*, and beats back Monsieur de *Tinteville*, who had like to have surprised it by intelligence, with some of the Citizens.

The City of *Troyes* about that time was in great danger of being surprized by Monsieur de *Tinteville*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Champagne*; for he having held a Treaty with some of the Citizens, it succeeded so fortunately, that being entred the Town, he was already come up to the Market-place, when *Claude de Lorain*, Prince of *Fainville* (Son to the late D. of *Guise*, a youth, in valour and courage, not unlike his Father) who was then in the Town, having drawn his men together, charged the assailants with so much gallantry, that being repulsed with a very great slaughter, they had much ado to save themselves.

The Duke of *Parma*, against his own will, lays siege to *Corbeil*.

In the mean time the D. of *Parma*, after the dissolution of the Kings Army, having taken *St. Maur*, and the Bridge of *Charanton*, minded the facilitating of the passage of victuals to *Paris*; and being spurred on by the frequent intreaties of the D. of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians*, upon the 22 of September, laid siege to *Corbeil*, to free the passage of the River *Seine* on that side also. The Duke had consented unwillingly to put himself

himself upon that enterprize; for *Corbeil* was sufficiently manned and fortified: Wherefore, though the Town was little, and of small account, he saw it was nevertheless ready to hold out the siege, so that the Duke having but few Cannon to batter the Walls; and, which imported more, small store of powder and bullet, doubted that to the lessening of his own reputation, and the credit of his Army, it would prove very difficult for him to take it. Moreover, he feared lest the Discipline of his Army (till then constantly observed) should be broken: For the French of the League, not making those provisions of victual which he with wonderful order was wont to make, to keep plenty still in his Camp; but on the contrary, the provisions of the Army often failing through their negligence, he was forced to suffer his Souldiers to run about the Country, and his Troopers scattered themselves, plundering far abroad, a thing which beyond measure troubling his mind, (averse from oppressing or destroying a Friends Country, and from suffering his men to pillage licentiously) now made him take the greater thought about this siege, wherein he saw (if it should last many days) those faults, disorders, and necessities, would be multiplied. Nor did the event deceive his expectation; for having laid siege to *Corbeil*, defended by *Rigaut* the Governour, it resisted so constantly, that for want of Victuals the Spaniards and Italians, and much more the Walloons, were fain to spoil all the Country, sacking even those places which the King in the long siege of *Paris* had left untouched: Whereupon the French of the League, though the fault proceeded from themselves, murmured nevertheless against the Dukes Souldiers, and hated them no less than formerly they hated and murmured against the Hugonots. But the siege of *Corbeil* also, through many defects proceeded slowly, not being furnished with those things that are necessary for the taking of strong places; and particularly, there being such small store of great shot, that it was necessary to send for some, though but a few, from *Orleans* and *Pontoyse*; and yet the Duke endeavouring with industry to supply those so important wants, renewed the Battery in so many several places, and with so many experiments, that upon the 16 of *October*, after they had fought four hours together, with wonderful obstinacy, the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, entred pellmel into the Town; *Rigaut* with the greater part of the defendents being slain, *la Grange* taken prisoner, and the Town sacked with infinite violence.

In the mean time, the King was moved from *Clermont* with Eight hundred Horse, to try if he could put some relief into *Corbeil*; but having heard it was lost, in his return back he fell upon a Quarter of two Troops of Light-horse, which lay apart from the rest, and having defeated them in a moment, and taken the Captains, he put most of the Souldiers to the Sword.

Corbeil being taken, the disgusts between the Duke of *Parma*, and the French Heads of the League, increased; for the Duke thought it convenient to put a Garison of Walloons or Italians into it, which might be sufficient to keep what he had gotten; and the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Parisians grew jealous that the Spaniards, under shew of helping them, would make themselves Masters of that place, and many others, and usurp for themselves whatsoever acquisitions they should make. Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* having found what the French suspected, and being again returned to his first designs of spinning the War out in length, to consume the Forces, and tame the humour of both parties, and knowing that mens minds were not yet disposed to receive that form which the Catholick Kings affairs required, he resolved to depart, and go back again into *Flanders*, where there was exceeding great need of him and his Army. Many other circumstances perswaded him to the same resolution; the wasting of his Forces, which by reason of diseases diminished every moment, want of money, and scarceness of provisions, which were causes that he could not maintain the Discipline of his Army; the unfitness of the season, which hindred him from making any further progress; whereupon he doubted, that by lying still, his reputation would decrease, and the valour of his Souldiers degenerate; the necessary redoubled instances which from all parts were insatiably made unto him for moneys; every one having perswaded himself, that he to satisfy the covetousness of them all, had brought Mountains of Gold along with him; and finally, the suspicions of many, who already did rather murmur, than give him thanks for the relief he had given them in so great necessity, and in so evident danger. For these causes, having put *Corbeil* into the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and having left *Lagny* entire, which before he had determined to dismantle, he gave the Duke and the Parisians to understand, that the necessity of the affairs of *Flanders* called him back, and that having obeyed the Catholick

1590.

The French of the League begin to hate the Duke of Parma's Souldiers.

The Duke of Parma takes *Corbeil*: *Rigaut* the Governour is slain, with most of the defendents, and the place sacked.

1590.

lick Kings command in raising the siege of *Paris*, and opening the passages that were convenient for victuals, he ought not to stay longer in so contrary a season, and so unfit for action, but return to take order for his own affairs, which to relieve his Friends, had been left in danger and confusion.

This resolution did much trouble those of the League; who having conceived hope that the Spanish Army should not forsake them till the enterprise were fully perfected, and that the Duke of *Parma* with his Men, and the Catholick Kings money, should totally assist their party, did now see all those designs fall in one instant, and their party remain destitute of those necessary supplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of *Mayenne* in person, and the Deputies of *Paris*, and *Monsignor Sega*, Bishop of *Piacenza*, (whom the Cardinal-Legat, departing suddenly by reason of the Popes death, had substituted Vice-Legat) urged the Duke of *Parma* with earnest reiterated intreaties and considerations, to change that resolution: And when they saw words prevailed not, and that the Duke was still setting his Army in order to depart, the Duke of *Mayenne*, by the means of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, began a new Treaty of Accommodation with the King, to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, and make them believe, that if their Forces were once gone, the Peace would immediately be concluded, and by consequence, that all the expenses and pains they had already undergone would be utterly lost: But neither did this move the Duke of *Parma* from his determination, knowing the Duke of *Mayenne* would not easily bring his mind to lay aside his present hopes, and to submit himself to the power of his Enemies; and that though he should do so, the business consisted not in him alone, but it was necessary that so many others, who were far off, divided, and drawn by different interests, must consent unto it: That before they could conclude any thing, he might have leisure to return, and undo whatsoever should be agreed upon in the mean time. But lest the affairs of the League should grow desperate, he promised them, as soon as he came to *Brusselles*, to pay down two hundred and thirty thousand Ducats, for the payment of the Foreign Forces, and to leave a convenient number of Horse and Foot under the Duke of *Mayenne's* command, to uphold and continue the War. But that sum of money seemed very small to those who had fancied to themselves that all the Treasures of the *Indies* should be poured down upon them: and the men he left were indeed sufficient to maintain the War, but not to make an end of it: Whereupon every one (but especially the Parisians, who had suffered so much before the coming, and had conceived so great hopes after the arrival of the Spanish Army) was reduced into wonderful great perplexity of mind, which was increased by the departure of Cardinal *Gaetano*, and because they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urban* the Seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who succeeded him in the Apostolick Chair.

But the Duke, firm in his resolution, after twenty days time which he had given the Army to refresh it self, marched towards *Champagne*, to hold the Enemy in doubt which way he would bend his course, and by that means to keep his passage free from Ambuscadoes. He divided his Army into four parts; the Vanguard led by the Marquis of *Remy*; the first Battalion by the Sieur de *la Mothe*, the second Battalion he commanded himself, and the Rearguard was led by *Georgio Basta*. All the several Divisions marched always drawn up in Battalia, and with their Carriages of Baggage on each side, which shut them up, and enclosed them like a Trench, and were so near, that they might help one another mutually in a short time. Provisions of Victual were made; and marching through fertile plentiful Countries, they were not necessitated to enlarge themselves; except the Light-horse, who scoured the Neighbouring Ways, to discover the Country: neither did they go far off; for the Army being always ready, and disposed to fight, feared not to be catch'd, and assaulted unaware.

But he was scarcely gone, drawing toward *Chastain-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the *Baron de Guiry*, who was at *Melan*, assaulted and took *Corbeil*, which the Parisians had negligently and weakly Garison'd, and with the same fortune returned, and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of *Parma's* advice, had not been slighted: at which the Parisians, much moved and troubled, were exceeding earnest with the Vice-Legat *Sega* to procure the stay of the Spanish Army, until such time as those places, so necessary for the bringing in of provisions, were recovered. The Vice-Legat dispatched the Promotary *Coraciello* to the Duke, to present unto him the earnest desires and the necessity of the City of *Paris*; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the Army, laboured with

The death of
Sixtus Quintus

The Duke of
Parma, though
earnestly in-
treated to stay
in *France*, pre-
pares never-
theless for his
departure.

Urban the VII.
created Pope
after *Sixtus V.*
he lives but
twelve days,
and is succeed-
ed by *Gregory*
XIV. a *Mila-
nese*.

The ordering
of the Spanish
Army in their
return into
Flanders.

The Baron de
Guiry recovers
Corbeil and
Lagny, which
had been ta-
ken by the
Duke of *Parma*

with all possible efficacy, to perswade him to stay: But the Duke of *Parma* excusing himself, That his Army was much diminished by sickness, That the season was so contrary, nothing could be done, and that the Low-Countries solicited his presence, continued on his march, having some hope to obtain *Chateau-Thierry* by a Treaty, which he held with Viscount *Pinars* Governor of that Town.

But the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, accompanied by the Baron *de Byron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a select number of men, followed the track of the Spanish Army, to hinder it from getting those places that held of his party, and to watch some opportunity of doing it some mischief: and having had some suspicion of the Treaty, he caused the Sieur *de la Nove*, with three hundred Horses, and six hundred Foot, to enter into *Chateau-Thierry*; by which means, the Duke of *Parma*, deprived of that hope, bending on the left hand, took the straight way to return into *Flanders*. The King followed, and marching speedily, was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered besides him, sometimes pressed him in the Rere; and by giving frequent Alarms, and bold skirmishes, did both day and night molest and surround the Army. The Duke of *Parma* proceeded with no less order and circumspection; and keeping all parts of his Army under the same discipline, was quick and ready to turn which way soever the enemy should press or shew himself. But having marched on this manner from the thirteenth to the five and twentieth of *November*, the King, desirous to see the effect of so much diligence, and of so many labours, having drawn the Cavalry into five Bodies, advanced upon the samer way by which the Army of the League was to pass, making shew that he would charge them as they marched. The Carabines, who were ready for all assaults, received the skirmish very fiercely; and coming forth of the Barricadoes of their Carriages, wheeling, giving fire, and falling in again, did no small harm to the King's Cavalry: wherefore the Baron *de Byron*, thinking to rout them, and ease himself of that trouble, charged up more boldly then considerably, with Fourscore Cuirassiers, hoping to chase them back and disorder them: but the Carabines giving way, according to their custom, to retire behind the Squadrons of the Army, the Baron advanced so far in pursuit of them, and was so deeply engaged between two Squadrons of Lances of the Vanguard, that his Horse being killed under him, he was in manifest danger to be taken prisoner; which being perceived by Count *de Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a body of Cuirassiers, and by the Sieur *d'Humieres*, who was on the left hand with Ninety Horse, they advanced no less courageously than he, to disengage him: but being charged by the whole Cavalry of the Vanguard, and the other Battalions coming one after another, who knowing, by the rattling of the shot, that the skirmish was begun, had hastened their march, they were fain (leaving the field) to retire, fleeing full speed, with evident hazard of being all cut off, if the King himself, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with the other two Squadrons, had not advanced to make the retreat; wherein having disengaged *Byron*, and with much ado set him again on horseback, who at the foot of a Bank, with two companions, had defended himself a great while against the Enemy: they were followed by them as far as a Village called *Longueval*, where night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King convenient opportunity to retire. He quartered with all his Forces at *Pont-Arffy*, where they stood all night in Arms; nor did the enemy rest more quietly: for the Kings celerity and courage kept all their Quarters in great jealousy; and so much the rather, because the rout of the two Squadrons had been with more terror and danger than loss, there being not above five men slain, and only twenty wounded. The next day the D. of *Nevers* joyned with the King with the Forces of *Champagne*, and likewise the Sieurs *de Gimry* and *Parabiere*; who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a Garrison into it, were come with all diligence to find him again; by which means being increased in strength, he began with more boldness than before to molest the Duke's Army; who, intent upon his journey, not stirring, for any cause whatsoever, out of his ranks, nor out of the shelter of his Carriages, marched on commodiously before.

But upon the nine and twentieth day, the Army coming towards *Guisse*, and the King being resolved to attempt something, with all his Cavalry fell upon their Rere-guard, which having made a halt, and put their Army in a readiness to fight, the Carabines failed not with their wonted courage to begin the Skirmish; but the King's Cavalry, which being for that purpose divided into little Squadrons, and had order to charge home, and not give them time to do hurt with their shot, inclosed them in such manner, that they all had been cut off in the place, if *Georgio Batti*, with one thousand

15904

The Spanish Army marching towards *Flanders*, and the Kings Army following, they skirmish many dayes; but upon the 25 of *November*, the King, making shew that he would fight, the Baron *de Byron* engageth himself so far, that being relieved by his Friends, he had much ado to escape with help of night.

1596.

The King assaults the Spanish Army again; and his Horse having encompassed the enemies Rereguard, would have cut it in pieces, if *George Bess*, a famous Captain of those times, had not disengaged them with his Lancers.

The Duke of Parma takes leave of the Duke of Mayenne, leaving him a *Tertio* of Italians, and another of Spaniards, and 500 Horse.

and two hundred Lances, had not disengaged them. The Squadron of *Bess* rush'd upon the small Troops of the French Cavalry, so ordered to repress the Carabines; but not being able to receive the shock of so many Lances, the Baron of *Biron* was fain to retire half in disorder. But being sustain'd by the King himself, who with the rest of his Horse, and a Thousand Foot of *Parabie's* old Regiment mounted behind them, advanced to re-enforce the *Bess*, *Bess* not having order to fight, retired under the shelter of his Squadrons in very good order; yet could he not do it with so great circumspection, but that the French remained masters of some carriages, which by chance were separated from the rest. But the King being come near the Rere-guard, where *Pierre Guesen* was making himself ready to oppose him, with the Foot drawn up in order, encompassed with his Carriages; and the Duke of *Parma*, who had faced about, and changed the order of his march, coming up with the second Battalion, he resolv'd to retire without attempting any further, by reason the Enemy was in so Soldierlike order, and that their Forces were so exceedingly unequal. This was the last day that the King molest'd the Spanish Army in its march. The Duke of *Parma* being arriv'd at the Frontiers, took leave of the Duke of *Mayenne*, striving, with apt expressions, to confirm his courage, and to persuade him that within a little while he should receive powerful assistance of men and money; and that he might not leave him so weak, that he should be forced to make an agreement with the Enemy, he commanded the Italian *Tertio* of *Pierre Guesen*, and the Spanish one of *Alonso Maquet* to stay in France; and absolutely to obey the Duke, with whom he also left Four hundred Horse, and One hundred Wallon Carabines; which Supplies added to the German *Tertio* of *Colles* paid by the King, and to the other French forces, he thought a sufficient Body to uphold the affairs of the League, especially in a time when the King having divided his Army for want of Money, and because of the past misfortunes, was manifestly declining.

The End of the Eleventh BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

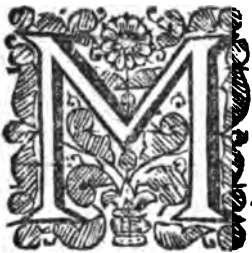
The TWELFTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THe Twelfth Book relates the various Turbulencies, in several parts of the Kingdom; the progress of the Duke of Mercœur in Bretagne, and of the Duke of Savoy in Provence and Dauphine. The King takes Corby; he is troubled in mind by reason of the contrary importunities of the Catholicks and Hugonots of his own party. He sends the Viscount de Turenne into England and Germany, who raises a great Army to bring it into France the Spring following. The Duke of Mayenne also is no less troubled than the King. The Parisians attempt to surprise St. Denis, but effect it not, and the Chevalier d' Aumale is killed there. The King on the other side attempts to surprise Paris, and that design likewise proves vain. Pope Sixtus Quintus being dead, Gregory the Fourteenth succeeds, who declares himself favourable to the affairs of the League, and dispatches his Nephew the Duke of Montemarciano into France with strong Supplies. The King in the mean time besieges and takes the City of Chartres. The Duke of Mayenne not having strength to relieve that place, marches towards Champagne, takes Chateau-Thierry, and goes to Rheims to confer with the Duke of Lorain. Marfilio Landriano the Popes Nuncio arrives there, he publishes a Monitory against those that follow the King, from whence divers alterations do arise. The young Cardinal of Bourbon tries to form a third party of Catholicks to bring himself to the Crown; the King advertised of it, applies divers remedies to that important accident. The Duke of Mayenne makes an attempt upon Mante, which takes not effect. The King besieges Noyon, and after many encounters, it not being relieved, he takes it. The Popish and Spanish Forces pass the Mountains, they assist the Duke of Savoy; and there happen several encounters. The Duke of Guise escapes from his imprisonment at Tours. The King and the Duke of Mayenne advance; the King to receive, the Duke to oppose the Viscount de Turenne and the Germans in Lorain. The Armies draw near to one another at Verdun: The King having

1591

received the Viscount with the Supplies, retires. The Council of Sixteen make an Insurrection in the City of Paris, and cause the first President of the Parliament, and other Counsellors, to be executed: The Duke of Mayenne hastes thither, brings the City into obedience, and punishes the Delinquents. The King marches into Normandy, lays siege to the City of Rouen, defended by Monsieur de Villars, and a great number of choice Souldiers and Commanders; the various accidents of that siege are related. The Duke of Parma with the Spanish Army marches to relieve that place: The King with part of his Army goes to meet him; they encounter one another, and fight at Aumale; the King is wounded, his men routed, and he has much ado to save himself. Villars sallying out of Rouen, enters the Trenches, and gains the Artillery. The Duke of Parma advances; but finding the City secured by that sally, resolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to Rouen, and renews the siege: The Duke of Parma also returns to bring relief; and the King (his Forces being wasted) rises from the siege, and marches to the Banks of the River Seine.



Men's minds were no less inflamed, nor the revolutions of the War less bloody in the other parts of the Kingdom, than they were in those places where the chief Armies lay; for the affections of Religion, mingled in their hearts with particular interests, and with the already inveterate animosities of the Factions, every one forward of himself, as in his own cause, and as in a controversy that concerned him, did with all his power apply thoughts to the exercise of Arms. Wherefore the War was made both by the Heads and Governours of the two parties, and by private persons of their own voluntary accord, with the same contention thorow every Province, but with various successes and different fortune on both sides.

The principal and most dangerous commotions were in *Bretagne*, a great and rich Province, well peopled, full of Gentry, considerable for the greatness of its Cities, and convenient for the benefit of the Ocean Sea, along the coasts whereof it extends it self towards the North. Henry of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of exceeding high courage, was for the King, and had the name of Governour for him; but there were so few Towns under his obedience, that if it had not been for the help of lower *Normandy*, (which, confining with that Province, held of the Kings party, and was governed by the Duke his Father) he would either have been driven out of the Province, or easily suppressed by the greater forces of the League. On the other side, *Emanuel* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Mercœur* governed the party of the Union, who had not only from the beginning been (as Governour of the Province) in possession of the best Cities and strongest holds, but also pretending, that the Dutchy of *Bretagne* it self, belonged to his Wife *Mary* of *Luxembourg*, Countess of *Pontbierre*, he had a wonderful great dependence of all those, who rather desired a Prince of their own, than the union with the Crown of *France*, which was not very pleasing to them; and longing above measure to establish himself in that possession with the opportunity of present affairs, he had negotiated secretly in *Spain* by the means of *Lorenzo Tarnabuoni*, a Gentleman of his, who was sent by Sea unto that Court, and had obtained that the Catholick King should send and pay Four thousand Foot for his assistance, upon condition that *Blavet* should be consigned to him for his security; a place as then not considerable, but which with the benefit of a very large Port fortified and improved by the Spaniards, came by little and little to be of exceeding great consequence, not only to the affairs of that Province, but also of the whole Kingdom: Which as soon as it was known to the Prince of *Dombes*, (though his Forces were but weak, so that till then he had only exercised himself in actions of small importance, to keep the Kings name alive in that Province; yet now, helping with art in so great need) he turned himself to oppose the entrance of strangers: And having routed Three hundred of the Duke of *Mercœur's* Light-horse, which were going to join themselves with his Army, he assaulted *Annebont* suddenly, a place near *Blavet*; and having easily taken it, began with infinite celerity to build a Fort by the Sea side, which

The Duke of
Mercœur's pre-
tensions to the
Dutchy of
Bretagne.

which might command and hinder the entry of Ships that should come unto that Port, and bestirred himself in such manner, that he would have brought to perfection the service he had in design, if (the Duke of *Mercours* Army still increasing, which was advanced to *Vannes*, seven leagues from *Blavet*) he had not been constrained (though the Fort were not yet quite finished) to retreat into the places of his own party. Nevertheless having left a strong Guard in the Fort, with six pieces of Cannon; and having put Eight hundred Foot into *Annebont*, he hoped that those places might be able to hinder the entering and feeling of the Enemy. The Spanish Fleet arrived at *Blavet* with Six and thirty sail of Ships, and four Gallions, and with so prosperous a gale, that notwithstanding the shot from Fort *Dombes*, redoubled with infinite fury by the defendents, it entered the Port without receiving much harm, and landed Four thousand and five hundred Foot commanded by Don *Juan de l'Aquila*, who, to free the Port from all impediments, set himself without delay to take in Fort *Dombes*: Which not being brought to perfection, and having no hopes of relief from any place, yielded it self the fifth day of the siege, and was presently demolished by the Spaniards: After which enterprize, being joined with the Duke *de Mercœur*, they recovered *Annebont*, and the other neighbouring places, with the same facility, and at last, under favour of the Fleet, began to fortifie *Blavet*, securing it no less with two Forts Royal, built at the entry of the Haven for conveniency of bringing in relief by Sea; then they strengthened it with Moats, Bastions, and all other kinds of Military Fortifications on the Land-side. But the King, and the Prince of *Dombes*, knowing that they could not resist the power of the Duke and the Spaniards, with the Forces they had in that Province, sought for assistance from *England*; which lying over against it, hath conveniency of giving relief to that coast, no less than *Spain*: And having obtained Six thousand Foot from the Queen, they expected their Landing at *St. Lo*, the farthest Port of Lower *Normandy*.

With the like variety, and as great danger, did the War rage on the other side of the Kingdom: For *Dauphine* and *Provence* (Provinces bordering upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and spread in length to the very foot of the *Alps*) wavered with various fortune in the management of Arms. The Duke of *Savoy*, from the very beginning of the War, had applied the greatness of his mind to divets, and those not ill-grounded hopes: For the affairs of *Piedmont* being secured, by his seizing upon the Marquessate, and lying conveniently for the affairs of *Dauphine* by the near adjoining of *Savoy*, he hoped by fomenting the League, in some sort to enlarge his confines: On the other side, being interested in *Provence* by the Towns he holds there, he had an eye set upon getting the whole, whereof already he possessed a part: So that he held intelligence in both Provinces, and with Money and Arms endeavoured to advantage the course of his designs. Nor did his hopes stay there, but seeing the Kingdom in so great distraction, and ready to break the Salique Law, and to cut off the Legitimate Succession of the Royal Family in the King of *Navarre*, there arose a certain conceit in him, that the States might perhaps incline to make choice of him, as being born of a Daughter of *France*; which he thought would prove so much the more easie to him, by how much more his name was famous in Arms, and by how much greater merit he should acquire with the Catholick party, and in the opinion of the Pope, the principal mover (in respect of Religion) in the determination of the affairs of *France*. Nor did he forget (whatsoever event these designs should have) that the opportunity of present affairs, gave him an occasion of subduing the inhabitants of *Geneva*, now that the King of *France*, being busied by himself, could not afford them any present relief. With this height of hopes, which increased his courage, having sent his Agents to treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*; and having contracted a reciprocal intelligence with him, he had raised a great Body of Horse and Foot, and had sent forth Count *Francesco Martinengo*, General of his Army, into *Provence*; and his Brother Don *Amadeo* of *Savoy* against *Geneva*; and by means of the Governours of his Garisons, he gave help and assistance to the Forces of the League in *Dauphine*. Nor was the beginning unlike the greatness of his design: For the *Sieur de Vins*, and the Countess *de Seaux*, (a Lady of more than manly spirit) who both held for the League in *Provence*, finding themselves inferior in strength to Monsieur *de la Valette*, the Kings Lieutenant, not only willingly received supplies and assistance from the Duke, but began also to treat of giving him the Dominion of that Province, and to put themselves under his protection and superiority: Which being treated and concluded by the Duke, he went in person to his

The Prince of *Dombes*, Governor for the King in *Bretagne*, opposed the Duke of *Mercœur* designs, and caused Fort *Dombes* to be built, which is demolished by the Spaniards.

The *Sieur de Vins* and the Countess *de Seaux* concluded to give the superiority of *Provence* to the Duke of *Savoy*; he goes to *Paris*, and is by the Parliament declared Head of the Politick and Military Government.

1590. Army, carrying with him some addition of Horse and Foot, which by Commission from *Spain* he had obtained from the Governour of *Milan*. At his arrival, the Kings party, inferiour in strength, going down the wind, (though *Les Diguieres* being come out of *Dauphine* into that Province, did labour marvellously with his wonted valour and celerity, which were singular) the affairs of the League grew up to such a height, that his Arms already gave the Law to the whole Country. Wherefore the Duke being come into the City of *Aix*, where the Parliament of *Provence* doth reside, and being received with those pomps and solemnities which are wont to be given to Sovereign Princes, (though he, imitating the Duke of *Mayenne*, refused to use the Cloth of State) he was in the Parliament declared Head of the War, and of the Civil Government in that Province, to preserve it in the Union of the Catholicks, and under the obedience and Royal State of the Crown of *France*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* writes resenting to the Parliament of *Aix*, and to the *Sieur de Vins*, who, repenting himself, begins to dis-favour the Duke of *Savoy*'s designs.

This business displeased the Duke of *Mayenne* no less than it did the King; thinking not only that the Duke of *Savoy* sought after and usurped that Authority which the general consent had conferred upon him, but also that he had an aim to dismember *Provence*, and with the help of *Nizza* and his other Towns, by little and little to make himself Master of it; where he wrote sharp resenting Letters, not only to the Parliament, but also to the *Sieur de Vins*, and to the Countess, shewing them the fault they committed in separating themselves from the rest of the Union, and in putting themselves in danger to alienate so great, and so important a portion of the Crown. These Letters wrought a very great effect in the *Sieur de Vins*, an old dependent upon the House of *Lorain*; and he began to shew himself more backward in complying with the designs, and forwarding the progress of the Duke of *Savoy*: By whose example the City of *Marseilles*, which (following the footsteps of the Parliament) had with a readiness in the people called the Duke before, began now to repent themselves, and to mutiny.

On the other side, the King (grieved to see Foreign Forces brought into that Province) had given order to *Les Diguieres*, that leaving the City of *Grenoble*, in *Dauphine*, besieged; as well as he might, he should march with the greatest number of men he possibly could, to meet Monsieur de *la Valette* in *Provence*: Whereupon, *Les Diguieres*, accustomed from his youth to fight with the difficulties and ambiguities of Fortune, having left the posts about *Grenoble* well guarded, to continue the siege already begun many months before, went with Four hundred Horse, and Two thousand Foot in relief of the Provincials, and kept the Duke of *Savoy* in trouble and disquiet, who half forsaken by the Catholicks of the *Provence*, and but slenderly supplied by the Spaniards, who were not too well pleased with his proceedings, went spinning out the time in petty encounters, having dispatched Monsieur de *Ligny* into *Spain*, to set his affairs in order with the Catholick King; and the *Sieur de la Croix* to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to excuse what was past, and to confer about the manner of carrying himself for the time to come.

His affairs were much more prosperous in the Territories of *Geneva*, where having to do with the Forces of those Citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of small fame and experience, Don *Amadeo* had often routed the Enemies in the field, beaten up their Quarters, taken many Castles, overrun and sacked the Country, and finally straightned the City on all sides; which with frequent and effectual importunities solicited for relief, sometimes from the King of *France*, sometimes from the Canton of *Bearne*.

On the contrary, the War in *Dauphine* went on prosperously for the King; for though the Duke of *Savoy*'s Counsellors and Commanders, united with those of the League which were in that Province, made great resistance; yet were they not so strong as Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who after he had stopp'd the precipice of affairs in *Provence*, being returned to the siege of *Grenoble*, straightned that City in such manner, that after having suffered many months, the besieged about the end of the year, agreed to surrender, upon condition not to be molested in their Consciences, Goods, or Liberties; that the City should be preserved in the Catholick Religion, and in the State it then was; and on the other side, that they should acknowledge King *Henry* the Fourth for their lawful Prince, by whose appointment they should receive a Garison, and a Governour.

At this time the King freed from the Spanish Army, and from the late fear of the Duke of *Parma*, was come (in his return) to *St. Quentin*, where watching with his wonted

Grenoble in *Dauphine* after a long siege, returns to the Kings obedience.

wonted diligence for all opportunities, he took a resolution suddenly to assault *Corby*, a Town seated upon the River *Somme*, and convenient to bridle the City of *Amiens*, the Head of that Province, which held of the party of the League. With this design he removed his Camp from the Walls of *St. Quentin* in the dusk of the evening; but in his march finding all the Country up, and that the Villages furiously rung their *Toque-saints*, he could not get to the Walls of *Corby*, till within an hour before day. There the hope of effecting his intent appeared no less uncertain; for they found the whole Town in arms, and the defendents with Torches and Fires, ready to sustain the assault, whereof they had been advertised by the cries and tumult of the Country people: And yet Monsieur *d'Humiers* coming up with the Regiments of *St. Denis* and *Parabiere* about break of day, caused a Petard to be fastned to the Iron Gate of a Channel that came out of the Town on the lower side, which falling suddenly by the violence of the fire, the Foot advanced, some to the Channel which was frozen, some with Scaling-Ladders to the Wall adjoining, to give the assault; which though it were constantly received by the defendents, who ran together boldly to hinder their entry at their Iron Gate, and to make good the Walls; yet the *Sieur de Belle-Fourriere*, Governour of the Town, being slain in the first encounter, and many of the stoutest Souldiers falling, after a most bloody fight of three hours, the Town remained in the Kings power, who after his late misfortunes, thought he had concluded the year very prosperously.

1591.

The King assaults *Corby*, and takes it.

From *Corby* he marched to *Senlis*, seated just upon the way which leads from *Picardy* towards *Paris*; and there in the beginning of the year, he began to dispose his counsels, to set his affairs in order, and find means to dissolve and subdue the League. But he was no less troubled which way to keep his Catholicks, than he was to draw together sufficient Forces to overcome the Enemy; for having promised from the Autumn of the year Eighty-nine, that in *March* following he would call an Assembly, to the end, he might be instructed in the Catholick Faith with that honour that befitted his person, and not having been able to perform his promise, because the chief actions of the War hapned in that time, the battel of *Tury*, and after that the siege of *Paris*, and the coming of the Spanish Army (to his loss) now, That by their departure, and by the diminution of the Enemy, he seemed to be in a quiet condition, he was called upon by the tacite consent of discreet persons, to observe his promise; and those that had not so much respect, or that were affectionate to Religion, murmured publicly, and complained as if they were deluded and deceived. But more openly the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, which with much ado had been drawn to the Kings obedience by the *Marschal de Maignon's* diligent care, and arts of governing, now seeing his Conversion was deferred, began to resent it, and at this time had sent their first President and two Counsellors to beseech his Majesty to take a final resolution; the Catholicks not being able to quiet their Consciences, unless they saw him reduced to the true Religion, held for so many Ages by all the most Christian Kings his glorious Predecessors. Which Commission having been fully and effectually performed by the Deputies, though the King seemed to take their Petition in good part, and answered it favourably, yet inwardly being troubled, and stung to the quick, he saw not what course he might take as a middle way which might give satisfaction to both parties. He saw the foundation of his affairs was settled in great part upon the Hugonots; for his command was no where more full, than in the places under their obedience; and the Catholick Provinces divided between themselves, were shared between the two Factions, so that neither declared absolutely for him: He argued within himself from the example of things past, how much mischief for the most part comes by forsaking old friendships and confederacies, to give ones self up wholly to the will and discretion of new ones: He considered, that not having changed his Religion at that time when being more strong and victorious he might have done it with his reputation; now that he was declined in strength, it might seem he did it timorously by force; the need he had at that very present of the assistance of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and of the Queen of *England*, represented it self unto him, so that he was necessitated to think of not making them distrustful of them. But on the other side, he knew moreover that if he lost the Catholicks, he should no longer have strength to resist; and that, except the Name of *King of France*, he should return unto the same condition wherein he found himself so straightned, before he went from *Rochebell*. In this uncertainty of mind, he knew but two remedies; one, to give full satisfaction to the Great Ones

1591.

The Catholicks make great complaints for the Kings persevering in Calvinism.

1591.
Remedies
used by the
King to con-
serve the affe-
ctions of those
of his party,
and keep them
in obedience.

The King re-
calls the Duke
of *Espernon* to
the Army, and
other Catho-
lick Lords, to
reconcile them
unto him.

of his Army, to the end that they not stirring, all the rest might stay likewise; the other, to keep his men in perpetual exercise, that idleness and rest might not suggest those thoughts unto them. For this cause, knowing how great authority the Duke of *Nevers* had in the Catholick party, and how conspicuous his actions were, as a Prince that had always given testimony of Conscience and Religion, he conferred upon him the Government of *Champagne*, a great and principal Province, and which he had long before desired: And to the Baron *de Byron*, for the eminent reputation of his Father, and for his own merit and valour, besides the Office of Field-Marschal, he promised the dignity of High-Admiral; and using terms of infinite kindness to all the rest, shewed himself gracious and liberal, always disposing places and honours to those Catholick Lords, who for birth, desert, or ancient devotion towards the Church, were proper to keep those loyal who were like to fall away because of the delay of his promises. And that he might not give way to idleness, and to those thoughts that take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Espernon* to his Army, not only with a desire to reconcile him unto himself, but also to make use of him, and likewise of the Duke of *Nevers*, (who at that time besieged *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de St. Paul* his Brother, and many other Catholick Lords; intending when he had drawn them together, to set himself upon some enterprise, which with the advancement of his own affairs, might keep every one of them honourably imployed.

After this resolution, succeeded that of gathering Forces, that he might be able not only to oppose the progress of the Spaniards in *Bretagne*, and the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy* in *Provence*; but also so to re-inforce his Army, that if the Duke of *Parma* should return and join with the Duke of *Lorain*, he might be equal to resist them in the Field. Nor being to address himself for supplies of money, and to obtain a numerous levy of men to any others, than the Queen of *England*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; since he saw both she and they were slack and cold alike, he determined to send a person of eminent virtue, quality, and authority unto them, who conferring with every Prince in particular, and afterwards casting up the whole, and treating with all in general, might be able to procure that fruit which the urgent necessity of his affairs required. First he thought upon the Marschal *de Byron*, a man of renowned fame and prudence, equal to so great an exigent; but then judging him much more necessary for the conduct of his Army, because the Order, Discipline, and Foundation of all enterprises rested chiefly upon him, he resolved to send *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount *de Turenne*, a man not only by ancient Conversation, and by having run the same fortune with him, long known to be most faithful; but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence sufficient to manage a business of so great importance, and moreover for Valour and Military Discipline fit to lead and conduct those Supplies that should be granted; and so much the rather, because he being a Hugonot, would be so much the more acceptable, and proper to negotiate with Princes of the same Religion; since Monsieur *de Beauvis*, who till the death of the late King had been Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*, being a Catholick, was not very well received; and the Count *de Schomberg*, who had already been a long time in *Germany*, was likewise in respect of his Religion grown suspected to the Duke of *Saxony*, and to Prince *Casimir*, the Guardian of his young Nephew the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; but much more to the Marquiss of *Brandenburgh*, who was jealous that he, under colour of negotiating the Kings affairs, endeavoured to discover their intents, and found their designs, to make them known unto the party of the League.

The Viscount went presently into *England*, where things were not so well disposed in favour of the King, but that the Queen thought to make her advantage of his present exigency, and upon occasion of the necessity he was in, to induce him to restore *Calais* unto her, or else to give some other Fortrefs of no less importance into her hands; a thing not only desired by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impatiently longed for by all the people of *England*. But because the business was to be cunningly treated of, nor did the Queen want prudence or dexterity to manage it, she first made known that the Merchants of her Kingdom demanded to have a secure Port upon the Coasts of *France*, where their ships might put in and secure their persons and goods when they had occasion. Then she urged the reasons she had to desire it from a King that was her Friend and Confederate, and whom she always called by the name of Brother, since she had made the same demands to King *Charles*, and to King *Henry*, his last Predecessors,

Predecessors, by reason of the Duke of *Guise's* unjust Usurpation of the Town of *Ca-lais*, due unto her Crown by the possession of so many Ages. But because the Viscount with no less industry, did not openly deny to satisfy her, but avoided and deferred it with several excuses. sometimes alledging the hatred that would thereby result unto the King, not yet established, if he should think to alienate any place: That the revolt of the Catholics, (who were already more than moderately offended and disgusted) would follow upon it: sometimes telling the Queen her self, that she ought not to make that demand at that present, lest she should shew a desire to put the King upon a necessity of consenting unto it, and in the urgency of his occasions put (as they say) the noose about his neck, she seemed to desist, and reserving the pressing of that point till the time that the promises were to be fulfilled, which would be a more proper and a more urging conjuncture. In the mean time, the Viscount obtained that she should lend the King One hundred thousand Crowns for the Levies that were to be made: That she should send the Six thousand Foot we spoke of, into *Bretagne*, for relief of the Prince of *Dombes*: That along with * him, she should send *Horatio Pallavicino* (a *Genovise*, who for Religion was fled into that Island) to persuade the States of *Holland*, and the Princes of *Germany* to assist the King with men and money on their part: and she promised likewise, that if the Duke of *Parma* moved again to return into *France*, she would powerfully assist *Grave Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the *Hollanders*, to make a strong diversion, by entering into *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

* The Viscount. The Viscount of Turenne obtains assistance from Queen Elizabeth, the *Hollanders*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*.

With this Agreement the Viscount being gone out of *England*, and come to the *Hague*, obtained from the States of *Holland*, not that which he pretended, which was Thirty thousand Crowns ready money, but Three thousand Foot paid, which were to unite themselves with those Forces that were to be raised in *Germany*; though afterwards, by reason of the urgency of their affairs, that promise also remained without effect. With the Princes of *Germany* there was much more to do, because there were many of them, and their interests different: but the Viscount carried himself with so much dexterity, being opportunely assisted by *Pallavicino*, that in the end, of some he obtained men, of some money, and took order for the levying of Four thousand Horse and Eight thousand Foot, which with a convenient Train of Artillery and Ammunition, should be ready at the beginning of the Summer to march with him under the command of *Christian Prince* of *Anhalt*, for the assistance of the King of *France*.

The thoughts that troubled the Duke of *Mayenne*, were not very different from those that perplexed the King: for there being many Princes of his Family who pretended no less than he, he could not find means to satisfy them all; and to the other Lords and Commanders of that party, who continually demanded money to maintain the Souldiery, it was impossible to give a full satisfaction: whereupon many being displeased, and many falling off, he feared a division, and that some would resolve to go over to the Kings party; which was much to be doubted: for on the one side, the people thought themselves extraordinarily burthened, and were no longer able to bear the losses and incommodities of the War: on the other side, the Souldiers were not contented with any kind of licentiousness; nor did they ever cease crying out for liberty, pay, rewards and satisfactions: but amongst them all, the Parisians, as they were chief of the party, so were they chief in their complaints, not only because they saw not that progress which from the beginning they had fancied to themselves; but because the contributions and charges increased without end, they accused the Duke of want of conduct, or of too greedy a desire to engross all to himself, or of extream profuseness and prodigality of other mens moneys: nor did they consider what a huge gulf a Civil War is, and how many interested particulars were to be provided for in all parts of the Kingdom. To this were added the practices of the Spanish Ministers, who, not to suffer the authority of the Duke of *Mayenne* (whom they thought little inclined to follow their designs) to grow too excessive, and to put the Catholick King in greater reputation and favour with the people, magnifying the expences, supplies and provisions which had been afforded them, cried out against the ill management of the Duke, who for want of well employing them, had reaped so little advantage.

The party of the League take a disgust against the Duke of *Mayenne*, which is fomented by the Spaniards.

There were some discontents between him and the Duke of *Lorain*: for he having taken *Villa Franca*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, because it was a place belonging to the Crown, pretended to nominate the Governour, and to place the Garison: and the Duke of *Lorain* having taken it at his own charge, and with the industry and blood of his men, contended that he ought to be the disposer and master of it; and being incensed

The Lords of the House of *Lorain* begin to be displeased, and to grow jealous of one another

that

1590. lick Kings command in raising the siege of *Paris*, and opening the passages that were convenient for victuals, he ought not to stay longer in so contrary a season, and so unfit for action, but return to take order for his own affairs, which to relieve his Friends, had been left in danger and confusion.

The death of
Sixtus Quintus

The Duke of
Parma, though
earnestly in-
treated to stay
in France, pre-
pares never-
theless for his
departure.

This resolution did much trouble those of the League; who having conceived hope that the Spanish Army should not forsake them till the enterprise were fully perfected, and that the Duke of *Parma* with his Men, and the Catholick Kings money, should totally assist their party, did now see all those designs fall in one instant, and their party remain destitute of those necessary supplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of *Mayenne* in person, and the Deputies of *Paris*, and *Monsignor Sega*, Bishop of *Piacenza*, (whom the Cardinal-Legat, departing suddenly by reason of the Popes death, had substituted Vice-Legat) urged the Duke of *Parma* with earnest reiterated intreaties and considerations, to change that resolution: And when they saw words prevailed not, and that the Duke was still setting his Army in order to depart, the Duke of *Mayenne*, by the means of *Monsieur de Villeroi*, began a new Treaty of Accommodation with the King, to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, and make them believe, that if their Forces were once gone, the Peace would immediately be concluded, and by consequence, that all the expences and pains they had already undergone would be utterly lost: But neither did this move the Duke of *Parma* from his determination, knowing the Duke of *Mayenne* would not easily bring his mind to lay aside his present hopes, and to submit himself to the power of his Enemies; and that though he should do so, the business consisted not in him alone, but it was necessary that so many others, who were far off, divided, and drawn by different interests, must consent unto it: That before they could conclude any thing, he might have leisure to return, and undo whatsoever should be agreed upon in the mean time. But lest the affairs of the League should grow desperate, he promised them, as soon as he came to *Brussels*, to pay down two hundred and thirty thousand Ducats, for the payment of the Foreign Forces, and to leave a convenient number of Horse and Foot under the Duke of *Mayenne's* command, to uphold and continue the War. But that sum of money seemed very small to those who had fancied to themselves that all the Treasures of the *Indies* should be poured down upon them: and the men he left were indeed sufficient to maintain the War, but not to make an end of it: Whereupon every one (but especially the Parisians, who had suffered so much before the coming, and had conceived so great hopes after the arrival of the Spanish Army) was reduced into wonderful great perplexity of mind, which was increased by the departure of Cardinal *Gautam*, and because they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urban* the Seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who succeeded him in the Apostolick Chair.

Urban the VII.
created Pope
after Sixtus V.
he lives but
twelve days,
and is succeed-
ed by *Gregory*
XIV. a Mila-
nese.

The ordering
of the Spanish
Army in their
return into
Flanders.

But the Duke, firm in his resolution, after twenty days time which he had given the Army to refresh it self, marched towards *Champagne*, to hold the Enemy in doubt which way he would bend his course; and by that means to keep his passage free from Ambushadoes. He divided his Army into four parts; the Vanguard led by the Marquis of *Ranty*; the first Battalion by the Sieur de *la Moite*, the second Battalion he commanded himself, and the Rearguard was led by *George Bassi*. All the several Divisions marched always drawn up in Battalia; and with their Carriages of Baggage on each side, which shut them up, and enclosed them like a Trench, and were so near, that they might help one another mutually in a short time. Provisions of Victual were made; and marching throug fertile plentiful Countries, they were not necessitated to enlarge themselves; except the Light-horse, who scoured the Neighbouring Ways, to discover the Country: neither did they go far off; for the Army being always ready, and disposed to fight, feared not to be catch'd, and assaulted unaware.

The Baron de
Guiry recovers
Corbeil and
Lagny, which
had been ta-
ken by the
Duke of *Parma*

But he was scarcely gone, drawing toward *Chastain-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron de *Guiry*, who was at *Melan*, assaulted and took *Corbeil*, which the Parisians had negligently and weakly Garison'd, and with the same fortune returned, and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of *Parma's* advice, had not been slighted: at which the Parisians, much moved and troubled, were exceeding earnest with the Vice-Legat *Sega* to procure the stay of the Spanish Army, until such time as those places, necessary for the bringing in of provisions, were recovered. The Vice-Legat dispatched the Promotary *Caraccioli* to the Duke, to present unto him the earnest desires and the necessity of the City of *Paris*; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the Army, laboured with

with all possible efficacy, to perswade him to stay : But the Duke of *Parma* excusing himself, That his Army was much diminished by sickness, That the season was so contrary, nothing could be done, and that the Low-Countries solicited his presence, continued on his march, having some hope to obtain *Chasteau-Thierry* by a Treaty, which he held with Viscount *Pinars* Governor of that Town.

But the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, accompanied by the Baron *de Byron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a select number of men, followed the track of the Spanish Army, to hinder it from getting those places that held of his party, and to watch some opportunity of doing it some mischief : and having had some suspicion of the Treaty, he caused the Sieur *de la Noue*, with three hundred Horses, and six hundred Foot, to enter into *Chasteau-Thierry* ; by which means, the Duke of *Parma*, deprived of that hope, bending on the left hand, took the straight way to return into *Flanders*. The King followed, and marching speedily, was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered besides him, sometimes pressed him in the Rere ; and by giving frequent Alarms, and bold skirmishes, did both day and night molest and surround the Army. The Duke of *Parma* proceeded with no less order and circumspection ; and keeping all parts of his Army under the same discipline, was quick and ready to turn which way soever the enemy should press or shew himself. But having marched on this manner from the thirteenth to the five and twentieth of *November*, the King, desirous to see the effect of so much diligence, and of so many labours, having drawn the Cavalry into five Bodies, advanced upon the samer way by which the Army of the League was to pass, making shew that he would charge them as they marched. The Carabines, who were ready for all assaults, received the skirmish very fiercely ; and coming forth of the Barricadoes of their Carriages, wheeling, giving fire, and falling in again, did no small harm to the King's Cavalry : wherefore the Baron *de Biron*, thinking to rout them, and ease himself of that trouble, charged up more boldly then considerably, with Fourscore Cuirassiers, hoping to chase them back and disorder them : but the Carabines giving way, according to their custom, to retire behind the Squadrons of the Army, the Baron advanced so far in pursuit of them, and was so deeply engaged between two Squadrons of Lances of the Vanguard, that his Horse being killed under him, he was in manifest danger to be taken prisoner ; which being perceived by Count *de Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a body of Cuirassiers, and by the Sieur *d'Humieres*, who was on the left hand with Ninety Horse, they advanced no less courageously than he, to disengage him : but being charged by the whole Cavalry of the Vanguard, and the other Battalions coming one after another, who knowing, by the rattling of the shot, that the skirmish was begun, had hastened their march, they were fain (leaving the field) to retire, fleeing full speed, with evident hazard of being all cut off, if the King himself, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with the other two Squadrons, had not advanced to make the retreat ; wherein having disengaged *Biron*, and with much ado set him again on horseback, who at the foot of a Bank, with two companions, had defended himself a great while against the Enemy : they were followed by them as far as a Village called *Longueval*, where night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King convenient opportunity to retire. He quartered with all his Forces at *Pont-Arffy*, where they stood all night in Arms ; nor did the enemy rest more quietly : for the Kings celerity and courage kept all their Quarters in great jealousy ; and so much the rather, because the rout of the two squadrons had been with more terror and danger than loss, there being not above five men slain, and only twenty wounded. The next day the D. of *Nevers* joyned with the King with the Forces of *Champagne*, and likewise the Sieurs *de Ginry* and *Parabiere* ; who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a Garrison into it, were come with all diligence to find him again ; by which means being increased in strength, he began with more boldness than before to molest the Duke's Army ; who, intent upon his journey, not stirring, for any cause whatsoever, out of his ranks, nor out of the shelter of his Carriages, marched on commodiously before.

But upon the nine and twentieth day, the Army coming towards *Guise*, and the King being resolved to attempt something, with all his Cavalry fell upon their Rere-guard, which having made a halt, and put their Army in a readiness to fight, the Carabines failed not with their wonted courage to begin the Skirmish ; but the King's Cavalry, which being for that purpose divided into little squadrons, and had order to charge home, and not give them time to do hurt with their shot, inclosed them in such manner, that they all had been cut off in the place, if *Georgio Basti*, with one thousand

The Spanish Army marching towards *Flanders*, and the Kings Army following, they skirmish many dayes ; but upon the 25 of *November*, the King, making shew that he would fight, the Baron *de Biron* engageth himself so far, that being relieved by his Friends, he had much ado to escape with help of night.

1591.

The Chevalier d'Anmale goes to surprise St. Denis, and without resistance enters with all his men; but the Governor with only thirty Horse charges, and routs the enemy; the Chevalier d'Anmale being run through the throat and left dead.

It was observed, that the Chevalier d'Anmale fell dead before an Inn whose sign was a Sword embroidered with Golden Flower-de-luces, and that his body being set in the Church, was gnawn by Moles; The French says, Rats.

President Brisson, one of the principal adherents to the League, having changed his mind, plots insurrections in favor of the King.

diligence; where having found the Ice in every place very firm, and particularly in the Moat, he caused four Ladders to be set up against the Wall with so great silence, that they were not discovered by the Guards, in that part very thinly set. There went up two Captains with four and twenty Souldiers fully armed, and having found no obstacle, made themselves Masters of the Gate adjoining, which being broken open, the Chevalier d'Anmale himself entred on foot before them all, with his Sword drawn, and after him the rest of his men marching up in order to possess themselves of the place. The Governour having heard the noise, and being informed that the Enemy had already taken the Gate, and were gotten upon the Wall; grown desperate to see that by the negligence of his Souldiers, he should lose all the honour he had gotten in so many years of his life spent fortunately in War, getting on horseback with only thirty of his men that followed him, and being resolved to die, and not to survive his own ruine, he caused two Trumpets he had with him to sound furiously, to make the Enemy believe the number of those that charged was greater, and, with his Beaver down, rushed boldly upon the Front of the Squadron, that was marching in order up the high street toward the Market-place. The fury of the horses in the uncertainty of a very dark night, (the Commanders not having been willing to fire the houses, lest they should totally destroy the Town) put the foot in disorder; in which tumult, while the Chevalier d'Anmale turning about, and reproving his men, endeavoured to make them stand, and to set them again in order, being wounded with a thrust in the throat, fell suddenly dead upon the ground; and his men having no longer either strength, courage, order or resolution, flying, fell foul upon the other Squadrons, and, disordering themselves from one to another, they got out at the same Gate, and without being pursued by any body, ran with all their might till they came to Paris, there remaining above a hundred of them, either slain by the defendents, or trampled under foot in the flight. The Sieur de Viq having recovered the Town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valour, gave the King an account of the success, and did not only win great commendations, but also obtained of him a rich Abby, which had been possessed by the Chevalier d'Anmale with the title of the *Cross of Jerusalem*. Those that were curious observed, that the Chevalier fell dead before the door of an Inn whose sign was the *Espée Royale*; and they esteemed it a much greater prodigy, that being laid upon the Bier in the Church of the Friars of St. Denis, his Carcass the night following was all gnawed and mangled by the Moles.

The example of this mischance did not withhold the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to surprise the City of Paris in the same manner. The first President Brisson, who so voluntarily (not to say precipitately) had made himself the head and Author in the Parliament of adhering to the League, perceiving now (as his Friends said) that the ends of the Great Ones were not so sincere toward the publick good, as he at first was perswaded they were; or (as his ill-willers said) corrupted by the great promises which were made him from the King, by certain persons who were prisoners in the City; or (as the general opinion was) drawn by the instability of his own nature, had secretly begun to favour the Politicks, (for so they called those that were affected to the King) who taking courage from his protection, did already make a considerable Body, and began to consult which way to make the City revolt, and submit it to the obedience of the King. The attempts and practices of these men were assisted by the careless nature of the *Prevost des Merchands*, who either did not believe, or did not heed the relations that were made to him; nor did he use any care or industry to interrupt those new designs, the report whereof was very common: But that which more favoured the Kings party, was the ill satisfaction of the people, not only tired with scarcity of Victual, and the hard duty they underwent continually in guarding the Walls, but also stomaching that the Marquis de Belin, a man of ordinary condition, and of an unactive nature, should be put upon them for a Governour, whereas they were wont to have formerly the first Princes of the Blood, and the most eminent Officers of the Crown. The Duke of Mayenne was absent, the Duke of Nemours far off and discontented, and the Chevalier d'Anmale lately dead, whose fierceness was wont to keep life in that party. All these things concurring, invited the King to make some attempt upon that City: And what perswaded him much rather, was a desire not to keep his Army idle, but to employ it in some enterprize, which for the greatness thereof, might keep it in some action full of expectation. Wherefore the Dukes of Nevers and Espinon, who were sent for before, being now arrived,

and

and moreover thinking some practices now ripe which he held with his dependents in the City, he meant to help strength with cunning on this manner: That Four-score Commanders and Reformadoes, disguised in the habit of Country-fellows, with as many horses laden with meal, should go to the *Porte St. Honoré* to be let in after midnight, (because, in respect of the frequent parties that scoured the ways, provisions were commonly brought and received by night) and that these secretly armed, should at their entrance strive to possess themselves of the Gate, being assisted by an hundred men armed *Cap-a-pe* that followed them, in which tumult he had privately given order that those of his party should make some commotion within, but on the opposite side to the Gate that was assaulted, and should endeavour to seize upon *St. Jacques*, or *St. Merceau*; and that at the same time the Army on the side of *St. Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and *St. Denis*, should come up close to scale the Walls: with which assaults, which were all to happen at one instant, he firmly hoped either to enter by force, or to be willingly received into the City; his adherents not ceasing to use many practices to raise the people in several places. These things were resolved on for the twentieth day of *January*; the night whereof, though it had not been rainy, must nevertheless needs have been dark, the Moon setting towards midnight. But the Duke of *Espernon's* passing by *Beaumont*, and his being joined with the Kings Army, and the Duke of *Nevers* having done the same, leaving the siege he had laid to *Provins* without any apparent reason; the Baron *de Guiry's* having passed the River at *Lagny*, to unite himself with the rest, and the seeing the King lie still in a place so near them, had put a jealousy into the Princesses who resided in *Paris*: whereupon they did effectually exhort the Marquiss *de Belin* to take care of the City, some sign being already discovered of the first Presidents inclinations, and of the machinations of many others, who went about stirring up the common people. The Marquiss, excited by the earnest perswasion of those Ladies, began to apply his mind to the things that were told him; and falling into the same suspicion, upon the eighteenth day he published a most severe Proclamation, That any commotions or tumult happening in the City, every one, at the ringing of the Palace-Bell, and the others of every Parish, should take Arms, and come forth of their houses into the street, but that no man should stir out of that Quarter wherein he ordinarily dwelt, upon pain of death without mercy: and he gave order to the Masters of the several * Quarters strictly to observe the motion of every one; from whence it came to pass that the *Politicks*, being fewer, were kept and watcht by the much greater number, and that being dispersed in their several Quarters, they could not meet together in a Body to molest or to make themselves Masters of any part of the City, all which also by this command were equally guarded: But the signs and suspicions still increasing, by the discovery of certain Souldiers belonging to *St. Denis*, who were taken by the *Sieur de Tremont* as they were scowring the Country, from whom they understood that there were Scaling-ladders and other instruments proper to assault places withal, providing in that Town. The Princesses anxious and solicitous, sent for the Governour unto them in the house of *Madam de Montpensier*, and desired him to make the *Porte St. Honoré* presently to be shut up and lined with earth, as being weaker, and more exposed to danger than the rest; which was diligently performed upon the nineteenth day; and the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* was put there to guard it, with his Regiment of *Lorrainers*. The Marquiss *de Menelay's* Regiment went to keep the Ports of *St. Denis* and *Montmartre*; and *Collalto's* Germans stayed to guard the *Fauxbourg*s beyond the River.

Upon the twentieth day in the afternoon, the King [not being advertised of the orders given in the City, because extraordinary care had been taken, that none should stir out of the Gates] took his way towards *Paris*. Monsieur *de Viq* Governour of *St. Denis*, led the four-score that were disguised in the habit of Country-men; and the other hundred were commanded by the *Sieur de Lavardin*. After these, followed the Baron *de Byron* with one thousand and two hundred Fire-locks, which were to march up to possess themselves of the gate; and behind them were four Squadrons of four hundred men apiece, who, armed breast and head, were to advance to the Wall on the side toward *Montmartre* and *St. Denis*, there to set the Scaling-ladders; and these were led by the *Sieurs de Guiry*, *de Dunes*, *d'Humiers*, and *de la Nove*: after these marched the *Swisses*, with three small pieces of Artillery, two Petards, to be made use of if occasion were, and all other instruments serviceable for this assault. The King himself was in the Rear-guard, with the Dukes of *Espernon* and *Longueville*, and eight hundred Gentlemen;

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1591.
Eighty Cap-
tains and
other Refor-
madoes dis-
guised, with as
many horse-
load of Corn
and Meal, re-
ceive order to
go up to the
Port *St. Honoré*
about mid-
night, and to
attempt to
surprise *Paris*.

The Marquiss
de Belin, Lieu-
tenant Gover-
nour of *Paris*,
advertised of
the Kings de-
sign, and of
some tokens
of President
Brissot's practi-
ces, makes a
severe Procla-
mation, and
orders and
disposes the
Militia and
the Citizens
for the de-
fence of the
City.
* Or, Ward.

who,

1591.

The order observed by the Kings Souldiers for the surprising of Paris.

The fourscore disguised Reformadoes are discovered by the Sieur de Tremblecourt.

who, being alighted from their Horses, and very well armed, had their Swords and Pistols, with which they were to fall on where need should require: and last of all, the Duke of *Nevers*, with the rest of the Cavalry, stood in Arms to maintain the field. As soon as the first were arrived with their loads of Corn and Meal, demanding to be let in, they spoke with *Tremblecourt*, who, being made wary by suspicion, talked a long while with them; and as soon as he knew them, he [to hold them in hand] gave order they should go down to the entry of the River, and that there they should be received by the boats that waited for that purpose; and presently, by ringing of a Bell, he gave the Alarm to the City, and the Souldiers in Arms went readily up to the Works. The fourscore retired a little back; and making shew that they would obey, and go down toward the River, gave the King intelligence of the noise that was in the City, [whereof he was already advertised by the found of the Bells] and desired to know what was to be done. *D'Humiers* and the Baron de *Byron* were of opinion that the Scaling-ladders should be set up, and a Petard fastened to the Gate: but all the other Commanders thought it was not a thing to be attempted, and that (the Plot not having succeeded) to use force was too full of danger, and altogether hopeless: wherefore, after they had made a stand for a while, to see if their party within did make any Commotion, and this thought not succeeding neither, they faced about; and leaving the Cavalry to make good their Retreat, returned in the same order to their former Quarters.

The Parisians, that they might not be left unprotected, receive a Tercia of Spaniards, and another of Neapolitans into the City.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, jealous of the Spanish designs, procures a Treaty so far, that for many days the Peace was certainly thought to be concluded.

This attempt wrought an effect very different from the Kings intention: for the Parisians unsatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, for that upon all occasions he left them with a weak Garison, exposed to these dangers, and seeing the King continually bent to do them mischief, they were contented [being perswaded by the Catholick Kings Ministers] to receive into the City the Spanish *Tercia* of *Idiaques*, and another of Neapolitans, which was *Pietro Gaetano's*, commanded by *Don Alessandro de Monti*; which did not only confirm and strengthen the Kings Enemies, and suppress his Friends and Adherents, but did also put the City in danger of remaining at last at the devotion of the Spaniards. Yet did there presently follow another consequent to the advantage of his affairs: for the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had consented to the resolution of the Parisians, not to lose them utterly, though it displeased him much, that, as not confiding in him, they should fall off to the protection of foreigners) being confirmed in his suspicion that the Spaniards had particular designs of their own, and that they sought to disturb his authority, and to make their profit of the instability of the Parisians, quickened the Treaty of Agreement, which, by the means of *Monsieur de Ville-roy*, had never been intermitted with the High Chancellor and the Marechal de *Byron*; and not having been able upon any terms to obtain a Truce and free Commerce between the two parties, he was contented the King should give so many Safe-conducts, that the Deputies might meet together from all the Provinces, to consult in common of the means to conclude a Peace, with the safety of Religion, and the acknowledgment of the King; which passed so far, that for many days the Peace was held to be absolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are unsettled, and the most important determinations are altered by petty accidents, the Duke of *Mayenne* in the mean time while the safe-conducts were dispatching, (in the grant whereof the King was for some days backward) having found the firmness of the Parliament in favour of him, and the weakness of the Garison that was received into *Paris*, not being in all both Spaniards and Neapolitans above One thousand and three hundred Foot; a number fitter to satisfy the people in appearance, than to bridle the City: Nor being yet able to wean himself from his conceived hopes, as soon as he had received the safe-conducts, he dispatched them with Letters added to all the Provinces, that they should meet together in the City of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, not to apply themselves to Peace (as had been agreed) but to make election of a new King; which as soon as it was known and divulged abroad, the King finding himself deceived, since now the talk was of assembling the Deputies to his prejudice, which he had permitted to meet together to treat of a re-union and peace between the two parties, having made grievous complaints thereof to *Villeroy*, he recalled his safe-conducts, and gave command, that all the Deputies that should fall into the hands of any of his party, should without delay be put to death; which nevertheless would not have hindered the Duke of *Mayenne* from calling the Assembly: But things not being yet ripe, nor disposed fully in the manner he desired; under pretence of that fear, the Convocation of the States was suffered to vanish insensibly of it self.

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The Dukes hopes were augmented by the Declaration of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who (as the resolutions of Popes, are almost ever hot and earnest at their first coming in) despising that flegmatick humour which *Sixtus* (not to foment with the colour of Religion the interests of those who were in greatest power) had in the latter end of his life expressed in the affairs of *France*, shewed himself wholly inclined to favour, and promote the progress of the League, accounting it necessary so to do, for the safety of Religion, and the reputation and greatness of the Apostolick See; and desirous that *Hercole Sfondrato* his Nephew, newly by him invested in the Title of Duke of *Montemarciano*, should with military actions and eminent command increase in reputation and riches, he decreed to send him with numerous Forces in assistance of the League; and had therefore given order that Horse and Foot should with all speed be raised in the Territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he found great contradiction in the Consistory of Cardinals) he resolved to take those moneys, which, having with extream diligence been gathered together by *Sixtus*, were kept in the Castle of *St. Angelo*; and to spend what should be requisite, as in the greatest and most urgent occasion the Church could have: And at the same time he appointed Legat to the Kingdom of *France*, *Monfignor Marsilio Landriano*, a Prelat of *Milan*, his Confident, and a man that was wont (as they say) stoutly to assert the liberty of the Church. Which things, after they were resolved on, and set in order, he sent several Messengers with speed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to the Bishop of *Piacenza*, (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-Legat in *France*) promising to them both plentiful supplies of men and money, that they might be able, not only rooting out heresie, to secure the Kingdom from imminent danger, but choosing a Catholick, peaceable King, and one obedient to the Church, to compose discords in peace, and restore tranquillity and repose to the people, already wearied out, and ruined with the calamities of War; and because the City of *Paris* had with infinite merit shewed it self by proof to be the true Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the constant Bulwark of Religion, he professed, That he would imploy his utmost endeavours to ease it of its grievances, and settle it again in its first splendor of riches and greatness.

These Letters did not only rejoyce the Vice-Legat, and confirm the courage of the Duke of *Mayenne*, (and so much the more, because with them the Pope sent an assignment of Fifteen thousand Crowns a month to be paid by the Merchants of *Paris* and *Lions*) but being published in Print to the whole party, did also fill every one with infinite expectation, seeing that the new Pope stood not like *Sixtus*, doubtful and unresolved what he should determine to do, but declaring himself resolutely, shewed he was an open Enemy to the King, and an effectual Protector of the Union, adding also deeds to words, while he was scarcely fought unto. That which increased the hopes of the Duke of *Mayenne*, no less than the Popes forwardness, was the cunning of the Duke of *Parma*; who (persisting in his design of drawing out the French Wars in length, to make advantage at last of their weariness and weakness, and therefore not willing that the Duke of *Mayenne*, remaining inferior in strength, should lose courage, and resolve to make an Agreement with the King) seemed not to like well of those things which *Mendoza* and *Don Diego d Ivarra*, who were in *Paris*, managed particularly without the Duke; and with frequent Messages assured him, that he was settling the affairs of *Flanders*, that he might be able with all speed to march with his Army into *France*; promising him, that he would dispose of things in such manner as they with a joint consent should resolve, without taking notice of the opinions of others, the Commissions being such which he had from the Catholick King: For confirmation of which things, to those men the Duke of *Mayenne* sent to him, he shewed preparations for the gathering of an Army, and the lists of Forty thousand fighting men to enter into *Picardy*; for the payment of which, and to supply the League plentifully with money, according to the desires of the French, he affirmed, a course was taken in the Court of *Spain*, and that he expected the assignment for it every hour. By which, the Duke of *Mayenne* being encouraged, and returned to his wonted hopes, had dispatched his Secretary *Baudoin* Sieur des Portes, to *Rome* the second time, with order to sollicite the Pope to hasten away the Duke of *Montemarciano*, who was to pass thorow the States of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the County of *Bourgogne* straight into *Lorain*, to oppose the Forces which were preparing for the King in *Germany* by the Viscount de *Tarrenne*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*; and to the same effect he dispatched an expresse Messenger into *Spain* to President *Jeannin*; who was already gone

1591.
Pope Gregory the XIV. resolves to send men and money to assist the League.

Marsilio Landriano, a Milanese, is chosen Legat to the Kingdom of *France* by *Gregory* the XIV.

Gregory the XIV. assigns 15000 Crowns by the month for the service of the League.

1591. to that Court, to the end that he might obtain from the Catholick King, that the Forces which that year were to pass from *Milan* into *Flanders*, should join in *Lorain* with those of the Pope for the same purpose, hoping assuredly, that the Germans finding a brisk opposition at the Confines, so that they might not be able to advance and unite themselves with the King, and the Duke of *Parma* with the Forces of *Flanders* entering into *Picardy*, the League would quickly and very easily remain victorious. In the mean time he had invited the Duke of *Lorain*, and the other Lords of his Family, to meet at *Rheims*, to the end, that with their general liking and consent, things might be disposed to their due ends, and that the difficulties might be removed which hindered the interests of their House from being brought to perfection.

These things were contrived at that time by the Duke, and negotiated with great diligence in all places by men of prudence and experience: But the King, whilst opportunity and the weakness of his Enemies invited him, not to lose time without advantage, firm in his design to streighten still the City of *Paris*, in the fall of which he thought the principal strength of his adversaries must fall too, resolved to lay siege to *Chartres*, from the Territories whereof *Paris* is wont to receive the greatest part of its ordinary provisions; and because the City being great, populous, and very well fortified, represented at first view the difficulty of the enterprise, he determined to prevent those Supplies which for the well-furnishing of a place of so great importance might be sent by the Parisians and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who with those Forces he had left, lay still at *Soissons*, to be ready to turn which way soever need should require. Wherefore having sent the Marechal de *Byron* toward *Diepe*, to receive and conduct the Ammunition and other necessities come out of *England*, he taking a contrary way, went with the Duke of *Nevers* once more to besiege *Provins*, a place of small moment, and for the defence whereof, they of the League were resolved not to run any hazard; but after that the Marechal de *Byron*, having received the provisions which were at *Diepe*, began to return back, the King gave him order, that making as if he would assault the City of *Dreux*, he should on the sudden clap aside before *Chartres*, and surround it in such manner, that the relief which should be dispatched thither, might have no opportunity of entrance. *Byron* having passed the *Seine* at *Vernon* with his men and his Artillery, pointing sometime this way, and sometimes that way, did at once give his Souldiers conveniency to refresh themselves, and hold the Enemy in doubt to what place he would bend at last; making shew sometimes that he also would go to join with the rest of the Army at *Provins*; sometimes, as if he would put himself in order to besiege *Dreux*; now he placed himself upon the great high Road to *Paris*, and then at last having marched twelve leagues without resting, he came upon the sixteenth of *February* under the Walls of *Chartres*.

The description of the situation of *Chartres*, before which the Marechal de *Byron* lays siege

The City of *Chartres* is seated in an uneven place, varied with fertile rising hills, so that the East-side stands upon the top of an hill, and the West spreads it self in the bottom of the Plain, thorow the midst whereof runs the River *Eure*, which, as soon as it comes to the Walls of the City on the South-side, divides it self into three branches; one of which entering into the Town, drives a great many Mills; the second passing under the Walls, falls into the Moat, and runs along thorow it; and the third taking a compass about a hundred paces from the Wall, invirons the circuit of the Suburbs, till being all come to the limits of the City turning towards the North, they meet again, and run together toward *Normandy*. The East-side, which stands upon the hills, (by reason of the difficulty of bringing Cannon thither, and because it looked toward those places from whence there was no expectation of any relief) was not besieged by the Army: but the other side, which distends it self along the Plain, and looks towards *Paris*, was all blocked up at the same instant: for the Sieur de *Vivans*, with his Harquebusiers on Horseback, quartered on the North-side in the Bourg des *Espars*; Monsieur de *Sourdis*, with the French Infantry, lay over against the Porte de *Dreux*; and the Marechal de *Byron*, with the remainder of the Cavalry and the Swisses, encamped himself on the South-side, over against the Gate and Bastion of *St. Michel*.

The Governour of the City was Monsieur de *la Bourdaisiere*, a careful diligent Cavalier. The Foot of the Garison was commanded by Captain *Peffray*, a very famous Souldier; but the rest of the provisions were not correspondent to the valour of the Commander: for there were but few Foot in the Town, and much fewer Horse; and the Supplies that were lately come into it, were so weak, that they had made but a small

small addition : for the *Sieur de la Croix*, who departing from *Orleans*, was suddenly come with sixty *Cuirassiers*, and two hundred *Harquebusiers* on horseback to enter into the City, inconsiderately fell for haste into the Army, which was drawing near the Walls, and being routed and put to flight, hardly got in with eighty of his men : on the other side *Monfieur de Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into *Normandy*, returned speedily that way, but brought not with him above forty Gentlemen, and an hundred *Souldiers* : and *Monfieur de Vitry*, who doubting the Enemy would go to *Dreux*, had shut himself up in that Town, had not had means nor time to get thither ; so that the number of the Garifon was much inferiour to what need required. To this defect was added the want of Ammunition : for though when at first the Governour visited those stores, there were found three hundred Barrels of Powder, yet the cozenage of the Officers had so diminished it, (at a time when it was exceeding dear in all places) that the first day of the siege (to *la Bourdaifere's* great grief of heart) there were not left above eighty ; and there likewise appeared a great want of those other things that are necessary for defence. These important wants were in part supplied by the forwardness of the Citizens, who with a free courage exposed themselves to all services ; and the same did a great many Country-people, who were got into the City, and laboured with the spade to make up the Works. For the first days, the *Mareschal* thought it sufficient to shut up the *Avenues* to the City, to exclude all relief, till the King should come to the Camp with the rest of the Army ; and therefore he advanced at the first dash, to quarter in the Suburbs. The Governour endeavoured to deprive him of that convenience, (very necessary in respect of the season) and set fire on the houses to burn them down ; but the remedy was so late, by reason of the Enemies sudden coming, that they had means to quench the fire before it could destroy many of the buildings ; and so the Assailants had free possession of the Suburbs, in which, after that the *Mareschal de Byron* was commodiously quartered, the King arrived upon the nineteenth day : yet did they not presently begin to raise Batteries, as well because the Commanders were not well agreed among themselves on which side they should assault it, as also because the want of Ammunition was perchance no less in the Army, than that of the Defendents within the Town ; the provisions that came from *England* being far short of the Kings demands, and of the promises made to the *Viscount de Turenne* : But the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Governour of the Province, who was exceeding rich, and had very great authority in the Country, having at his own expence sent for many necessary things from the Towns and Castles thereabouts, it was resolved to batter on the side toward the *Fauxbourg des Espars*, as a place less fortified than the rest, there being no other defence but great Towers of the old fashion, and a Wall not very strong, nor formerly fully lined with earth ; but the Defendents having foreseen where they were like to be assaulted by the besiegers, though they had no Engineers skilful in Fortifications, yet they did draw a Line, as well as they could, on the inside behind the Wall, flanking it with Ravelins, and raising it exceeding high with earth, in such sort, that the Artillery having battered down a good part of the Wall, their Works behind it appeared so strong, that the King, not willing to expose his men to manifest danger, but knowing the small number of the besieged, and meaning to tire them out with hard duty and working, resolved to remove his Battery to another place, thereby to render their past labours vain and useless : so in the beginning of *March* two Batteries were raised over against the *Porte de Dreux*, and they began to play on that side with eleven Pieces of Cannon. The Defendents presently turned to make Works there, and with so much the greater heart, because that part was already flanked with two convenient Ravelines, which had been made ever since the year 1569, when the Prince of *Conde* besieged that place ; and adding new Fortifications to the first, they reduced it to such a pass, that redoubled assaults were given in vain, and with the loss of many men. All the month of *March* they laboured in that place, without being able to do any good, battering without, working within, and skirmishing almost every day at the points of the Ravelines, and at the entry of the Courtine : but upon the fifth of *April*, the King, with the same intention of frustrating the pains of the Defendents, removing his Battery yet again from thence, with eleven Redoubts, went something lower towards the *Porte St. Michel*. The business was undertaken on that side by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, who doubting lest the darkness of the night might make him mistake the place where he had resolved to open his trench, found this way, which was, to make a Tryce for two hours

1591.

The *Sieur de Chastillon's* stratagem to cast up his Trench by night without error.

1591. hours-with those of the Town, under pretence of fetching off the dead ; and that being concluded, he himself was busie in making the bodies be pulled out of the Moat, and for quicker dispatch, to be brought along the Line, to the place where the Battery was prepared ; which not only gave him a wonderful great conveniency to discover and measure the situation, but also he feigned that one of the dead bodies could not be fetched off time enough, and caused it to be left for a mark upon the edge of the Moat, in that very place where he had designed by night to entrench himself. So the effect followed proportionably without error : for the Battery being raised, and his Trench cast up in the appointed place, he began to batter with twelve Pieces of Cannon, and at the same time took care for the building of a Gallery covered with timber, that he might securely pass the Moat, and come to the foot of the Wall. The endeavours used on that side were thought to be very hopeful : for the Defendents, already tired, had not had time to cast up many Works there : But the Batteries went on slowly, and with intermission ; for there wanted Ammunition in the Camp ; so great a defect, and so hard to be remedied, that the King was oftentimes minded to give over the enterprize, if the Duke of *Nevers*, and much more the High Chancellor, had not stayed him with earnest intreaties and perswasions, and if some that ran over to him from the City, had not reported the want of Powder to be much greater within than it was without ; which was so true, that it being all spent, there was hardly the quantity of two Barrels left, and that brought in by particular men, to be delivered to the Souldiers. The besiegers had already finished their Gallery, which was a thing built like a bridge, covered with boards overspread with earth and turfs, and then on the top of all, other boards and pieces of wood were fastened to make it stand the more firmly : the sides were made of thick beams joined so near together, that they defended those that were in the hollow of the Bridge ; and the bottom was raised so high with planks, as might bear up the Assailants level with the breach. But the besieged having yet some Fire-works, and having also got together all the pitch which could be found in the several Shops, set fire on the Gallery, at the time when being ready to give the assault, many were already advanced into it ; in such manner, that the Engineer himself (who was called *la Garde*) and some others with him having lost their lives, Colonel *Parabere* was forced with his men to come out of the Gallery, and to go a good way without any shelter, to get before the appointed time unto the assault, which caused the death of many of his most valiant Souldiers ; and yet the fight being stoutly maintained on both sides, lasted four hours together, with much blood, there being slain two Colonels, eight Captains, and above two hundred Souldiers : and *Parabere* himself, and the *Sieur de Montet*, a valiant Gentleman of *Languedoc*, *Chastillon's* Adjutant, were very dangerously wounded. But the want of Powder was already become irreparable to those within ; wherefore Monsieur *de Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *de Tavannes* having attempted to put Men and Ammunition into the City, and not having been able to effect it by reason of the diligence of the Cavalry, which with continual care scoured all the ways ; and after it was known that the Duke of *Mayenne* being come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, not having strength enough to make opposition in the field, had set himself upon the enterprize of *Chateau-Thierry*, in a Country far remote, the besieged (being reduced to defend themselves with their Swords and Pikes, because they had not wherewithal to charge their Muskets and Cannon, and being decreased with toil, hard duty, and the loss of men slain in the late assaults) in the end, upon the Twelfth of *April* they agreed to surrender, if within three days they were not relieved with the number of, at least, Four hundred men, and some limited quantity of Ammunition ; which days being expired without received any assistance, at last upon the Nineteenth day, Monsieur *de la Bourdaisiere*, and the *Sieur de Grammont* (for Captain *Pefferay* was already slain in an assault) marching out in order with their Baggage, and Colours flying, gave up the place into the hands of the Baron *de Byron*, who entered into it with 800 Foot, and 200 Horse ; and the King put Monsieur *de Sourdis* in the Government, to gratifie the High Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as his Detractors said) his Wife depended.

For want of Ammunition, the Battery goes on so slowly at *Chartres*, that the King thinks to raise the siege.

The Defendents of *Chartres* not being relieved, surrender the Town.

At the same time, while the King was busied at the siege of *Chartres*, the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed from *Soissons* with all his Forces, and come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, stood doubtful a good while, whether he should venture the Army he had to relieve that place ; but those Forces that were sent for from many places not arriving time enough, and knowing himself so much weaker, that his advancing would have endangered

endangered the Army, without hope of giving any relief to the besieged, turned toward the way of *Champagne*, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of *Lorain*; and to keep up his reputation, fate down before *Chateau-Thierry*, a great place, well peopled, and pleasantly seated; but whereof no long defence was to be hoped for, either in regard of the Walls of the Town, or of the strength of the Castle. The Governor was the Viscount *de Combleff*, Son to Secretary *Pinart*, who, besides his Wife and Children, had also his Father and Mother, and a great many Women shut up with him in the Castle, who being all affrighted, made a great stir and confusion, though the defendants were sufficient to make it good for some dayes. To this was added, that the Father and the Son had brought into the Castle all their Plate, Money, and Householdstuff, which amounted to a great value, and were above measure solicitous, for fear if the place should be sacked, they might fall into the Enemies hands. On the other side, the Dukes Army had a desire, not only to pillage the Town, which was full of inhabitants, but much more to plunder the Castle, wherein, the report was, that there were inestimable riches; by which hopes the Soldiers being encouraged, and especially the strangers, at their first arrival they bravely possessed themselves of the Suburbs, frighting and confounding the heartless defendants with their resolution. As soon as the Suburbs were taken, the Cannons were planted without delay, which having beaten down a good piece of the Wall, the assault was given; and though it was happily sustained till the evening, yet it left the besieged without hopes of being longer able to defend the Town; wherefore presently quitting it, they retired the same night into the Castle. At that the tumult increased, and louder grew the cries of the Women, who with their Prayers and importunities, were the cause that *Pinart* sent a Trumpet for his old Colleague the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who was in the Duke of *Mayennes* Camp, to treat with him about some composition; and yet having conferred together for two long hours, they came not to any conclusion: Wherefore, no sooner was *Villeroy* gone out of the Castle, but instantly the Cannon began to play; the noise of which troubling not only the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himself, and also many others not accustomed to the trade of Arms, the *Sieur de Villeroy* was sent for again the next morning, who was met by *Madam de Pinart*, with the other Ladies that were of her company, kneeling upon the ground, and beseeching him with tears, to free them by a composition from falling into the power of the Soldiers, and especially of strangers. This sight moved even *Villeroy* himself, who returning to the Duke of *Mayenne*, laboured to persuade him, that it was much better to receive the Castle upon a Capitulation; and to get a good sum of money from it for the maintenance of the War, than to enrich strangers, and shed French blood to satisfy their greediness: To which, the Duke of *Mayenne* (averse from cruelty and plunder) easily consenting, though the Army grumbled very much at it, yet the agreement was concluded, the Castle compounding for Twenty thousand Crowns, great store of Victual which the Town was to provide, the place, with the Artillery and Ammunition remaining freely at the Dukes disposing. But *Pinart* thinking himself free from the calamities of the siege, fell presently into other troubles: For, being accused of treachery, and that not out of cowardise, but perfidiousness, he had delivered up that place without any necessity, he was therefore censured guilty by the Parliament of *Chalons*, and being absent, condemned as a Rebel; and afterward bought out the Kings pardon, and the confiscation of his Estate with Thirty thousand Ducats. The taking of *Chateau-Thierry*, though not equal to that of *Chartres*, either for the quality of the place, or for the consequences that it drew along with it, did yet give some reputation to the Arms of the League; whereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, augmented in hopes and courage, went to the meeting at *Rheims*, where a common consultation was to be held, of the way that should be taken to advance the common interests, and to oppose the progress of the King; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, had, by policy and force gotten *Louviers* also, a place in *Normandy* near *Rouen*, which, for its situation and fortification, was esteemed of very great importance.

But though the War proceeded fortunately for the King, other things were not so prosperous, but new troublesome accidents arose within his own party; for the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen (seeing that the time of his conversion was deferred without end, and that all the promises, and all the appointments of assembling the States, and calling the Prelates together, to give him those instructions propounded by himself, and talked of every hour, proved vain, and without any effect at all) began already

1591.

The Duke of *Mayenne* besieges *Chateau-Thierry*, a place more pleasant than strong; the Governor whereof was the Secretary *Pinart*.

Secretary *Pinart* having brought all his goods into the Castle, for fear of losing them, treats a Composition with the *Sieur de Villeroy*. The Duke of *Mayenne* receiveth the place and Castle, with the composition of Twenty thousand Crowns.

1591.

The King in Council with the most conspicuous men of his party, declares the necessity of giving some satisfaction to the Hugonots. He proposes the confirmation of the Edict of Pacification made last by Henry the Third, which grants them Liberty of Conscience, with some circumstances and limitations; and it is consented to.

dy to stagger in their resolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur among themselves, and to shew their discontent, which was increased beyond measure by a Declaration of the Kings; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, being come to *Mante*, had called his Council, with many of the most conspicuous persons that followed him, and had given them to understand, how the Queen of *England* and the Princes of *Germany* his Confederates (of whose Arms and assistance he had such urgent need, that without them he had no hope of being able to sustain his Crown) did press him daily, that (giving peace to mens Consciences) he would permit Liberty of Religion, and a peaceable indifferent way of living to his Subjects, to unite them with perfect charity in the same body; and that the German Army being now upon the point of coming, he thought it good to prevent those requests, which would then be made unto him with arms in their hands, in a time of extream necessity, and to grant something now to those of the Reformed Religion, that he might not be forced then to yield much more unto them: That he did not intend to grant them more than what King *Henry*, his glorious and most Catholick Predecessor had done, but simply to renew the last Edict of Pacification which had after been broken and revoked, not by the Kings will, but by the violences of the League; and that he thought fit to tell his Reasons there in Council, to the end, that none might make a sinister interpretation of that resolution, but should know, that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick Religion, not to suffer himself to be reduced to a necessity of giving them greater liberty, than what had been granted and established in the times of his Predecessors: That every one should weigh the state of present Affairs, the Forces which the Pope and the Catholick King sent against him, necessitating him to make use of the Supplies of the Protestants, to whom he could not, with reason, deny some just satisfaction, if he would be upheld by their blood, by their moneys, by their endeavors, and by their assistance; That this should not retard his Promises, nor in the least manner prejudice the Catholick Religion, which he would constantly favour, protect, and maintain. The major part of voices assented to the Kings proposal, some others were scandalized at it, and particularly *Charles*, Cardinal of *Vendosme*, (who, his Uncle being dead, made himself be called Cardinal of *Bourbon*) who (saying that he could not with a safe conscience be present at that determination) made shew as if he would have gone away; but being not followed by the other Prelates, and sharply recalled by the King, he came back (though not much to his reputation) and sat down again. The Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Bishop of *Nantes*, President *de Thou*, the High-Chancellor, and many other Catholicks, demanded that the Edict for liberty of Conscience might not be absolute, but that a clause might be added to it, to shew, it was intended to be in force until such time as Peace being obtained, the differences of Religion might be accommodated, to reunite all the Subjects in one and the same belief: which being willingly consented to by the King, the Edict was made, and some dayes after published, and Registered in the Parliaments of his Party. Those of the Council did not much resist this Declaration, as well because they saw the urgent need the King had to make use of the Protestants, as because they perceived the opposing of it would have produced no good; besides, the Hugonots already enjoyed that indeed, which was now granted to them in writing: But, those Soldiers that were affected to the Catholick Religion, and that had not heard the reasons of it, took marvellous great offence at it, and began almost openly to be disgusted; and so much the more, because the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other great ones, fomented that discontent, and with words, not onely in private, but publicly oftentimes stirred up mens minds to a resentment.

The Cardinal of *Vendosme* begins to raise a third party of Catholicks, to make himself Head of them, and thereby to bring himself to the Crown.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* had already long before entertained a thought of framing a Party of Catholicks, different both from the League, and from those that followed the King. This thought was sprung up in him, from the consideration that the Kings obstinacy, in not turning his Religion, did not onely make his own possession of the Crown more difficult, but also deprived the whole Royal Family of the just pretensions it had to the inheritance of the Crown, since that all of them, as followers of an Heretick, were excluded from it together; and they of the League began already to discourse of breaking the Salique Law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown, who had nothing to do with the Royal Consanguinity: and this thought perplexed and troubled him much more than the rest, because his Cousen the Prince of *Conde*, being then, as it were yet in swadling-clothes, and of the Hugonot Religion; and his elder brother the Prince of *Conty*, both by reason of a great imperfection in his speech, being

being not very fit to govern, and because he had been cut for the Stone in his childhood, accounted unable to get children, he thought the nearest hopes of the Crown belonged to himself, because the Count *de Soissons*, the third brother, was younger than he; and the Duke of *Montpensier* was much farther from the Succession than they. From this meditation, and the disdain it wrought in him, he began by little and little to nourish a desire of withstanding that prejudice, and to make himself a Faction that might bring him to the election of the Kingdom, since neither the Pope could oppose the person of a Cardinal, nor the Catholick King refuse him as an Heretick; nor could they of the League in the end deny him due obedience. He had imparted this thought to *Jehan Touchard* Abbot of *Bellegarde*, who from his Infancy had been his Tutor, a man not at all of Pedantique breeding, nor of a mean dull understanding, but full of lively, active spirits, and well versed in the discipline of the Court. This man looking after the advancement of his own greatness in being his Masters instrument, fomented the Cardinal's designs, and regulated his pretensions with good instructions, counselled him to proceed secretly and very dexterously till he had gotten followers and adherents, and teaching him to make use of the conjunctures of times, which would offer him fit and profitable opportunities. And that he might have assistance in the raising of so eminent a design, having discovered the business of *Jaques Davy Sieur du Perron* (a young man, of mean birth, but of most profound learning, and therefore from the first received, and well looked upon in the Cardinals Family) and *Scipio Balbani* a *Lucchese* (one who having spent many years unfortunately in Traffique, was, of a Merchant, become a manager of affairs in Court) they applied themselves, with all their utmost endeavours to the framing of that third party. To this end *Perron*, under shew of complement, went to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count *de St Paul*, brothers; who being descended from the Royal Family, but by Progenitors that were not legitimate, calling themselves of the House of *Orleans*, were zealous Catholicks, and kept themselves united with the Princes of the blood for the maintenance of the Crown; and having represented unto them the considerations of that prejudice, which from the obstinacy of the present King did fall upon their common interests, drew them cunningly to the same opinion, and to hold secret intelligence and correspondence with the Cardinal. On the other side, *Balbani*, under colour of his own private affairs, went to *Rome*, to make excuses to the Pope for the Cardinals abode in those places that were of the King's party, which was to no other end, but onely to exhort and perswade him to his conversion; which being now protracted contrary to the common expectations, and to so many promises he had made, the Cardinal, not willing to offend his own Conscience, sent him to excuse it to his Holiness, and to pray him to protect the Royal Family, which ought not to forfeit its rights for the obstinacy of one man; and that when the Cardinal should once be made certain of his hope, that the Apostolick See would suffer no other to be King but a Catholick of the legitimate stock of *St. Lewis*, he would declare himself with the Catholick Nobility and Commons, and deprive the King of the greatest strength of those who followed him at that present, to uphold the Rights of the Royal Family. Now whilst *Perron* and *Balbani*, the one within, the other without the Kingdom, did labour to plant the root of this third party, the Cardinal staying at *Tours*, as Head and President of the King's Council that resided there, did, by himself, and by the means of *Touchard*, try to work upon the minds of many, and particularly of *Gilles de Souray* Governor of that City, a man of exceeding great Piety, and no less Prudence, and who in the Court had alwayes been wonderfully famed for goodness and knowledge. But these designs, which, being communicated to many, could not be kept secret, were come to the ear of *Philip* Cardinal of *Lenon-court*, an old dependant upon the House of *Never*, who likewise following the Kings party, resided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council; and there being no very good correspondence between him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he was the first that gave the King notice of it, representing confusedly unto him what he had been able to find out concerning those designs that were contriving. The King, knowing the emulation that was between the Cardinals, did not absolutely credit *Lenon-court's* relation; and yet he remained a little perplexed in mind, and began to stand at watch, that he might come to more certainty of the business, which Fortune brought him, as it were, of her self, in such a way, as a mans own imagination could not have thought: for *Balbani*, who was already come into *Italy*, having in his journey met with *Des Portes*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* Secretary, who was likewise going to

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Scipio Balbani is sent to *Rome* by the Cardinal of *Vendome*, to treat with the Pope, and to communicate his design unto him.

The Cardinal of *Lenon-court* gives the King notice of the designs of the Cardinal of *Vendome*.

1591.

The Sieur des Portes Secretary to the Duke of Mayenne, informs him of the practices of the said Cardinal: but a Letter being intercepted, falls into the Kings hands.

The High Chancellor being told by the King, of the Cardinal of Vendomes designs, perswades him to turn Catholick.

Monsieur de la Noue Answer to the High-Chancellor.

Rome about the present affairs, made friendship with him, as they use to do that are interested in the same Nation: after which, either inconsiderately, or that he might begin to scatter some seeds of it in the League, he imparted the business to him, for which the Cardinal sent him to the Pope, and shewed him the Commissions, which for his information he had given him, distinctly comprised in writing. *Des Portes*, a subtil man, and a wary manager of things, knew how to behave himself, and to flatter *Balbani* in such manner, that he not onely sounded the depth of the business, and what adherents the Cardinal had, but withal got a copy of his Instructions out of his hands; whereof he sending several duplicates in his Letters to the D. of *Mayenne*, it so fell out, that one of them was intercepted by the Garrison of *Auxerre*, and came to the Kings hands, with full information of the whole Plot. For the clearing and confirmation of this intelligence gotten by the Letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *Jaques du Quesnay*, a Norman Gentleman, who was bred Page to the Duke of *Longueville*, as he was one night on the far side of his Lord's bed, where he was unseen by reason of the Curtains, (the custom of *France* being to entertain great persons while they are undressing) by chance heard a long discourse of *du Perron* to the same purpose, which he, thinking nothing, related to *Jehan d'Espinau*, his Kinsman; but, he being a Hugonot, and of a discreet understanding, delayed not long to discover all to Monsieur *de Chaseron*, under whom he served in the War, by whom afterwards the King was distinctly informed in every particular.

When the King knew what was plotting against him, he was extremely afflicted and troubled in mind; and having told the business to the High-Chancellor, and Monsieur *de la Noue*, desired to have their advice in it. The High-Chancellor intent upon the King's Conversion, or because he so thought it best, said, it was in the Kings own power to remove those obstacles, and dispel those Clouds: for, by turning Catholick, he might at once take away the foundation of all those contrivers, and open a most secure way to Peace and Union: That to think of any other remedy, was not onely vain, but destructive: for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the Blood who sided with him, he should cut off one of his own Arms, and weaken his party in such manner, that he would no longer be in a condition to resist his Enemies: and on the other side, by dissembling the knowledge of their machinations, they would have conveniency to perfect the design, drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks, discontented at the so long delay of his conversion: Whereupon, to shun those two inevitable dangers, it was necessary at last to give satisfaction to all his servants, while the state of Affairs permitted him to do it with his honor; for when the Catholick party should fall from him, it would be no longer time to convert, nor to give them satisfaction, thinking to lure them again, as they do Hawks, when they are loose from the fist; that therefore he should rouse up his courage, and with a Royal resolution, cut off the Roots of those evils that were creeping about so dangerously. Monsieur *de la Noue* said, That he would speak the more freely, because his Majesty and all the World knew, he had said from the very beginning, That if the King did not turn Catholick, he should never be King of *France*; but that now it was neither time nor conjuncture, to make that determination; That the King knew how great a power of his Enemies was like shortly to come upon him, the Pope and the Catholick King having made wonderful great preparations to assist the League; that to oppose those Forces, he had no other prop but the Supplies of the Queen of *England*, and of the Princes of *Germany*, who were drawing a great Army together under the Viscount of *Turenne*, to uphold them in so great need; which Provisions and Supplies would all vanish in a moment, if he at that present should change his Religion; for not onely they being offended, would forsake him, but all the Hugonots of the Kingdom that followed him would fall away, whereby at the arrival of the Enemies Forces he would be found alone, unprovided, abandoned, without any means to resist, and left to the discretion of his Enemies: That the exigency of Affairs would not give way to the counsel of preventing the future, with a present ruine: That the Forces of *Italy* were already set forward, the Duke of *Parma* already was gathering an Army; nor did the straitness of time permit the thought of things that were far off, but perswade the use of present remedies: That the Cardinal of *Bourbons* design had no very firm foundation, and though it should succeed, yet it required a great length of time: That at the present, not very resolute and powerful remedies were to be applied, but such as might mitigate and defer the disease, till means might be had to purge it

it away : That it was needful to separate those Lords into several places, to have an eye upon their actions, to seek to pacify them, and keep them in till the event were seen of the coming of the foreign Forces of each party : That afterwards time and occasions would of themselves minister remedies proportionable to the disease, and the means of getting one day out of those Labyrinths. The King best liked this advice, which was also confirmed by the Marechal *de Biron*, to whose opinion all serious matters were at last referred. Whereupon he presently dispatched Letters to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Lords of the Council, that they should come to him to the Camp, he having need of their help and assistance ; and removing the Count *de Soissons* from the Government of those parts, he sent to Govern *Poitou* and *Tourain* the Prince of *Conty* ; a man not engaged in the plot, and already excluded by his own Brothers : For the Count *de Soissons* also (angry, because the King having often promised him his own Sister, the Lady *Catherine*, to Wife, did now refuse to give her him) assented to the Cardinals designs, with hopes also, that though he were the younger Brother, yet being a Lay-man, the Election which the Catholick Princes of the Blood should make, might fall upon him : Whereupon, the Cardinal being come to the Camp before *Chartres*, and continuing to come to the Council, hapned to be present at the Edict which was made in favour of the Hugonots, which he opposed both by his gestures and words, and after it was passed, ceased not to talk sinisterly of it, to perswade the Catholicks to comply with him. Nor could the King so easily have dis-entangled himself from that tumult, if an engine framed by the League to do him hurt, had not proved of admirable advantage to him.

Landriano the Nuncio was come to *Rheims*, being sent by the Pope, with Monitory Letters directed to the Prelates that followed the Kings party, and to the Nobility, Cities, and people of the same party ; wherein, after the wonted Prefaces, and having copiously exaggerated and detested the Error which the Catholicks, especially the Clergy, committed in following and fomenting a King that was a relapsed and excommunicated Heretick, and in voluntarily putting upon their own necks, the miserable yoke of the servitude of Heresie, he did at last with pregnant words ordain ; and expressly command the Clergy (under pain of Excommunication, of being deprived of their Dignities and Benefices, and of being used as Sectaries and Hereticks) that within a certain time, they should withdraw themselves from those places that yielded obedience to *Henry of Bourbon*, and from the union and fellowship of his Faction, and admonished and exhorted, but in the end, also commanded the Nobility and People, that forsaking all, and leaving those places that acknowledged the Hereticks, they should retire among the Catholicks, and such as obeyed the Apostolick See in the true unity of the Faith. The whole Monitory was full of grave and exquisit words, high and threatening expressions, sharp and rigorous commands, and in sum, such as seemed not to suite much with the present time, wherein the Kings Forces went on prosperously, and the affairs of the League were diminished both in strength and reputation : wherefore being taken into consideration by the D. of *Mayenne* and the principal heads of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly Monsieur *de Villeroy*, that it was good to defer the publication thereof till another time, when (the Arms of the Confederates being in greater credit and reputation) they might hope to reap some fruit by it : But the Nuncio (little versed in the affairs of *France*, and accustomed to measure things by the opinions of the Court of *Rome*) the Bish. of *Piacenza* also (though he was better experienced in the present businesses, yet wholly intent to please the Pope, and win his favor) and the Spanish Ministers (being perswaded by hatred, and inticed with a desire to see things every day more disturbed) were resolved, that the Monitory should be published. The French Lords considered, that it was not only a thing very difficult, but also not by any means to be hoped for ; that the Prelates and the Nobility, who had their wealth, dignities, and Prelacies in the Kings hands, should resolve to forsake them to satisfy the Pope, their number being but small now a dayes, who for their souls sake are content to forgo their estates ; that moreover they had already from the beginning expected these commands and menaces from the Pope, and had prepared their minds to bear them : That the more they were forc'd, the more obdurate they would be, and losing all hope of ever being received into the Popes favor, would become more obstinate in following their party, and labouring to get the Victory : That it was needful to allure them, and draw them cunningly, not to terrifie them and drive them into utter despair : That such-like threats would be proper after a

Victory,

1591

The Count *de Soissons*, brother to the Cardinal *de Guise*, is removed from the Government of *Poitou* upon suspicion.

Landriano the Popes Nuncio arrives at *Rheims* with Monitory Letters to the Prelates and Catholicks of the Kings party.

1591.

After long opposition by the French Lords, the Monitory is published to the satisfaction of the Spanish and Popish party.

Victory, to give them colour and occasion upon that pretence to fall from the King when his affairs were languishing, but not now, when being powerful and flourishing, it was not to be believed that any body would forsake him: That prudent resolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but truths; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinion of those that judged afar off, but by the judgment of men, who, besides their long experience in affairs, were present upon the place it self. The Popish and Spanish Ministers thought these things were spoken out of a common charity to the Nation, not because they were true: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had set all his hopes upon the coming of the Forces out of *Italy* and *Flanders*, and would not distaste those Princes, referred himself to them; and therefore, without delaying, the Monitory was presently published, which produced the same effect the French Lords had foretold; for the King having called his Council (wherein he would have all the Prelates that were in *Maine*, and the most conspicuous persons of his Army to be present) complained grievously of the course which the Pope took with him at that present, praised and commended the moderation of *Simus*, who being made sensible, that the discords grew from the ambition and covetousness of dividing the Kingdom, and not from zeal and affection towards Religion, had forbore to give assistance to the League, and tacitely granted him time to think of turning opportunely to the Catholick Faith; cherishing, and graciously hearkning to those who followed him for a good end, and for the service of God, of Justice, and of their Country, as the Duke of *Luxembourg* could give full testimony. He declared his intention to observe what he had sincerely promised to the Catholick Nobility in the beginning of his Reign; he excused himself, that he had been hindered by the heat of War, from using those means which he thought fitting, both for the importance of the business, and the quality of his Person; and at last exhorted all the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons to use all their uttermost endeavors to conserve the immunities and privileges of the Gallique Church, not to suffer that Kingdom to be divided and dismembred, which they had received so flourishing from their Ancestors; and not to permit the people to remain without their Prelates and Pastors to the danger of error, schism, and damnation; things which though they were neither seen nor considered at *Rome*, were yet nevertheless too obvious to the eye of whosoever should look upon them with Christian piety. Hereupon he caused a very grave Decree to be made, declaring, That he would inviolably observe his promise, and exhorting the Parliaments to take care for the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to look to the people under their Charge, and to preserve the liberty of the *Gallique* Church.

The Parliaments of *Châlons* and *Tours* decree, That the Pope's Monitory should be publicly burnt.

The Decree being made with a most free consent (because every one was offended at the severity of the Monitory, and at the coming of the Nuncio *Landriano*) he dispatched President *de Thou* to *Tours*, and President *Leure* to *Châlons*, in which Parliaments the person of *Landriano* was with very great liberty spoken and decreed against, and there it was determined, That the Monitory should be publicly burnt, and at the same time most severe Decrees were made against those that should forsake the party, and follow the intimation of *Landriano*, depriving the Clergy of their Dignities and Benefices, and confiscating the Estates and Goods of whatsoever Lords, Gentlemen, or others should do so, and making them all subject to the pain of High-Treason and Rebellion; which, added to that disdain the French liberty had conceived at the severity of the Monitory, did so bridle mens mindes, that there was not now any one that stirred: but on the contrary, those that were turned after the new designs attempted by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, did now alienate their mindes from all other thoughts, save the Conservation and maintaining of the King, whose Arms they saw in a fair way to Victory; the Clergy saying publicly, that the Canons did not command them to abandon their Flocks in such distracted dangerous times, nor did duty enjoin them to forsake their Countries, their own houses and estates given by the liberality of former Kings, as a reward for their labours, to go like miserable vagabonds to beg a hundred Crowns in pension from the charity of the Popes Nephews: That in the end, the King, remaining victorious, would compose matters with the Pope; and then, whosoever had been obstinate and rebellious against him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conscience forsake a Prince, who implored their aid and instruction to come to the obedience of the Church. Thus alwayes those engines that were framed to oppugn the King, did wonderfully succeed to his advantage; and poisons were converted into medicines. To these Decrees of the Parliament of *Tours* and

and *Chalons*, the Parliament of *Paris* opposed contrary Decrees, receiving the Monitory, and admitting the Nuncio's Commissions, exhorting and commanding that all should be accepted, published, and obeyed; imposing most severe punishments upon those that should transgress. But neither for this did the Prelates or Nobility that followed the King's Party stir one jot from their first proposal: and all those discourses and complaints which before were made for the liberty granted to the Hugonots in the exercise of their Religion, were now turned against the Pope's severe, and (as they called it) precipitate resolution.

In the mean time, the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, the Nuncio *Laudriano*, the Spanish and Savoyard Ambassadors, and Cardinal *Pelleve* Archbishop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come into that City to the appointed Meeting; and there their common interests were with long discourses exactly treated of: wherein, though every one did, under various colours and pretences palliate the interests of his own designs, yet was it very clearly seen they could not all agree in the same end. The Spaniards trusted upon their power, and the necessity that others had of their assistance; the Nuncio, upon the Majesty of the Apostolick See, and upon the foundation of Religion; asserting, that the authority of disposing those matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope: The Duke of *Lorain* grounded himself upon fitness and decency, as Head of the Family, and pretended, that the rest ought in reverence to yield to his pretensions; the Duke of *Savoy* aspired to the acquisition of *Provence*; the Duke of *Mercœur* to that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Nemours* designed to Canton himself in his Governments; and finally, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the Armies, and leader of his party, trusted upon the union of the People, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet ripe; and every one proceeding with great wariness and secrecy, concealed his own thoughts, and made shew to be moved onely by the consideration of the general good; which being observed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being confident that with time, opportunity, and his prudent managery, he should bring the rest to consent to his opinion, having onely concluded, with their common Forces to oppose the coming of the Kings forraign Supplies, all other things were remitted till a more seasonable time, the Duke having demonstrated, that it was more necessary to employ the present in action, and not in consultation; the King's Germans being already upon their March, and he himself continuing prosperous in the progress of the War.

Wherefore the Meeting at *Rheims* broke up without any other determination, and onely the Duke of *Mayenne* lost a little of that confidence he had conceived of the Pope's adherence, having found the Nuncio in all things inseparable from the interests of Spain; whereupon, designing to make use of the Ecclesiastical Forces, onely to hinder the entry of forraigners, in other matters he was resolved not to trust to any but his French-men. To this end he presently dispatched a Gentleman in all haste to President *Jeannin*, who already was arrived in *Spain*, to give him directions, not so much to labour for supplies of Spanish or Italian Forces, as to procure Pay for a set number of French Foot and Horse, under pretence that the Officers of those two Nations were unwilling to obey his commands, and that with French Forces, which scorned not to acknowledge him, and were acquainted with their own Country, he might sooner, more easily, and with fewer rubs, effect their common interests. To the same purpose, he, by redoubled Messengers, gave commission to *Des Portes* to solicit the Pope for an express order, that his Army under the D. of *Monte-Marciano* should stay in *Lorain*, and there, united with that Dukes Forces and the supplies from *Flanders*, should oppose the coming of the Viscount de *Turenne*, alledging, that that was the principal means to hinder the King from assistance, and very easily to become Conquerors in the War: which having already agreed upon with the Nuncio, whom he had easily made believe, that the Sum of affairs consisted in that, he with his own Forces took his way towards *Paris* and *Normandy*, to withstand the King's daily progress.

The D. of *Monte-Marciano's* Forces were considerable; which being drawn together at *Lodi*, chosen by the Catholick King's permission for a place of Rendezvous, they amounted to the number of One thousand and two hundred Horse, and Two thousand Foot, all under noble and experienced Commanders: to these, Four thousand Swisses were to joyn, being raised in the Catholick Cantons by the Popes money taken out of the Castle. The Catholick Kings Forces destin'd for *Flanders*, consisting of two *Terties* of Foot, and Four hundred Horse, commanded by *Marco Pio*, and

1591.

The Parliament of *Paris* makes Decrees contrary to those of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*.

The Meeting at *Rheims* dissolves without any determination.

The Pope sends 1200 horse and 6000 foot into *France*, under the command of the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*.

1591. and the Governor of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's Army, making the same Voyage. To this Body, which (passing from the Confines of *Savoy* thorough the Country of *Bourgogne*) was to come into *Lorain*, the Army of that Duke intended to joyn it self, being already Four thousand effective Foot, and Eight hundred Horses; so that the confederate Princes made account, that the King's Germans (though he with all his Forces should advance to receive them) would not be able to resist; and at their entry into the Kingdom, must either dissolve of themselves, or be defeated.

The people of Rouen dissatisfied the Viscount de Tavannes their Governor, make an Insurrection.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed from the Assembly, had posted with infinite speed to *Rouen*, in which City, the people, ill-satisfied with the Government of Monsieur de *Tavannes*, were furiously risen up in Arms to drive him out; and *Andre Brancace* Sieur de *Villars*, Governor of *Haute de Grace*, being come thither with some number of men, for fear the City should revolt, and put it self into the Kings power, there was afterwards such emulation and enmity sprung up between those two Heads, that they were in danger to assault each other, which could not come to pass without much blood, nor without exceeding great hazard of the Cities falling into the enemies hands. The Duke arrived so opportunely, that if he had stayed but one day longer, matters could not have been composed without a great deal of mischief: but his coming bridled both those Heads; and being unwilling that discord should endanger a place of so great moment, he satisfied the desires of the people and Parliament, by choosing his son *Henry de Lorain* Governor of the City; and because he was very young, he made the same Sieur de *Villars* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high spirit, and singular valour, and sent the Viscount de *Tavannes*, his old servant, to command as Camp-Master-General, under the Government of the Duke of *Aumale* in the Province of *Picardy*.

About that very time, *la Fere*, a place of wonderful importance upon the confines of *Picardy*, was like to have revolted: for the Marquis de *Menelay*, who had that Government (though from the beginning he had been most obstinately for the League, yet at this time) having changed his mind, whatsoever the reason was, he had secretly agreed to deliver up the place, and to go over to the King's party. For this purpose, the King himself lingred with his Army in those parts: But the Duke having had notice of the business, or (as some said) onely suspecting it, dispatched the Vice-Seneschal de *Montelimar* (of whom, for his sagacity, he was wont to make use in the most urgent occurrences) and the Sieur de *Magny*, Lieutenant of his Guards, unto *la Fere*, with order, that if they could not get the Marquis out of the place by other means, they should endeavour to take away his life as speedily as possibly they could; nor did they fail to effect what was given them in charge: For being come into the Town, and having delivered Letters from the Duke, to the Captains of the Garrison; while the Governor was at Mass, without staying till he should resolve upon any thing, they set upon him suddenly as he came out of the Church; and having found him unprovided, and half astonished, killed him with two Stoccadoes; and without any opposition, made themselves Masters of the place. This action, more proper for an absolute Prince, than for the Head of a Confederacy, displeased many, though the Duke laboured to shew, that extream necessity had produced it against his will; and much more did it displease, that the Government was given to *Montelimar*, one of the Murderers: Whereupon it was publickly said, That the Arms of the League were alwayes blunt, but when they were used against their Friends.

The Marquis de Menelay is killed by order from the Duke of Mayenne, because he would have delivered up *la Fere* to the King, and have gone over to his party.

Great was the commotion of mens minds, by reason of the Marquisses blood and dependencies; and because it displeased all, that the Duke should arrogate so absolute a power unto himself: Whereupon he, who knew he had lost much of his credit, and that it was necessary to revive it again by some notable enterprise (for ordinarily later actions do in great part cancell, and take away, the memory of former ones) resolved to give a *scalado* to *Mante*, where the Kings Council was, and many Lords, Prelates, and most of the Officers of the Crown that adhered to him; but without that guard which the quality of their persons and the weakness of the place required; and thinking this attempt so great, if he could bring it to perfection, that it must needs increase the glory of his name, and exceedingly weaken the Kings party, and the prosperity of his affairs: He commanded out the men that were in *Paris*, and the Garisons of *Meaux*, *Dreux*, and *Pontoye*, and having chosen a very dark rainy night, he drew near on two sides with Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of the Town (the situation whereof

The Duke of Mayenne gives a *scalado* to *Mante*, where the Prelates, Lords, and Officers of the Kings party were weakly guarded; but being discovered, is beaten off.

whenceof, was by long practice perfectly known to him) with assured hopes, by reason of the small number of Soldiers that were within, to enter it without much trouble; but it so pleased fortune, that in both places he found the Sentinels watchful, at whose cries, the Guards betaking themselves to their Arms, ran up to make good the Wall; and yet this would have been but a weak supply, and not able long to have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Council themselves (not failing in what concerned their own safety) armed with more courage than could be expected from Gown-men, had not run with their servants to re-inforce the Guards; so that the Dukes soldiers, wet, tired, and by rain in great part deprived of the use of their Muskets, not being able to get up to the top of the Walls, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded; but on the contrary, many of their Ladders falling, and being broken, they were beaten off by the Defendants, and retired without fruit, the assault proving in the end much fuller of noise than blood. Yet did not the Duke lose courage for this; but knowing, that part of the Kings Swisses were quartered at *Hudan*, he hastened with the same celerity the day after to fall upon them, but without effect; for having found them excellently fortified and entrenched, he was forced likewise to march from thence without having obtained any thing; much praise being due, either unto the vigilancy or good fortune of the Kings soldiers, that had frustrated the Dukes prudence and celerity.

He goes to assault the Swisses at *Hudan*, and having found them well fortified, is fain to return.

But the danger of *Mante* had been so great in the opinion of discreet men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the Venetian Ambassador, shewed, it was a great temerity to stay for another of the Dukes attempts, in that weak place so poorly manned; and perswaded the Council, and the other Lords that were there, to retire to *Chartres*, where, besides the greatness and commodiousness of the City, they might stay with more decency, and also be much more secure, in regard of the strength of the place, and quality of the Garrison that kept it. The King approved of this determination, which (as all things are not remembered by all men) he had not thought of before; and being come to *Compeigne*, began to make ready his Army, that he might advance to receive his foreign Forces: But because he had not yet had intelligence of their setting forward, he resolved in the mean time (that he might not spend it unprofitably) to lay siege to *Noyon*, a Town upon the Confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which, because it was much better provided of Horse than Foot, molested all the ways round about, and did incommode those places that held for him in those parts. The reason that perswaded him to ease himself of it, did also render it less difficult to be taken, being full of Horse, whereby the siege became more easie, and ill-provided of Foot, and those other things that were requisite for the defence of it, and particularly of Ammunition: Wherefore having drawn all his Army together, upon the Five and twentieth of *July* he caused the *Mareschal de Biron* to take up his quarter within a mile of the Fauxbourgs of the Town; and the same day the *Sieur de Rieux* perceiving the Kings intention, departed from *Pierrefont* with Threescore Horse, and as many Foot mounted behind them, each having a bag of Powder at his Saddle-bow, and passing secretly thorough the Woods, got into the City, and gave great relief to the Defendants.

By the Council of *Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, the King removes his Officers and Prelates from *Mante* to *Chartres*.

Noyon is seated between a Mountain and a Fen, having on the South-side, the Fen caused by the overflows of the River *Oyse* in that place; and on the North the Mountain, steep, and not very accessible; behind it thick spacious Woods distend themselves for many miles; and no other way lies open save onely before, thorow a little Plain that comes to the Gate of *St. Eloy*, and to the rich Abby, situate near the Fauxbourg. The Town was encompassed with old Walls, and great Towers from place to place; but both the Towers and the Curtine were well lined with Earth. The *Mareschal de Biron* having viewed the situation, encamped before the City at a little distance from the River, with a thought to assault the Fauxbourg and Abby that were in the Plain, and out of the Fen, and by that means to make himself a way to the Moat, which of a great breadth encompasseth the Town on that side. *Monfieur de Ville*, Governor of the Town, on the other side, knowing the weakness of the Garison, and the want of many things, had not ceased some few dayes before the siege, nor did yet cease, after the Army appeared, to sollicite relief, redoubling Letters and Messages both to the Viscount of *Tavannes*, and the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor of the Province, who no less sollicitous than he, dispatched first the *Sieur de Gribouval* with an hundred Foot, and about twenty Horse, and then the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* with his Regiment, though reduced

The situation of *Noyon*, besieged by the King.

1591. to a small number of men, to try if through the Woods they could get by stealth into the Town; but both of them charged by the Garrisons of *Chauny*, *Corby*, and *Catelet*, were defeated by the way; so that *Griboval* scarce entred with sixteen of his Foot, and *Tremblecourt* could not come, no not within many miles of *Noyon*. The loss of these necessitated the Viscount de *Tavannes* to put himself in hazard by attempting to get in; and therefore being departed from *Roye*, upon the first of *August*, in the evening, with Five hundred Firelocks, and Three hundred Horse to convoy them, under favor of the night, he drew near the Guards of the Army an hour before day, with great hope to pass between Guard and Guard, before the Camp should have put themselves in order to oppose them; but the *Sieur d' Arges*, who by order from *Biron* had been out the same night with a party of Sixty Light-horse scouring the wayes, chanced suddenly to meet him, and not losing courage, though he had so few men with him, but valiantly making ready their arms, and beginning the skirmish with hot volleys of shot, was the cause that all the other parties which were abroad made haste to the same place: Wherefore they of the League seeing themselves discovered, and not knowing well in the dark by what number of enemies they were so bravely charged (as the errors of the night are commonly pernicious without blood) they both routed themselves without opposition, and in a very great fear took flight several ways; only the Viscount de *Tavannes*, whilst with his Sword in his hand he endeavoured to stop his Soldiers, being wounded in the Arm, and in the thigh, was at last taken prisoner by the *Sieur d' Arges* himself.

The Viscount de *Tavannes* going to put relief into *Noyon*, is defeated and taken prisoner.

The Duke of *Annale*, upon whose Government the affairs of that Province did depend, was much troubled at the ill fortune of his Officers, and resolved to attempt the relief himself, being most certain, that if Foot and Ammunition were not put into the Town, it must of necessity be lost within a few dayes: wherefore, marching from *Han* upon the seventh of *August* in the evening, with Six hundred Horse and Nine hundred Foot; to the end that his men might be ready, and not lose courage in the dark, as the others had done, he determined to beat up one of the King's Quarters by break a day, and (whilst they sounded the Alarm there, and were fighting) endeavour to put in relief openly by day, rather than put himself in danger of being disordered by night. With this intention, coming up to the Plain along the great high-way which leads directly to the gate, he suddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's Light-horse that lay without the Trenches, under cover of some scattered houses upon the same way. The assault was fierce, and the defence no less, with which the same *Sieur d' Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and his other companions sustained it: But the Duke of *Annale* still redoubling his fury with fresh Horse, and Colonel *Berangise* being come up with the Foot that followed, the Light-horse, though they fought valiantly, would have lost their quarter, and left the way free to the relief, if *Biron* had not come in to help them with Three hundred Cuirassiers, and Two hundred Reiters; at whose arrival the Duke being furiously charged in the flank, and even the Light-horse recovering vigour, who before gave back, the enemies advance was stopped, until such time as new supplies coming up one after another, and the Infantry of the Camp already all in Arms, being fallen into their ranks to defend their posts, the Duke of *Annale* was constrained (though still fighting) to retire; in which Retreat, with the loss of sixty of his men, and the death of *Sieur de Longchamp*, a Soldier of great experience, and of *Francisco Guevarra*, a Captain of Spanish Light-horse, he was followed to the very Walls of *Han*, not having been able to give any relief at all to the besieged.

The Duke of *Annale* going to relieve *Noyon*, after a sharp fight retires.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having heard of the siege of *Noyon*, marches with his Army to *Han*, to give courage to the besieged.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being advertised of the siege of *Noyon*, had diligently sent for the *Sieur de Rosne* with the Forces that were in *Champagne*, and for the Prince of *Ascoli*, sent by the Duke of *Parma*, with Eight hundred Horse and Three thousand Foot; and being joyned with them at *la Fere*, came up to *Han* upon the tenth of *August*; and having quartered his Army upon the way towards *Noyon*, but with the River between, he thought his presence would give sufficient courage to the defendents. But the King having settled his quarters in the most convenient places, and having made his approaches so far, had begun already to batter the Abbey that stood without the *Fauxbourg*; which was obstinately defended by the besieged, to keep the Enemy as far as possible they could from the wall. The King having caused five Pieces of Cannon to be planted against this Abby, had so beaten it down, that being assaulted by the Foot, upon the eighth day they took it, killing thirty of the Defendents, and taking above

fifty

fifty others of them; which did so much the more weaken the Garrison, that of it self was too weak to defend the circuit of the Town. But it was necessary to suspend the progress of the siege, by reason of the Duke of *Mayenne* coming: for his strength being 10000 Foot and 2000 Horse, it was thought, that not being able to relieve the place any other way, rather than lose it, he would joyn battel with the King.

Yet the opinions in his Camp were very different: for the Prince of *Ascoli* thought not the loss of that place of so great concernment, that, to divert it, it was fit to incur the uncertainty of a Battel, with the hazard of those onely Forces that were in being to resist the Enemy; and considered, that the Popes and Catholick King's supplies, which had already passed the Mountains, being expected, it would be a very strange rashness to put that now in the power of Fortune, which within a few dayes might be made more certain, and more secure. The Duke of *Aumale* on the other side, thoroughly vext at his late misfortune, and longing to piece it up again, argued, that the loss of that place was of great moment to the affairs of the Province, for that in those quarters there remained no other important Town of their party; but that their reputation was of much greater importance, which would be much diminished, if being come up to the very face of the Enemy with Forces in number not inferior to theirs, they should let that place be taken from them without stirring, or disputing it with the Sword. The Duke of *Mayenne* assented to the more secure advice, partly because he was of a nature not much inclined to dangerous resolutions, partly because with the Prince of *Ascoli* and the Spaniards he did more by intreaty than command; and he saw them very resolute in not consenting by any means to the hazard of a Battel.

1591.

The Duke of *Mayenne* resolves not to hazard a Battel with the King.

But the King, desirous to find out what the enemy intended, having no quicker way to make himself certain of it, caused the Marechal *de Biron* to pass the River with the greater part of his Horse, to see if the Duke would move to fight, or keep fast in his quarters. But as soon as the Marechal was advanced within sight of *Han*, and of the Army of the League, which was encamped in the midst of the great high way, he found the Country clear and free; nor did any stir out of their quarters to skirmish in the plain field: which having come to pass, not one day alone, but three together successively, the King apprehending, that the Duke thought to defend *Noyon* with nothing but the reputation of his being near it, took heart, and caused the Courtine of *St Eloy* to be battered upon the fifteenth day; and having beaten down the Works on each side, on the sixteenth day in the morning, being resolved to give the assault, he made his Cavalry pass over the River, as he was wont to do, that they might be in readiness if the enemy should stir; and having drawn his Foot into their divisions, gave the Baron *de Biron* order to advance and assault the Town. Monsieur *de Ville* having, as long as possibly he could, expected relief in vain; and seeing himself now in such a condition, that he was not able to resist that fierce assault which was preparing against him, caused a sign to be given that he would parley, and in a few hours concluded to surrender, if within two dayes the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either fight, or put at least Five hundred men into the Town: which being agreed upon, and Hostages given on both sides, he dispatched a Gentleman to the D. of *Mayenne*, to let him know the Agreement; who having consulted again with his Commanders, and concluded as they before had determined, drew off to the Walls of *Han* the same evening; and the Sieur *de Ville* sincerely performing the Agreement, delivered up *Noyon* upon the Eighteenth day into the hands of Monsieur *d'Estree* for the King.

The Sieur *de Ville* Governor of *Noyon* seeing the King's Forces ready to give the assault, parleys, and concludes to surrender the place, if it were not relieved within two dayes; which is performed.

After the taking of *Noyon*, mens minds on both sides were taken up with the expectation of the Forraign Forces, which with equal fortune delayed to appear: for the Germans, who, to the number of 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, had been raised by the Viscount *de Turenne*, by the help of the Protestant Princes, moved with great difficulty for want of money, and expected that for the drawing together and maintenance of them, a great sum should be furnished from *England*; which the Queen being to raise upon her people, who had promised to pay it upon certain conditions, matters were not so soon ordered, nor did the conditions prove of mutual satisfaction: for the English, continuing desirous to recover footing in *France*, and particularly in *Normandy*, a Province in former times long possessed by them, had promised the Queen Three hundred thousand Ducats to be spent in the affairs of *France*, provided she got some convenient Sea-port to be given her, not onely for security of their Money, but also for a landing-place of Commerce, and that they might have more commodiously traffick

1591. traffick in the Kingdom of *France*: which being at first demanded, and now again, under pretence of the earnest importunity of her Subjects, effectually urged by the Queen, no less than liberty of Conscience for the Hugonots, kept the King in a great deal of trouble, not being willing to deprive himself of *Diepe*, the place where he had tried and sustained the first encounters of his fortune; much less of *Calais*, upon which the English had too strong pretensions; and the other places were in possession of the League: wherefore he at last propounded, and (by sending the *Sieur de Salettes* a Hugonot Gentleman) gave firm promise to the Queen, that he would lay siege to the City of *Rouen*; towards the taking whereof, if the English would help with Men and Money, he would give them some reasonable jurisdiction in it, to the end that they might freely and securely traffick; and then if he could take *Caudefbec* and *Harfleur*, Towns near that City, he would configne unto them one of those Ports, which might serve for a free open retreat for their shipping. To which Conditions, while the English unwillingly consented, and while they were treated of on both sides with usual caution, the coming of the Germans was protracted; nor could they ever be got to move, till the first One hundred thousand Ducats were paid down, and assignments given for the other Two hundred thousand.

The Duke of Savoy obtains, that the Pope's Forces marching towards *France*, should stay some time in his State, to strengthen his designs against the *Sieur Les Diguieres*.

The Duke of Savoy besiegeth the Fort of *Morestello*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and the Forces which from *Milan* marched towards *Flanders*, at the Duke of *Savoy's* urgent importunities, had received orders to stay for some dayes within his State, to the end that with their countenance and assistance he might recover some places which had been taken from him, and repress the Forces of Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who fiercely bestirred himself, sometimes in *Dauphine*, sometimes in *Provence*. The Duke was troubled that the Kings party had taken some places, though of no great importance; but he was much more troubled at a Fort which *Les Diguieres* had begun to raise over against *Montmeillan*: Wherefore having obtained that the Italian Army, and likewise Four thousand Swisses raised by the Pope, should stay some time with him, he spurred up *Don Amadeo* for the recovery of that Fort, called *Morestello*, from the place where it was built, and he with other Forces entred into *Dauphine* another way, while Count *Franisco Martinengo* with the greatest strength of his Army, besieged and streightned the Town of *Barre* in *Provence*. Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was forced sometimes to assist in the affairs of *Dauphine*, sometimes to help Monsieur *de la Valette* in *Provence*, was now set forward to raise the siege of *Barre*, while *la Valette* besieged and battered *Gravion*; but being arrived so late, that the Defendants had already articted to surrender it, after some slight encounters, he was returned with exceeding great celerity to relieve Fort *Morestello*, and with Four hundred Horse and Three thousand Foot, was advanced as far as *Ponte Chiarra*, a place near and proper for his intetention; which being known to the Savoyards, who were strengthened with part of the Popes Forces, they rose silently from the siege, which they had continued already many days, and leaving the Fort behind them, encamped themselves upon the same way, by which they saw the French Army would advance. But *Les Diguieres* having himself viewed and discovered the Camp, and number of the Enemy, and making no great account of the raw men that were in that Army; in comparison of his old Soldiers, resolved to fight, thinking with a fierce boldness easily to strike a terror in them. Wherefore, both the Armies being between the Mountain and the River *Isare*, in a narrow place, which favoured the small number of his Forces, he parted his Infantry into two Bodies, one of which he sent up by the steep of the Hill, and the other along the bank of the River; and he, keeping the Plain with his Cavalry, divided into four Squadrons, with some Muskettiers mixed and placed among the Horse, advanced resolutely to attack the Enemy. The Savoyards having drawn up the Army in very good order, advanced likewise, and received the encounter in the Front very courageously; but while they fought, and in fighting, had their eyes and mindes wholly taken up with the Enemy that was before them, they were suddenly charged in the Flank, by the Foot that were come about by the way of the Hill, which they had not taken care to make good: Wherefore being staggered at that unexpected accident, they broke their ranks, and without making much resistance easily took flight. But being come into the Plain that was behind them, recovering courage, they fell to rally again, and once more to face about; and so much the rather, because their being stronger in Horse, and having a very spacious open field, gave them very great advantage in renewing the Battel; yet nevertheless, the Conquerors following up with wonderful speed

speed and fury, they were terrified in such manner, that being dispersed, they were pursued to the very Walls of *Monmeillan*, with the loss of Fifteen hundred men, two Cornets, Eighteen Foot-colours, and great store of spoil and baggage. But this unhappy accident, which cut off all hopes of making any further progress at that time, and the importunities of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorain*, to have the Popish and Spanish Forces to march to hinder the passage of the Germans, were the causes that *Savoy* being left, they advanced through the Country of *Bourgogne* directly towards *Lorain*.

1591.

The *Savoyards* are routed and defeated by the French.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, since the taking of *Neyon*, to put in order and increase his Army, had staid still at *Han*. (whilest the King, victoriously advancing, over-ran the whole Country) in which place President *Jeannin*, being returned from the Court of *Spain*, found him, but brought back no pleasing answer to any of those things he had negotiated with the Catholick King. The Duke of *Mayenne* had been of opinion, that the artificial reserved proceedings of the Spaniards had sprung from the nature and will of the Ministers ill-affected to his person, or desirous to do more than what was given them in charge by the Royal Council; he thought that the D. of *Parma*, a very wary prudent Soldier, would unwillingly hazard his reputation against the King, followed by almost an invincible Nobility, and in his actions prompt, fearless and resolute; he believed that *Diego d' Ivarr*, and *Mendoza* (who, for many particular accidents were ill-disposed towards him) either to make him lose his credit, or out of covetousness, did convert those Moneys that were sent to other uses, and often disposed of them without his privacy at their own pleasures, and did assuredly think, that as soon as the Catholick King was once fully informed of the affairs of *France*, of the interests of every one, and of his pains, endeavors, and authority, he would soon resolve in favor of him, give him sufficient assistance to make an end of the War, and permit him to negotiate the getting of the Crown for himself: For this cause he had deprived himself of the help and counsel of President *Jeannin*, sending him to the Court, as one privy to all his most secret thoughts, well informed of all particulars, full of wary prudence, and for experience and eloquence, able to undergo the weight of so difficult a business. But both he and the President found themselves much deceived in their opinion; for (whether that had been the aim of the Spaniards from the beginning, or that the Counsel given and imprinted by the Ministers that resided in *France* had caused that resolution) they in *Spain* desired the War should be drawn out in length with a slow progress; that the Duke of *Mayenne* should not rise so high in credit and authority with his party, as to be able to dispose of things by himself, and that by degrees the way might be facilitated, either to the union of the Crowns, or to the election of the *Infanta Isabella*, which could not without long time, and much patience, be obtained; and at least (if nothing else could be done) they would make themselves sure, that so many expences and troubles should redound to the profit and augmentation of their Monarchy: Wherefore, when *Jeannin* was come thither, he, in his first audience, found, that King *Philip* was fully informed in all things, and very far from that inclination, which the Duke of *Mayenne*, at so great a distance, had fancied to himself; yet did he, with all possible arts, labour in his following audiences to take away those impressions, which he thought contrary to the Dukes interests, and to persuade the King to concur with him in his own ends; but all was in vain, nor could he see, that he advanced or profited any thing; for, treating about Money, he not only found the King indisposed to allow a greater sum than he was wont; but even those very Moneys which were before given to the D. of *Mayenne*, he had now determined should pass through the hands of his Ministers (though with the Dukes participation) alledging, that he had seen but very small fruits of so many expences, that he would not have his supplies to be secret, but that every one should see and know from whence they came, and should be obliged for them to the principal Author. Then concerning the Armies, he said, his will was they should advance into *France* to help against the danger of Religion, and to establish a Catholick King that might be generally liked of; but that the Duke of *Parma* could not so soon leave *Flanders*, the States of *Holland* having taken *Zutphen* in *Friesland*, and other places in *Brabant*, and that it was needful not to proceed longer by chance, without knowing what was to be done; and that therefore it was necessary to assemble the States to resolve upon the election of a King, to the end, that they might go on with order and deliberation to a certain determinate end. Finally, as for the paying of the Duke of *Mayennes* French Forces, raised and commanded by him, he said he was ready to do it, when the principal resolution was once taken; wherefore he concluded

President *Jeannin* returns from *Spain*; but brings no resolution to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King of *Spain* answers to President *Jeannin*.

1591. concluded, that he would send a new Ambassador into *France* to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined of which was necessary for the perfecting of the enterprise; and that in the mean time, he would give order to the Duke of *Parma* to return into *France* as soon as the affairs of *Flanders* would permit; but that time was not to be lost, and that the Assembly of States ought to be appointed and called; till the end of which, he was not disposed to make any more powerful expedition of men or moneys. This was the last conclusion; nor could *Jeannin*, by urging the state of Affairs, the dissidences of the French, the interests of that party, the merits of the house of *Lorain*, the pains and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, obtain any thing more: And with this resolution he was returned to give the Duke an account thereof, who more perplexed than ever he had been, and having lost the confidence that his arts should overcome those of the Spaniards, was also overtaken with new trouble, at the liberty of his Nephew *Charles*, Duke of *Guise*.

That Prince, since the death of his Father, had alwayes been kept prisoner; nor, though his freedom had been much treated of, had any attempt ever succeeded; and the King had always stiffly denied to change him for any body, alledging, That he was not a prisoner of War, but of Justice: Nor (though his Mother made great complaints and exclamations) had the D. of *Mayenne* ever cared much to get his liberty; foreseeing that his freedom would endanger the division of his party, by reason of the dependence that many would have upon him, in respect of the memory of his Father, and of benefits received from him; and that the common people would willingly concur to exalt him: so that if he would not acknowledge his superiority, but should attempt to put himself in the place long held by his Father and Grandfather, the League was without doubt like to be divided and disunited: wherefore he designed not to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were reduced to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to disturb them if he were at liberty. But now, whether the King (as some believed) foreseeing the same, had underhand given way to his enlargement, or that the *Sieur de la Chastre*, an old servant and dependent of his father's, who had the near Government of *Berry*, had prosperously procured it; certain it is, that having plotted, and agreed that a Lackey and a *Valet de Chambre* with a very swift Horse, sent by *la Chastre*, should stay for him in the fields under the Castle of *Tours*, in which he was kept prisoner, he upon the fifteenth day of *August*, being risen from Table about noon, and having afterward shut himself up in his Chamber to take his rest, while the Guards that kept him, and his other servants, entertained themselves merrily eating and drinking, he having locked them all dexterously into the room where they were at dinner, went up to the top of a Tower that stood toward the field, and with a ladder of silk, which had been secretly sent him in a Pie, let himself down the wall, with exceeding great danger; and being come safe to the ground, ran along the River side of the *Loire* towards the fields, where he found the horse and those that expected him; and with infinite speed galloped to find the Baron *de la Maison*, son to the *Sieur de la Chastre*, who stayed for him some few miles off beyond the River *Cher*, with Three hundred Horse; wherewith being conveyed into *Berry*, he was received with infinite signs of joy in the City of *Bourges*. Monsieur *de Souvray* Governour of *Tours*, and Monsieur *de Grillon* (who, since the wound received in his left Arm in those *Fauxbourgs*, had ever stayed in that Town) having heard news, that *la Chastre's* Horse were roving about those parts, and doubting some intelligence in the City, had, for some dayes, kept the Gates shut, and looked more strictly to their Guards than they were wont: but being suddenly advertised by Captain *Rouvray* Governor of the Castle of the Duke's flight, they entered, or feigned to enter into a much greater suspicion, and caused the Gates to be opened with so much caution (because they would first draw all the Soldiers into Arms, and make a diligent discovery without) that the Duke having had the advantage of above an hour and half, could not afterward be overtaken by those that followed him; which confirmed the jealousy some had, that the King had secretly commanded he should be permitted to escape, since that all those dayes, Letters and Messages were without restraint suffered to come to him, and Presents to be sent, among which was the Pie with the Silk Ladder in it, without which his escape could not have been effected.

This news being brought to the Heads of the two parties, as it did not displease the King, who hoped some good would grow out of that evil; so did it pierce the Duke

Charles Duke of Guise having been long kept prisoner at Tours, escapes at noonday, and flies to Bourges.

of

of *Mayenne* to the quick, especially in that present conjuncture of time, wherein he was diffident of the Spaniards, and of many French of the party, who were ill-satisfied with him: yet dissembling this affliction, and not losing courage, having expressed fitting joy for the freedom of his Nephew, he exhorting him as soon as he could to come unto him, thinking, that not being well informed of matters, nor known to many, as soon as he should be with him, he would yield to his age, prudence, and the possession wherein he was of governing all things: and having recourse to art, to bridle the arts of the other Confederates, he presently by the means of Monsieur de *Villeroy*, caused a Treaty of Intelligence to be begun with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Princes of the blood, whom he knew (by the relation of the *Sieur des Portes*) to be discontented with the King, and to try to set on foot a third and different party: judging, that he should by that means beget a jealousy in the Spaniards, and necessitate them to consent, if not to all, at least to many of his demands. Nor was *Villeroy* (being alwayes desirous that the War should end in an Accommodation) slack, by the means of his brother the Abbot de *Cheisy*, to promote that Treaty, which, with hopes, and imaginary Conditions, was artificially kept alive.

But the King (who had got an inkling of the business) standing between the machinations of these, which did necessitate him to his conversion, and the earnest desires of the English, and of the Princes of *Germany* (who urged him to give them places in his Kingdom, and securities for the liberty of Religion, wherein they pretended that he must still persevere, if he would have their assistance) was no less afflicted than the Duke of *Mayenne*: which affliction increased much, after he was arrived at *Sedan*: for the Moneys of *England* were not yet disbursed, and the Germans had therefore delayed their coming so long, that it was thought the Popish and Spanish Forces would get into *Lorain* before them: and to his other troubles was added, that *Charlotte de la Mark* Heiress of that Dutchy, being kept in that City, of an age ripe and marriageable, he was forced to take a revolution of matching her, lest the Duke of *Lorain* preventing him (as he had a most earnest desire) should give her to Wife to one of his sons. As the importance of that Dutchy, and particularly of the City of *Sedan*, did necessitate the King to provide, that it might not fall to the Duke of *Lorain*; so did it keep him in great doubt, to whom he should give that Lady in Marriage, who carried with her the possession of a State of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga* son to the D. of *Nevers*, aspired to this Match, confining with her Lands by the Dutchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title; but her being of the Hugonot Religion, as likewise the People and Gentry of those places, was the cause the King would not resolve to satisfy him, lest he should alienate that party from him, and discontent those whom he laboured to keep with so much pains and industry. On the other side, he doubted lest the D. of *Nevers* (of a nature apt to take dis gusts) should be offended, if he should propose any other Match of inferiour quality to his son: Which contrary considerations, after they had held him some dayes in suspense, it being necessary to resolve, at last he concluded to marry her to the Viscount de *Turenne*, as well because of the confidence he had in him, as because he was of the same Religion; and much more to reward him for his excellent service done in raising and bringing in the foreign Army: but it presently produced that effect which the King had before apprehended: for the D. of *Nevers* was incensed to such a height, that he began to encline to those that pressed his conversion, and to hold secret intelligence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the D. of *Longueville* his son in Law, and with the rest of the new party, who made shew to move principally for Religion, which they said was trampled under foot, and themselves deceived, while notwithstanding all promises, those were advanced in strength and power, who openly professed to live and die Hugonots. Nor was there any other remedy for this mischief, save to be incessantly in action, and not to suffer idleness to give nourishment to those thoughts, but to let victorious enterprises put to silence and quiet those spirits which were yet kept hidden in the breasts of men: for which cause, he laboured so much in soliciting the march of the German Army, and in sending them those sums by little and little, which with infinite diligence he had been able to get together from several parts, that in the end he joyned with them, before the Popish and Spanish Armies were come up to cross that union, as the D. of *Mayenne* had ever striven and endeavoured to do: so great an error, that it rendered vain all those so vast expences made, and so many labours undergone, for the gathering together and bringing in of those Forces: for they having inconsiderately spent their time in *Soway*,

1591.

The Duke of *Mayenne* inwardly afflicted for the D. of *Guise's* escape, strives to shew signs of joy, and treats underhand with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Lords that endeavour to set a third party on foot.

Charlotte de la Mark Heir to the Dutchy of *Denilion*, is given in Marriage to *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount de *Turenne*; at which the D. of *Nevers* is disgusted.

1591. to attend businesses that did no ways advance the sum of the War, arrived not soon enough to hinder the King's joyning with the Germans, upon which depended the principal point of the War of this year.

The King being joyned with the German Army, takes Attigny, whither all the wealth of the neighbouring people had been brought in, and grants the pillage of it to the Germans.

Now the King united, without opposition, with the Viscount *de Turenne*, and having taken many Castles about *Metz* and *Sedan*, at last assaulted *Attigny* a great Town, into which all the riches, goods and Cattel of the neighbouring places were reduced; and having very prosperously taken it, he gave all the pillage (which was very great) unto the Germans, who being ill provided of Money, were refreshed and quieted for some time: after which booty, the King (alwayes ready to embrace valiant counsels) thought good to try whether the Commanders of the League had a heart to come to a Battel: wherefore, having known that the Forces of the Pope, the Duke of *Lorain*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were also at last joyned together at *Verdun*, he would needs draw up to them, and provoke them by his presence, and all other possible means to put it to a day, judging the Italian Forces to be yet raw, and the Duke of *Lorain's* not well assured, and therefore no way be compared to his.

The King reinforced by the German supplies brought by the Viscount *de Turenne*, offers battel to the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Plain of *Verdun*.

Wherefore being departed from *Attigny* upon the first of *October*, he quartered that night with his Van-guard at *Grandpre*, upon which day Monsieur *d'Amblise*, who commanded part of the *Lorain* Forces, having marched from *Montfaulcon*, joyned with the Army of the League. The next day about noon the King arrived with his Army within sight of *Verdun*, spreading his Squadrons largely in battelled along the Plain. On the other side, they of the League who were encamped without the City, drew themselves up in Battalia under the Walls; the Italians having the right Wing, the Duke of *Lorain* the Battel, and the Duke of *Mayenne's* French the left; yet the Duke himself commanding and ordering the whole Camp as he pleased. At the first arrival, there began so great and so hot a skirmish between the two Armies, that many of the Commanders themselves thought it would be a Battel; for the Sieurs *de Praslin*, *de la Curre*, *d'Arges*, and the Baron *d'Giury* with the Kings Light-horse, in four Divisions, advanced to the very face of the Enemy to skirmish, being seconded on the right hand, and on the left, by the Count *de Brienne*, and the Sieur *de Marivaux*, with Two hundred Cuirassiers; and on the other side, *Cavalier Avolio*, *Ottavio Cefis*, and *Ascanio della Cornia* were likewise advanced with the Popes Light-horse, and the Sieur *d'Amblise* seconded them with a Body of *Lorain* Lances. But though the skirmish was very fierce in the beginning, the Sieur *de Praslin's* Horse being killed under him, and the Sieur *de la Curre* thrown to the ground with the shock of a Lance, the Italians behaving themselves very gallantly every where; yet were the Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* resolved not to fight, because the Catholick Kings Forces that were come out of *Italy* (following their wonted Counsels) had denied to follow them, and were marched streight to joyn with the Duke of *Parma*, and the Popes Swisses were not above Three thousand: Wherefore, not thinking themselves strong enough to deal with the Kings Army in so open a place, as is the Plain that lies before *Verdun*, the skirmish, by their order, cooled by little and little, and they drawing back their men under the Walls (yet without shew of fear) the King took up his Quarters, and entrenched himself within sight of the Town, and of their Army.

All sorts of provisions came in plentifully to the Camp of the League, and the City furnished them with many conveniences, not onely for victual, but for lodging under cover; whereas the King, in the midst of an enemies Country, and the weather being very rainy, suffered both for want of victual, and conveniency, nor could his Soldiers (accustomed to another kind of Discipline) endure the hardship and incommodities of lying in the field in so contrary a season. To other things was added a most cruel storm that night, with thunders, whirlwinds, and infinite rain, which spoiling all the Soldiers Huts, and overflowing all the Plain, put the whole Army in wonderful confusion: Wherefore next day, the King, after he had stood firm in Battalia for many hours, and none of the enemies appearing in the field, faced about with his Army, and marched back to quarter again at *Grandpre*. There the Germans were like to have mutinied, not being paid the money that had been promised them: Wherefore the King, who could now do no less than perform his promises to the Queen of *England*, that he might receive the other Two hundred thousand Ducats, having made provision at *Sedan* (with the Jewels and credit of the Princess *Charlotte*) of a certain sum of money to quiet his Germans, took, without delay, the way towards *Normandy*, to besiege at last the City of *Rouen*.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne*, contrary to whose expectation the Popes forces had so long delaid their coming, and who had also seen the King of *Spain's* march streight towards *Lorain*, without making any stay, presently dispatched the Count *de Brissac* to the Duke of *Parma*, to protest unto him, that if he entred not into the Kingdom, or sent not such Supplies as should be sufficient to oppose the King, the affairs of the League, and the state of Religion would be very much endangered, and that he should not be able to hinder many from making their peace, as (seeing the slowness and ill counsels of the Confederates) they daily threatned. The Duke made this protestation more at large to *Diego d' Ivarra*, who was there present, shewing him the wonderful ill effect which the delays and secret practices of the Spaniards did produce; for if all the Catholick Kings expences and forces which he had granted severally, to this man, and to that, in *Bretagne*, *Provence*, *Savoy* and *Languedoc*, had been put into one Body, and all imployed to the root of the business, and to the Spring-head of affairs, the victory over the King would thence have ensued, and also the suppression of their Enemies in all places; but whilst the division of the League was endeavoured, whilst his counsels were not believed, and whilst the Duke of *Parma* would not advance, the King had found opportunity to receive his Foreign Forces; and now being grown powerful, he over-ran all *France* at his pleasure, to the admiration and grief of all good men. But these Protestations and Reasons not availing with *Diego d' Ivarra*, who had received another impression, and was otherwise inclined; and the cause from whence this hardness proceeded, being clearly seen by the relation of President *Jean-nin*, the Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* not being able any other way to hinder it, agreed together (though secretly) in this general, to keep close and united together, and not to suffer that any should be admitted to the Crown; not only who was a stranger, but who was not of their own Family; and, that if they were constrained to yield to any other persons, a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion should be chosen, and never to consent, either to the alienation or division of the Kingdom. With this firm resolution, confirmed also by a Writing which they signed, the Duke of *Mayenne* set himself in order to prosecute the War, and being departed from *Verdun*, with the Popes Army and his own, and with the Supplies he had obtained from the Duke of *Lorain*, (who gave way that the Count *de Vandemout*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and the Sieur *de Bassompierre* should follow him) he took the way toward *Champaigne*, that he might not go too far from the Confines, till he heard the determinations of *Flanders*.

The Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* agree secretly not to condescend to the election of any to be King of *France*, not only that was a stranger, but also that was not of their Family, or at least a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion.

When the Duke was arrived at *Retel* in *Champaigne*, the Duke of *Guise* came up to him, accompanied with Six hundred Horse, all Gentlemen, who upon the fame of his being at liberty, were come in to him; and though at his arrival, their greetings and outward actions shewed kindness and confidence in one another; yet did not their secret discourses correspond, either to that kindness or confidence: For just as the Duke of *Mayenne* had suspected, all those that were unsatisfied with him, turned their eyes upon this young Prince, full of high spirits, of an handsom presence, courteous and affable in his behaviour, and which imported more than all, heir to his Fathers Name, and to that love which all the people of *France* had profusely born him. The Parisians, and particularly the Council of Sixteen, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that he should dispose of the Offices of the City as he pleased, without confiding in any of their number; did openly call upon the name, and desire the exaltation of this Prince; and even the Spaniards applying themselves to do him all possible honours, set him as a counterpoise against the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom they had no good intelligence, because they saw him little inclined to favour their designs. The Sieur *de la Chastre*, the Sieur *de Vins*, and Colonel *St. Paul* followed him particularly, as in the general all those that had been obliged by, or had depended upon his Father; and he, though new come into play, and little informed of affairs, was not in any way failing unto himself: Wherefore being by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Sieur *de Bassompierre*, made acquainted what they had agreed upon with the Duke of *Lorain*, viz. Not to suffer any to rise to the Crown that was not of their Family; and in case they were forced otherwise, to name a Prince of the Blood; he at first excused himself, that he had not yet any information of businesses, and afterwards demanded time to confer with the Dutches his Mother; and finally concluded, that he would not alienate himself from the Spaniards, but would first hear the Duke of *Parma's* opinions, and after dispatch men expressly to that

The Duke of *Mayenne* being at *Retel*, the Duke of *Guise* comes to him well accompanied, and is received with outward shews of love, but in their secret conferences, their confidence is not correspondent.

1591. Court, to treat of his affairs with the Catholick King: Nevertheless, the Duke of Mayenne, full of moderation, and accustomed to overcome all encounters with patience, commending his Nephews resolution, and making shew that he would favour his advancement, laboured to keep him near himself, not to give him means or convenience to think or treat of new designs.

At the news of the death of Pope Gregory the XIV, the Duke of Montemarciano interposes delays, and declares that he will depend upon the will of the Duke of Parma.

Whilst they passed the time here in these businesses, expecting the Count of Brissac's return, and the answer from Flanders, the news of the Popes death arrived, which bred new difficulties in all things; for the Duke of Montemarciano, not knowing what the Cardinals would determine, during the vacancy, nor what the Pope that should be chosen would do, began to interpose delays, and to say he would not stir from what the Duke of Parma should resolve: and Monsignore Mattencei, Archbishop of Ragusa, Commissary of the Camp, having but little money, proposed the dismissing of the Swisses, till new orders (which were to be expected from Rome) should come; which things, while they detain the Duke of Mayenne in the same place, a new troublesome accident had like to have turned all the affairs of the League upside down.

The Parisian Council of Sixteen, most nearly united with the Preachers, and with the Colledge of Sorbonne, having from the very beginning been the Basis and Foundation of the League, had always pretended to rule matters their own way; wherein carrying themselves with those passions and affections that are proper to factious persons, without any regard to the conservation of the members of the Crown, or to the decency and reputation of the French Nation, they only laboured for those things that might suppress the King, (whom they perfectly hated) extinguish the name and party of the Hugonots, and put the reins of Government into the hands of persons that might rule according to their desire and appetite. But the Duke of Mayenne, though he owed to these the beginning of his exaltation, the maintenance of the League, the support of the War, and the late defence of Paris, was not yet inclined to follow their ways, but rather (wholly intent upon keeping the Kingdom entire) strove to bridle and moderate their turbulent spirit; wherefore he had from the beginning instituted the Council of State, contradicting from this, wherein were many prudent moderate men, who did counterbalance and restrain the course of things: among these, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Sieur de Villeroy, President Jeannin, the Bishop of Meaux, and the Sieur de Videville, who were all averse from the Spanish attempts, and from the inconsiderate Zeal of the Preachers. The Duke had also ever endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important businesses unto it, and bearing great respect to the Decrees which in divers matters were made by those Counsellors: and though the fidelity of the first President Brisson, and many others had been suspected, as if they would have laboured to make the City revolt unto the Kings party: yet he dissembling the matter, was not sorry that one Council should counterpoise the other, and was always displeased when the Sixteen accused him and many others of the Council, of treachery: for though he saw that some of them were inclined to the King, and managed businesses, in favour of him, he did not believe they could do much hurt, but rather help exceedingly to restrain the impetuous determinations of the Sixteen, by which he feared to be turned about, if the Parliament should sink in credit and authority. This secret consultation between the Parliament, and the Council of State on the one side, and the Council of Sixteen on the other, discovered it self by little and little, and proceeded so far, that as these were partial to the greatness and authority of the Duke of Mayenne, so the others made themselves Favourers of the Spanish demands, and in many things contrary to the Duke. These were those who in the siege precipitately made many of the Citizens to be executed, that were suspected to be for the King: these, somented by the Duke of Nemours, contradicted the election which the Duke had made of the Officers of the City; and these were the very same that were Authors and Introducers of the Spanish Garrison: and they did often labour that the Catholick King might have the *Mark of Justice*, and be acknowledged as Patron of the League, and Protector of the Crown of France. But now, the passion of these men still increasing, being unsatisfied with the Duke of Mayenne, whom they taxed of fear and meanness of spirit; and being mad against the Parliament, whose gravity they saw withstood their power, they were grown bold and presumptuous since the Duke of Guise was at liberty; and since the Spaniards (having discovered the agreement between the Dukes of Mayenne and Lorraine) began openly to try to pull it down, and to draw unto themselves the Forces of the party, the strength whereof

The Council of Sixteen falls into an emulation with the Parliament of Paris, and with the Council of State chosen by the Duke of Mayenne.

whereof consisted in the City of *Paris*. These had the common people at their devotion, not only by reason of their natural dependance as fellow-Citizens, but also because they were weary of Contributions, which the greedy nature of the Duke of *Mayenne* did often multiply beyond what was fit; the disburfing of them afterwards not excusing the weight of those burdens with his honour and equity. Wherefore some of the chief of the *Sixteen*, that were most affectionate to the party, (whom they called *Zealots*) began to contrive the way to abase the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more easily to dispose of the affairs of the City, and put it either under the Duke of *Guise*, or the immediate protection of King *Philip*. The Spanish Ministers assented to, or rather concurred in this attempt; and no less than they, the Bishop of *Piacenza*, who since the Popes death was wholly turned to favour *Spain*; and the principal men were the *Sieur de Buffy* Governour of the *Bastille*, the *Sieur de Cromay* Counsellor of the Great Council, Commissary *Louchart*, *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* a Treasurer, *Boucher* a Divine, Father *Commolet* a Jesuite, and divers others of the same condition. After many consultations and debates among them, by advice of the Bishop of *Piacenza*, they chose four of the *Sixteen*, who should go to the Duke of *Mayenne* to carry their complaints, and to demand that the Council of State might be replenished with sufficient faithful men, and such as the City might confide in: That that Council might always reside in *Paris*: That the Treasurers Accounts might be over-looked, and especially of one *Ribes*, that kept the Duke of *Mayenne's* particular Coffers: That this might be done by select persons approved of by the Council of the *Union*: That the *Gabeller* might be taken away, which were newly imposed by the Governour *Belin*, and the *Prevost des Merchants*: That the City-Garrison might be payed and increased for their security: and finally, That President *Brissot* (against whom they carried a whole heap of complaints) and some other principal men of the Parliament, might be put out of their Offices, and severely and exemplarily punished and rooted out, as Traitors and Rebels.

These four Deputies came to *Rheims* at the time when the Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Lorain*; and having waited for him many days, they at last found him at *Retel*; where having been heard by him, they were at first sharply reprehended as men that demanded too much, and aspired unto an absolute power: but afterward, not to exasperate them utterly, he used them more favourably in their other audiences, shewing them, that whilst he was busied with the Enemy, he had not leisure to attend those matters: that in due time and place, he would come personally to *Paris*, to give them all possible satisfaction; and that in the interim they should abstain from meddling with new designs, which put all things in confusion, and doing themselves harm, did wonderfully advantage the Enemy. But these men being returned to *Paris*, not much edified by the Dukes Answer, and particularly offended at his first reprehension of them, instead of moderating, increased the boldness of the rest, exclaiming afresh against the Duke, and saying it was necessary to take some resolution, for that they found him wholly averse from their intentions: wherefore all of them boiling with anger, thinking themselves undervalued by the Duke, and at last being resolved either to abase, or absolutely to change the Parliament, that they might govern the City their own way, they began to stir up the people, perswading them that Religion was betrayed, and that the Parliament endeavoured to put the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*.

It happened that *Brigard*, one of the first Fomenters of the League at *Paris*, having been accused, as if (having changed his mind) he held intelligence, and plotted secretly in favour of the King, was by the instigation of the *Sixteen* violently cast in prison: but in the mean time, while they proceeded slowly against him with due proofs, he found means, either by money, or his own industry, to escape out of the place where he was kept, and also to get secretly out of the City, and out of the hands of his Enemies: which thing seemed very foul to the Council of *Sixteen*, and thinking he had been maliciously let go, by the Judges themselves who made his Process, being raised to the height of their fury, and with this incentive fomented by the Spanish Ministers, and by the Garrison which depended on them, they put the people in Arms upon the fifteenth of *November* in the morning, and, without further consideration, being led by the *Sieur de Buffy* and Commissary *Louchart*, having taken and blocked up all the ways that led to the Palace of Justice, they took prisoners the first President *Brissot*, *Claude P. Archer*, and *Jehan Tardif*, one Councillor of the *Chastelet*, and the other of the Court,

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Brigard, who had been imprisoned upon suspicion of Plots against the League, being escaped, the Judges that made his process are by the people in Arms tumultuously put in prison, and by the Council of Sixteen are caused to be strangled, as accomplices in his flight.

The Council of Sixteen resolves to put it self under the protection of the Catholick King.

The Contents of certain Articles made by the Council of Sixteen.

who were the same men that had made the Process of *Brigard*; these being brought fast bound to the *Chastelet*, the same day, without any lawful form of Process, but some precipitate informations taken by the *Sieur de Cromay*, were strangled in prison, and the next morning ignominiously hanged up in publick upon the Gallows. Then, as if they had obtained some signal Victory, running up and down the City with the common people armed and furious, they set their Guards in many places, and threatened to take the same course against many others. The Governour desiring to put some stop to these proceedings, being also advised to it by the Dutcheffes of *Nemours* and *Montpensier*, began to try whether the strangers of the Garison would obey him: but having found them all disposed to favour the Council of Sixteen, and their present actions; and *Alessandro de Monti* having freely said, that he would not stir against those who sincerely managed the Cause of God and of all good men; he thought it a better way to go out unarmed to parly with them, and to endeavour to appease the people, and in part remedy those mischiefs that were like to follow: But neither did this succeed: for they valued him but little, and the *Prevost des Merchands* much less, desiring ardently to put them both out. All the sixteenth day was spent in this tumult; and on the seventeenth in the morning, their Council being met in the house of a Divine, named *Pellettier*, Curate of *St. Jaques de la Boucherie*, they resolved to put themselves freely under the King of Spain's protection, and in the mean time to present some Articles to the Council of State, for the Government of the City; which by all means they would have accepted and put in execution. The Articles contained, That a Court of Justice should be formed of men of their party, which should proceed against Hereticks and Favourers of the Navarrais; thinking with the Judgments and Executions of this, to destroy and annihilate the Parliament: That all Commerce with those of *St. Denis* should be broken; which the Duke of *Mayenne* had established, to facilitate the concourse of victuals: That the Imposts upon Wine should be taken away; and that the Account of all those should be over-looked, who had managed the moneys raised by the Contributions and *Gabelles* of the City: That the moneys that came in by the ordinary Imposts, should not be spent but in the payment of the Garison, which should be increased with Foreigners, either Walloons, Italians, or Spaniards: That the Council of State should be filled up to a certain number; and the men that should be chosen of it, were named by them: That likewise a Council of War might be framed, whereof some Colonels of the City were to be, and the chief Commanders of the Foreign Militia; without the consent of which Council, the Governour should not be able to resolve any thing: And finally, That the Seals of the Crown, which the Duke of *Mayenne* carried about wheresoever he was himself, should remain constantly in the City, and not be removed to any other place. This being resolved on, they presently dispatched Father *Claudio Mattei* with Letters to King *Philip*, in which they prayed him to take upon him their Protection and Government: And having with cries and clamours made the Council of State to be assembled, they propounded the Articles, to the end they might be confirmed and executed. The Governour and *Prevost des Merchands*, with some of the gravest *Eschevins*, endeavoured to get the benefit of time, alledging, that the day was too far spent, and hoping that by delay, the ardour of the people would be cooled: But the Council, according to their advice, having determined to stay till the next day, the Sixteen with the people in arms stopt Madam de *Nemours* as she was going out from the Council, and would by all means have the Articles confirmed; which the Council having chosen to do, as the lesser evil, the Dutcheffes her self carrying forth the Decree that was made about it, pray'd them with gentle words to forbear the execution of it till her Son, the Duke of *Mayenne*, had given his consent, without whose knowledge it was not fit things of so great importance should be done; that the delay was but for a few days, that the Council, and she her self would dispatch the *Sieur de Bougy* to the Duke to carry him the Decree, and bring back his confirmation of it, and she assured them they should remain fully contented and satisfied. The fury of the people being in part appeased with this grant, they began to lay down their arms, and to be quiet again, expecting the resolution of the Duke; who from *Retel*, being gone to *Laon*, to meet with the Dutcheffes, Mother to the Duke of *Guise*, upon the twentieth day in the evening, received the news of what had hapned in *Paris*.

He was wonderfully moved at so dangerous an accident, which was about to strike directly at his authority, but yet would not shew any trouble of mind, lest the Duke

of

of *Guise* who was present, should take notice of his anger against his dependents, but only said, that he would expect the *Sieur du Bourg* (who the Governour wrote him word, was immediately to depart) to be better informed of the business, and that it was good to remedy popular commotions with gentleness, and not to be incensed against them, to avoid greater scandals and more pernicious errors: for the people drawn by a good zeal, do ordinarily move without consideration. These words settled the mind of the Duke of *Guise*, who was afraid lest he should prove cruel against his dependents, and the discourses of the next day quieted him much more; so that though the Duke of *Mayenne* said he would go to *Paris* to prevent those mischiefs that might happen by the divisions of mens minds; yet he let himself be perswaded to stay, because he had the command of the Army, and was to meet with the Duke of *Parma*; who being come to *Valenciennes*, was in the end of the month to be at *Guise*, that they might resolve together of the time and manner of his coming. The *Sieur du Bourg* arrived the day following, from whom the Duke had the whole Narration of the business, and of the Decree that had been made in the Council of State to appease the people; whereupon being resolved to depart, and determining with himself to establish his own power and authority by this occasion, he dispatched Monsieur *de Rosne* to the Duke of *Parma*, to excuse him if he could not be at the place appointed upon the prefixed day, and left the charge of the Army, and of meeting with the Duke of *Parma*, to the Duke of *Guise*; but with such caution, that to the end he might not be able to do any thing in arms, he gave secret orders to *Rosne* and *Tavannes*, who were Marshalls of the field, that they should neither draw forth Artillery nor Ammunition, which were all at *la Fere*; and he gave the Duke of *Guise* no Information at all of the particulars that were to be treated of with the Duke of *Parma*, to the end he might not be able to conclude any thing of moment; and having obtained of the Duke of *Montemarcano*, and of Commissary *Mattenucci*, that the Switzers might not be dismissed at that time; and that all the Forces should stay till his return, shewing haste and want of time, he took with him the Counts of *Vaudemont*, *Chaligny* and *Brissac*, the *Sieurs de Bassompierre* and *Villeroy*, with Seven hundred of his best Horse, part French, part Lorainers, and departed upon the Five and twentieth in the morning towards *Paris*; leaving President *Jeannin* with the Duke of *Guise*, to moderate his Counsels, and to observe his carriage.

The same night *Don Diego d'Ivarra* went the same journey, (though the Duke had desired him to stay) not being willing to let himself be deceived as the Duke of *Guise* had been, but being by all means resolved with his help and counsel to assist against the danger of the Spanish adherents. The Duke making speed in his journey, would yet nevertheless take with him two Regiments of Foot that were at *Saïssons*, and having received the *Sieur de Verry* with Two hundred other Horse at *Meaux*, he arrived near the City of *Paris* upon the Twenty eighth day in the evening. The *Sixteen*, with the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, seeing the Duke come armed, and knowing, that the Governour, and the *Prevost des Marchands*, with the dependents of the Council of State and Parliament would be powerful in the City, (though *Bussy* kept the *Bastille* for them) being much affrighted, propounded to appease him with words and demonstrations, and sent four of the chief of them, with many of the Citizens to meet him, to the end, they might endeavour to divert the anger which they imagined he came withal. These met him at the Abbey of *St. Anthoine* without the Walls, and, with a discourse full of submission, strove to perswade him, that all had been done to an extream good end, for the safety of the City, the conservation of Religion, the maintenance of his own Authority, and to satisfy the people that were desperate, because there was no shew at all made against those Rebels and disturbers of the publick peace: That this had been chosen as the least evil, to the end, that the people enraged might not make some bloody tumult: That those who had been executed were manifestly guilty, as he might see by the proofs, which though they were not accompanied with the wonted Forms of Justice, were at least true, real and manifest: That the Articles propounded to the Councillors of State, were by them accounted reasonable; yet that nevertheless they submitted them to his censure: And finally, they put him in mind how much they had done and suffered for the greatness of his House, and for his own exaltation, and besought him to make himself be known for an indulgent loving Father, and not for a punctual severe Prince. The Duke, who desired not to receive an obstacle at his entering into *Paris*, but to be let in with his Forces without resistance,

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resistance, excellently dissembling the injury he had received, and the anger that was kindled in him; welcomed them all severally, and answered them in general, that he came to the City for no other end, and with no other intention but to secure it, as he that knew well, the sustentation of Religion, and his own hopes were all founded and placed in that people, and in the Council of *Sixteen*, the first authors and framers of his party: With which words and outward shows, having in great part assured their minds, he entred that night into the City when it was late, and being conducted to his Hostel, he held the same discourse with many, knowing, that by proceeding so, if he should find opposition, he might attribute the pardon to his own will; and if he could execute his intentions, those outward demonstrations could not hurt or prejudice him in any manner. A while after him arrived *Diego d' Ivarra*, who being come to him with the other Spanish Ministers, they strove together to perswade him not to shew any resentment of what was past, but to give satisfaction to the people for the time to come; since the things that had happened, though they were done without due orders and forms of Justice, were yet good in themselves, and profitable for the conservation of Religion; and that in the distractions of Civil Wars, the ordinary rules of good Government cannot be so well observed, but many things are done to a good end in the heat of dangers, which in quiet peaceful times would in no wise be suffered; That he himself had proceeded in that manner at *la Fore*, without forming any Process against the Marquis de *Menelay*, whom he had caused to be killed; for otherwise that place could not have been kept; That therefore it was better to quiet all things by approving what was fallen out, than by going about to punish any one, to kindle new discords, and more dangerous tumults. The Duke answered with the same moderation, and so parted with the Spaniards: but having taken information of the Forces that were in the City, and having been told by the Governour, and the *Prevost des Merchands*, that the greater and better part of the people would be at his devotion, he caused the Colonels of the City to guard their several Quarters that night; and in the morning, having put in Arms the Foot and Horse he brought with him, he went up to the *rue St. Ambroise*, and sent to command the *Sieur de Buffy* at that very instant to deliver up the *Bastille* into his hands: he excusing himself, interposing delays, and demanding security that he should be harmless; the Duke caused the Artillery to be taken out of the *Arcenal*, and began to make them be drawn that way: whereat the Governour of the *Bastille* affrighted, (being a man more accustomed to any thing than the exercise of Arms) and not seeing that any in the City stirred in favour of him; for the Governour and *Prevost* had possessed and blocked up all the ways; he at last, after many Treaties, agreed to leave the *Bastille*, receiving a promise not only from the Duke, but from many others, that his life should be given him; and yet being come home to his house, he was assaulted the same evening, and was necessitated to save himself, by getting over the tops of houses, with much ado, and with very great danger; and after some few days (the Duke winking at it) he fled secretly from the City, and went to live in another place. *Buffy* being out of the *Bastille*, the Duke chose the *Sieur du Bourg* (a man valiant and trusty) Governour of it, and put such a Garrison into it, as secured it from all danger that might happen: which done, he the next morning sent the *Sieur de Viry* with his Horse, (the streets being still blocked up, and the Militia in Arms) and caused to be taken prisoners at their own Houses, Commissary *Louebart*, Captain *Emmonot*, *Barthelemy Aurox* Colonel of the Quarter of the Carmelites, and *Ameline* the Advocate, *Cromay* the Counsellour being stolen away, and secretly fled: for being hid by the Spaniards, he continued many days in the habit of a Souldier, among those of the Garrison, and went afterwards into *Flanders*, where he lived in great necessity. These four, judged to be the most faulty of the *Sixteen*, were the next day strangled by the Hang-man in a Chamber of the *Louvre*, and after publicly hanged upon the Gallows; the example sufficing the Duke to recover his authority and reputation, without shewing cruelty in the blood of so many others that were guilty of the same crime. This severity did wonderfully terrifie the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*: but the Duke, not willing to lose them, nor to put himself upon an enterprize that might be sinisterly interpreted, nor yet to make so great a confusion as might cause some division in his party, went personally to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, and there with grave and moderate words assured them of his favour and protection: and said, That in consideration of their former vertue and constancy, he pardoned the present disobedience and conspiracy; and, making shew

The Duke of Mayenne being come to Paris to appease the Insurrection, takes the *Bastille*, kept by the *Sieur de Buffy*: and having set strong guards in the several quarters of the City, causes four of the chief of the Council of *Sixteen* which were most guilty to be strangled.

to do it for their sake, he caused an Edict to be published, wherein declaring that he had satisfied Justice by the punishment of four seditious persons, he granted pardon to all the rest, imposing silence and oblivion to what was past. Out of this Pardon he excepted the Counsellor *Cromay*, *Adrian Cocher*, and the * *Greffier* that wrote the Sentence against *Briffon*; who afterwards perished diversly by divers ways. At the same time he also decreed, that experience having shewn how pernicious those Meetings and Conventicles were which were made secretly without the presence of the publick Magistrate, none should upon pain of death any more assemble any other Councils within the City or without, save the ordinary Council of the Union, with the assistance or presence of the lawful Magistrates. These Decrees, registred with full consent of the Parliament, put an end to the power of the *Sixteen*, and did something slacken and retard the designs and machinations of the Spanish Ministers.

But as soon as the Duke of *Parma* knew distinctly the things that had passed in *Paris*, he shewed himself infinitely ill satisfied at all that had been done, publicly blamed the little consideration of the other Ministers, who, to get a vain dependence of the basest dregs of the people, disgusted and alienated the Duke of *Mayenne*, in whose hand the Arms and strength of the party were, and without whom, it was not to be thought that any good could be brought to a conclusion: he testified to the *Sieur de Rhojne*, that those things were done without his privity; praised the Duke of *Mayenne* for punishing the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and when the Duke of *Guise* came to him to *Valenciennes*, though he honoured him with all possible demonstrations, yet he refused to treat with him about any thing without his Uncle's presence and consent. He saw that all the rest of the party were ill grounded; that there was no sure foundation to be made upon the people; that the Nobility depended upon the Duke, and the strong places were held by men that he confided in; that he alone, with his prudence and valour, was fit to manage all the rest: wherefore he assented not to the counsel of exasperating him, and putting him in despair, from whence he knew the resolution taken with the Duke of *Lorain* had proceeded; being certain, that when he should once see himself unable to keep up his dignity, and the Place which he held, he would presently make an Agreement with the King: nor did he doubt but all other French-men, except some few, would follow his counsel and authority. Wherefore he saw clearly, that having a desire to prosecute the design that was begun, it was necessary to proceed slowly and cunningly, and not to put all things in confusion, and the minds of the French in terror and suspicion, by a precipice of furious resolutions.

To this effect he wrote into *Spain*, and gave the same advertisement to the Ministers of State that were in *France*; though in both places they were of another mind, and particularly, in the Council of *Spain* they thought that by sending small supplies into several Provinces, they should gain themselves many dependents, alienating them from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that so the War would be nourished and prolonged, with less expence and more advantage: to this purpose they had granted assistance of men to the Duke of *Foyens* in *Guaspoigne*, to the end that he might sustain the War on that side near the *Pirenean* mountains: for this purpose they had sent the Duke of *Savoy* three thousand Foot, and three hundred thousand Ducats, that he might maintain the War in *Provence* and *Dauphine*; and for the same effect they had sent *Aquila's* *Tertia* into *Bretagne*, to gain the Duke of *Mercœur*; who with that assistance advancing his own affairs, this year in the beginning of the Spring had almost driven the Prince of *Dombes* out of the confines of that Province: but the English being come, who landed at *Brest* without any hinderances, businesses were equally balanced; so that after many petty encounters, which imported not much to the sum of affairs, the Armies at last came to face one another.

The Duke of *Mercœur* was strong in Light-horse led by the *Marquiss de Belle-Isle*, Son to the *Marschal de Retz*, and powerful in Foot by virtue of the Spanish *Tertia*, who were no less expert in Manufactures than in the matters of the War. On the other side, the Prince was accompanied with great store of *Geny*, and therefore had a good Body of Horse, though in Foot, by reason the English were raw men, and the French all Musketeers, he was not to be compared to the Army of the League: For this cause, though they were within half a mile of one another, the Duke kept himself intrenched and encamped in mountainous woody places, advantageous for Foot; and the Prince was drawn out into the field, where the Squadrons of Cavalry might spread

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* Of *Narys*.

The Duke of *Parma* declares that he had not been privy to the commotion of the Parisians, praises the D. of *Mayenne* for having punished the delinquents; and having met with the Duke of *Guise* at *Valenciennes*, refuses to treat with him without the presence of the D. of *Mayenne*.

The Spaniards grant small supplies to divers French Heads of the League, to alienate them from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and divide them from the body of the League.

The Duke of *Mercœur* with the Spaniards, and the Prince of *Dombes* with the English, face one another in *Bretagne*.

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spread and enlarge themselves as they pleased: and neither of them being willing to stir from their advantage, (after three days of obstinate continuance in that manner, in which time there happened many encounters) they both took a resolution to retire; and went to besiege several places.

But the King having about this time sent the *Sieur de la Noüe* with eight hundred Germans to assist the Prince as his Lieutenant in the managing of the War, they resolved, being thus strengthened in Foot, to turn again toward the Enemy, and try some opportunity to get the better of him: but it was hard for them to meet; for the Duke of *Mercœur*, a discreet wary Souldier, would not put all he possessed in the Province (which was a great deal) into the power of Fortune; but having the assistance and money of *Spain*, endeavoured to tire out the Enemy; and on the other side, *la Noüe* moderating the Princes forwardness with wise provident counsel, would not suffer him to incur the danger of a battel without manifest advantage. Wherefore, after divers encounters and various attempts on both sides, to bring the Enemy under, the Duke at last went to assault *St. Maximin*, and the Prince marched to besiege *Lambale*, which having battered, and with his Artillery made a convenient breach in the Wall, while the *Sieur de la Noüe* went personally to view it, and the works of the Town, he received a Musket-shot in the head, of which he died within a few days after, having in an inconsiderable action (as it often happens) unexpectedly met death, which he had not feared in so many difficult and glorious enterprises. He being dead, the King commanded the *Sieur de Lavardin* to go into *Bretagne* to supply his place, who proceeding with the same counsels, though military encounters were most frequent thorow the whole Province with variety of fortune, yet did they never come to the hazard of fighting with all their Forces; but it satisfied the Prince in so vast a Province, where his Forces were inferiour to the Enemies, to keep his name alive, and the affairs of his party in being.

The *Sieur de la Noüe* going to view the breach and the works at *Lambale*, is killed with a Musket-shot in the head.

The Kings affairs in *Dauphine* were much more prosperous, though the Duke of *Savoy*, of an unwearied mind and body, used his endeavours in those parts, with many of his own Forces, and with strong supplies from *Spain*; but the greatest strength of the Province being on the Kings side, under a vigilant, resolute, diligent, and valiant Commander, who often obtained by policy what could not so easily be compassed with force, was the cause that after the defeat of *Ponte-Chiarra* the League was almost excluded out of *Dauphine*, and the seat of the War began to be in the Duke of *Savoy's* own Country.

On the other side, the fortune of the Savoyards was more successful in *Provence*; for having *Marseilles* (if not wholly subject to the Duke, yet at least most partial to the League) the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the chiefest at their devotion: *Berre* being taken, they made themselves terrible to the Province, in which Monsieur *de la Valette* with a small force, could not equal their power; so that Count *Francesco Martinengo*, after the taking of many Towns and Castles, did without much opposition, over-run that part that extends it self along the Sea-shore. But having at last laid siege to *Vinon*, whilst he battered it with exceeding great fury, Monsieur *de la Valette* being resolved to shew more courage than he had strength, and rather to trust the affairs of the Province to the arbitrement of fortune, than to waste himself with retreating continually in all places, advanced that way with Seven hundred Horse, and not more than One thousand and two hundred Foot, and having divided his men into four Battalions, whereof one was put in the Rear for a reserve and re-inforcement to the rest, commanded by the Viscount *de Gournet*, he marched straight without other advantage to assault the Enemy, who being risen from the siege, and having past a Rivulet that was between them, came resolutely to meet him. Nor was the conflict unlike the valour of the Commanders; for it was obstinately fought on both sides with equal courage for the space of many hours, till the Viscount entering fresh into the Battel with the last Squadron of Horse, reserved for their utmost hope in so great need, the Savoyards already wearied with long fighting, began to give ground to the Enemy, who was fresh and eager; whereupon *la Valette's* other Squadrons also, recovering vigour, charged them so home, that they made them return full speed over the water, and had pursued them with a great execution, if the mutual losses they received had not perswaded them to end the business; which while it was in the greatest heat, the Souldiers that were in *Vinon*, falling gallantly out of their works, assaulted them

Count *Francesco Martinengo* is defeated by Monsieur *de la Valette*, and the siege of *Vinon* is raised

them that guarded the Savoyards Artillery, and having routed them, nailed some great Picces, fired a great deal of Ammunition, and did them many other mischiefs. This defeat curb'd the Dukes proceedings, and did for some time secure the Kings affairs in *Provence*.

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Nor was the War less hot in the Territories of *Geneva*; for the *Sieur de Sancy*, who being retired to *Basil*, to obtain some number of Swisses in that Canton, having had intelligence that a hundred thousand Ducats were on the way from *Milan* to make Levies in *Germany*, and that they were conducted by a few men, without any considerable Convoy, he laid an ambush for them in the Forrest of *Basil* with so good success, that he took the Money, and being come with it to *Geneva*, had in a few dayes hired a Regiment of Swisses of the Canton of *Berne*, where there being also arrived three hundred Horse raised in the State of *Venice* by Monsieur de Metz the Kings Ambassador to that Republiek, and commanded by Count *Mutio Porto*, and *Pausania Braxaduro* Vicentinae, and Captain *Nicolo Nassa* Florentine, he had in a short time recovered the territory of *Geneva*, and was advanced to assault the places that were held by the Savoyards; during the siege of one of which, named *Borings*, some Companies of Neapolitans and Milanese belonging to the Catholick King, and that were there to assist the Duke of *Savoy*, marched up to disturb them; but being fiercely charged by the Italian Cavalry, desirous to make themselves remarkable in gallant actions, they were routed and dispersed, and *Borings* surrendered it self to the discretion of the Enemy.

The *Sieur de Sancy* who was at *Basil* to raise men in that Canton, having heard of One hundred thousand Ducats that were carrying from *Milan* toward *Germany*, to levy forces there, places himself in ambush in a Wood, assaults the Convoy, and with much ease takes the Money.

In this interim *Don Amadeo* having rallied his Forces, advanced to stop the Enemies incursions, and being come near unto their Army, they sent back their great Cannon to *Geneva*, and encamped themselves in an advantageous place, keeping the top of an Hill with the Body of their Army, and with their Van-guard a Wood that was at the bottom of it. There *Don Amadeo* having discovered how the enemy was quartered, commanded forth his Van-guard to make themselves Masters of the Wood, where they of the Kings party making small resistance, retired little less than routed to the rest of the Army, which stood in *Battalia* upon the wayes of the Hill: But the Italian Cavalry going down into the plain field, violently charged, and repulsed the enemies Van guard with the death of many; so that they also retired in like manner half defeated to their main Body. But the Duke of *Savoy* knowing that in the strength of narrow places, which till the whole Territories of *Geneva*, his men could make but small progress, with the hazard of receiving much damage; while these Forces imployed themselves with those of *Geneva*, commanded *Don Amadeo* to retire, and onely to defend his own, till the Supplies should either be dissolved, or be sent for away to other places. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for the *Sieur de Gentry* who commanded the French forces, and the Italian Cavalry seeing the Savoyards retreated to defend their own, resolved to go and assist the *Marschal d'Annon* in *Bourbonois*, where he had much ado to resist the Duke of *Nemours*, a Prince, that with his fierceness and courage kept all those places which confined upon his Forces in very great terror. But the progress of the War was also weak on that side; for the *Marschal* having attempted to besiege *Autun*, a Town, which, because it was strong, and well manned, molested all the Country round about; after many assaults and divers attempts, he was by the Duke of *Nemours* forced to retire with no ordinary loss.

* The French says *Vary*.

About the same time that the Duke of *Mayenne* was troubled in the business of the Parisians, there was a Battel in the * Country of *Cabors*, where the *Marquis de Villars*, who governed the party of the League, and the Duke of *Vantadour* who held for the King, encountred one another, with much Gentry on both sides, and with a very great number of Foot; in which action, after a valiant fight of two long hours, at last they of the Kings party had the better, and having slain six hundred of the Enemy, among which were many Gentlemen of great renown, remained Masters of the Field, and of the carriages; and afterwards took *Cadenet*, an exceeding strong place, and many other lesser Towns; in which businesses the courage of the *Sieur de Temines*, and Captain *Vivans* appeared most clearly, the greatest merit of the victory, and the progress of so fair achievements being attributed to their valor.

* *Query*.

While they labor thus with various success, in the other parts of the Kingdom, the King marched with his whole Army toward *Normandy*, being resolved to besiege *Rouen*, as well because of the promises wherewith he had engaged himself to the Queen of *England*, either to give her some jurisdiction in that City, or to assign her some

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other

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The course taken by the *Sieur de Villars* in ordering, disposing, and preparing things to receive the siege, which was going to be laid to *Rouen* by the Kings Army.

And yet there was not any of the contrary party, who perceived not that things were setting in order to besiege *Rouen*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* being confident that that was the King's intention, did, with no less diligence busie himself in making those provisions that were fit for the defence of it; and to give it reputation, he had sent his son *Henry* thither, to give such orders as were needful, to confirm the people, and to give them assurance that they should not remain without relief. The Military affairs, and the weight of the defence, he laid wholly upon the *Sieur de Villars*, a Cavalier not onely of high spirit and courage, but absolutely depending upon his name and authority; who going first to *Havre de Grace*, a Fortrefs abundantly furnished by former Kings, and leaving the Government of it to the *Sieur de Guion*, who likewise was a *Provençal* by birth, returned to *Rouen* with two and thirty pieces of Cannon of several sizes, and with every thing necessary to make use of them; all which he caused to be carried in great Boats up the River; and brought thither Six hundred Horse of that Country, and One thousand and two hundred of those *Provençal* Foot, which had long followed the War under his Command in those parts: and as a man to whom learning (which he was adorned withal) suggested generous spirits, and the experience of many years, supplied with wary prudent Counsels, knowing how much good, order is wont to produce in Military affairs, and desiring therefore that all things might proceed with a due disposal, under their proper Heads, and that every one might know and execute his own Charge; he called all the Heads of the Clergy, the principal men of the Parliament, the chief of the People, and the Officers of the Souldiery, and distributed to every one his part of those labours that were to be undergon in their future defence. He destined the *Sieur de la Londe* (an old Soldier, well known in the City, by having lived there many years) to the Office of Serjeant Major: to the defence of *St. Catherines* Mount, wherein the sum of the business consisted, he chose the *Chevalier Piccard* with his Regiment, and two hundred other Musketers commanded by the *Sieur de Jessan*. The old Palace standing between the *Porte de Cbaux*, and the River *Seine* on the North-side, he gave to the *Sieur de Banquemare*, first President of the Parliament, with One hundred Swissers and Three hundred French: the old Castle, with the part adjoining towards * *Maistre*, he assigned to his brother the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, to whom he gave the Regiments of Colonel *Boniface*, and of *Commendatory Grillon*; and the West-side toward the *Fauxbourg de St. Severe* beyond the River, he gave to Captain *Giacopo Argenti* of *Ferrara*, with his Regiment: *Carlo Sigimolfi* a *Neapolitan* Engineer of great experience, commanded the Artillery; Captain *Basin* the Fire-works,

* The French sayes towards the East.

works, which were made in very great abundance: and at every Gate, one of the ancientest Presidents, and one of the Counsellors of the Parliament assisted, as well for security as reputation. The Citizens were divided into Ten Companies, under ten Commanders, chosen by them; whereof eight were to guard eight Bulwarks or great Towers lined with earth, which were in the Circuit of the City; and the other two had the Main-guard in the great Market-place; and in the Palace of Justice were lodged two hundred Swissers, and as many French Fire-locks, to be ready to help where need should require. The Governor also caused some little Barks to be furnished with small Pieces of Artillery, and manned with twenty Soldiers to each of them, as well on the upper as on the lower part of the *Seine*; which under the command of their Admiral the *Sieur d'Anquetil*, were to run up and down the River, to make Prize of such Vessels as should stir, and to take Cattel and other provisions along the banks of it, to keep the City in more plenty of Victual. Two Counsellors of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the City, were employed in the distributing of bread; and the old *Sieur de Courfey* had the care of delivering out the Ammunition. With this order, very well contrived, and exceeding well executed, by the diligence of the Governour, and the experience of those to whom it was intrusted, things went on so quietly and so happily, that during all the time of the siege, there neither happened any disorder, nor did any body suffer for want of Victual, the price of provisions not much differing from the ordinary rate.

Against these provisions, the *Mareschal de Biron*, after he had received Three thousand English Foot that had landed at *Boulogne*, and were led by the Earl of *Effex*, had under his Colours between Nine and ten thousand Foot, and One thousand and eight hundred Horse: and to give a beginning to the Siege, he came and lay within sight of the City, at a place called *Darnetal*, upon the Eleventh of November; which day the Cavalry of the Camp over-ran all the Plain, to the very Walls of the City, and of *St Catherine*: Captain *Borofey* a soldier of great valour, with Two hundred Horse, and Colonel *Boniface* with Five hundred Foot sallied out at the *Porte Canchoise*, and charging first the Cavalry, and then the Regiment of English, skirmished fiercely for many hours, though at last, being weary on both sides, they retired willingly without advantage; yet the besieged vaunted of a happy beginning, by reason of the death of a * Nephew of the Earl of *Effex*, who, his courage having drawn him into the most dangerous place of the fight, was slain by *Borofey* with a Pistol-shot in the throat. On the other side, Captain *Perdriel* with Two hundred other Horse, and Captain *Basin* with Four hundred Foot sallied at the *Porte de Martinville*, and having skirmished long with the French Light-horse, led by *Francesco Orfino* *Sieur de la Chappelle*, they were forced to retire, though they received not much harm, because they were defended in their retreat by the Artillery of the nearest Bulwark.

But the *Mareschal*, as soon as he had entrenched *Darnetal*, to the end his Army might lie secure from the sprightly forwardness which he saw in those of the Town, set himself for some dayes following (without advancing towards the City) to divert the course of the *Robex*, which little Rivulet running through the Field, and entering into the Town, drove eleven Mills near the *Porte St. Hillaire*, to the great conveniency of those within; nor was it very difficult to turn it another way; which would have much incommodated the Town, and made them suffer exceedingly, if *Villars*, foreseeing the diversion of the water, had not provided against it before, by having caused a great many hand-mills to be made, which were continually kept going by the Countrymen, who, to fly the Enemy, were in great numbers gotten within the Walls. While they wrought to divert the water, the *Mareschal* no less intent upon art, than he was upon force of arms, held a Treaty with Captain *Graveron*, who was in the City, to get into his hands the *Porte de Beauvais*, which he was appointed to guard; and this was managed by a kinsman of his, who was one of the *Mareschals* servants, and who before the siege had often gone disguised into the City for that purpose. But *Graveron* having revealed the Treaty to the Governour, and received Orders to draw the Enemy by night into an Ambush, he could not fail so well, but that the art was discovered; whereupon this treaty vanished with little damage on either side. But the next day the *Chevalier Piccard* sallied out from *St. Catherine's* to skirmish, and the Earl of *Effex* with the English coming out of the Wood of *Thuringe*, they contended with words no less than deeds: for *Piccard* upbraided the English, that not having courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's Nephew, they sought to

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advance

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The *Mareschal de Biron* layes Siege to *Rouen* Nov. 11. 1591. In the first Skirmish before *Rouen*, the Earl of *Effex* his Nephew is slain by *Borofey*.

* The Author is a little mistaken in this particular; for it was the Earl of *Effex* his Brother Sir *Walter d'Effex* that was slain.

A double passage is discovered, which vanishes without effect.

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The Earl of Essex challenges the Sieur de Villars to a Duel, who refuses it not; but refers it to another time; and so nothing is done.

The King with the rest of the Army comes up to the siege of Rouen; he sends a Herald to summon the Town but is refused.

advance their designs by treachery, they came to ill language, and to give the Lye, for which, as soon as the skirmish was ended, there came an English Trumpet from the Earl of Essex, to challenge the Governor; which the Chevalier Piccard (who had spoke the words) having answered, it came not to a duel; for the Earl refused to fight with any other than the Governor; and the Governor, though he refused him not, yet he refer'd the Duel till another time, when he should be free of the charge of that present defence, to which, as a publick cause, he was both first and more deeply engaged.

All the Moneth of November was spent in continual Skirmishes, and hourly encounters, the Marschal in the mean time being imployed in fortifying his quarters, drawing Artillery and Ammunition, and causing provisions to be brought in; expecting the Kings coming up to the siege with the rest of the Army; who being come into the Camp upon the third of December, sent an Herald to summon the City; but being very stoutly answered by those within, the next day they broke ground to make their approaches to the Wall. The King lay at Darnetal with the Marschal de Biron, and the greatest part of the Nobility that followed him, having the Swisssers flanked with the Regiment of his Guards, for the defence of his own quarters. The Viscount de Turenne (whom, in the right of his Wife, we will begin to call the Duke of Bouillon) was quartered on the right hand, with the Cavalry, and the German Infantry, spreading themselves a great way in the Neighbouring Villages, upon the way that leads toward Diepe. The French Infantry (having lost the Sieur de Chastillon, who was went to command it, he being dead a while before of a natural death) was led by divers Colonels of renowned fame, and lay close by the Germans; but on the right hand of the King's Quarters, towards the Porte Cauchoise, and the Porte de Beauvais. The English Foot lay on the left hand of the King, and the Swisssers entrenched under the Wood of Taringe, against the Porte St. Hilaire, and the Mount of St. Catherine: The Baron de Ginry, and the Sieur de la Chappelle with the Light-horse, spread themselves on the left hand of these, upon the way that leads to Pont de l'Arche, and thence towards Paris. And the Count de Seissons with Captain Rauler, beyond the River Seine (over which there was a passage made by a Bridge upon Boats) were quartered right over against the Fauxbourg of St. Severe.

When the whole Town was thus girt round, there being neither the hinderance, nor the conveniency of Suburbs (for the Governor, at the arrival of the Army, had caused them to be burnt) the King commanded Colonel St. Denis to take up his Post in the Church of St. Andre, which was the onely building that (because it was built of stone) remained yet standing, though they had endeavoured to demolish it: but he soon perceived that Villars had foreseen the mischief which he might receive from thence, and provided a very convenient remedy: For two exceeding great Culverins were discovered upon a * Cavalier raised within, which did so batter that place, that the French had scarcely possessed themselves of it, when they were forced to quit it. This attempt having proved ineffectual, the King began to cause two Trenches to be cast up, one to approach St. Catherine's Mount, which (being drawn from the Wood of Taringe) was wrought at by the English; and the other to end just against the Porte St. Hilaire, at which the French Infantry wrought by turns. But the Sieur de Villars (besides the other works which were thrown up day and night, and by a great abundance of Labourers, who within a short space had dammed up the Porte de St. Hilaire with Earth) having raised a very high Cavalier close by it, filled the Moat with Casemats, and fortified the Counterscarp with little Ravelines, had also before the Forts of St. Catherine (where the utmost force of the siege was applied) drawn a Brest-work of eighteen or twenty foot thick, flanked with two Ravelines onely for the use of Muskettiers, having neither Shoulders, * Orillons, nor Retreats; and before this a Moat of thirty foot wide, and ten foot deep; which was a very fit obstacle to hinder; and keep in play the first fury of the assailants: But besides these Fortifications, finding the City strongly and fully manned, (for besides the Townsmen most ready upon service, there were in it Five thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse) he resolved with frequent Sallies to trouble the enemy, so that their Works should go on but slowly; that manner of defence seeming to him very profitable, by reason of the hinderance it gave to the enemies approaches; and very generous, by reason of the fame and honor which (if they succeeded prosperously) he should gain thereby: Wherefore the two trenches were scarcely begun, when five Companies of Foot, seconded

* A Mount raised on purpose to plant Cannon on. Some call it a Cat.

* Orillons are the round shoulders at the ends of the faces of Bastions next the Flanks, which cover the covered Flanks; little used in Holland, but much in Italy and France.

conded by *Boresey* with 120 Horse, sallied out at the *Porte Cauchaise*; and on the other side Three hundred Provincials armed with Corsets and Halberds, or Partisans, flanked with a hundred French Firelocks, came down from *St. Catherine's*, and with infinite violence assaulted those that were at work making the Redouts. On the one side the English ran to oppose this Sally; and on the other, Colonel *St. Denis, la Lussine*, and *Parabere*; and the fight grew so hot on both sides, that it lasted above three hours with great execution, till the Baron *de Biron* being come up with a Body of Four thousand Germans, and two great Troops of Horse, sent back those of the Town, whereof (with the *Sieur de St. Sulpice*) there were slain above forty; but on the Kings party above Two hundred.

The Pioneers were terrified with this assault, to which the crossness of the weather being added (which first with excessive Rains, then with very deep Snow and hard Frosts, hindered all manner of working) the approaches went on but slowly; and yet the besieged, who with ease and conveniency lay under cover, did not for the same difficulties slacken the works they had begun; but every day, *Casemats*, *Trenches*, *Ravelines*, and *Cavaliers*, were seen to rise, and their sallies were so fierce, and made to so good a purpose, that they kept all the besiegers almost continually in Arms. Herein appeared most clearly the prudence and valour of the *Sieur de Villars*, who, though he could not stir up and down without difficulty, being lame of one foot, would yet himself in person (sometimes upon a pad-nag, sometimes upon a gallant horse) be in all encounters, surveying himself, and ordering and governing the actions of his men by his own presence: And amongst the most courageous Salliers (at last known also to all the Kings Army) were Captain *Boresey*, Captain *Basin*, and one *Goville* a Priest; who much fitter for the exercise of Arms, than his Ecclesiastical Function, being bold beyond measure, and a despiser of the greatest dangers, was ever the first in all sallies, and as often as he chanced to encounter any one man to man, he always got the victory, with infinite applause of his own party.

One *Goville* a Priest, one of the stoutest Defendants, noted both by the Kings party and his own, as often as he fights single, still gets the victory.

At last the approaches that were making at *St. Catherine's*, were brought to perfection, though they proved very streight, and had onely three Redouts; but they were favoured on the right hand by a long battery of fourteen pieces of Cannon, and on the left with seven more; but planted so far off, that the Commissaries that had them in charge, did not care to fill their Gabions; yet under favour of their shot, the works were advanced so forward, that they were brought to the Counterscarp of the Fortification that was newly made, which being something high, and the Trench of the besiegers very streight at that end (all defects of the English Engineer) a great number of men were slain by the incessant storm of Musket-shot, which was poured from those that were behind the Parapet of the same Counterscarp: Wherefore it being necessary to beat them away, and that not being to be done by day, in regard of the defence which they received from the Curtine, from whence the Muskettiers of the Fort with very good order shot perpetually, the King coming personally into the Trench with three hundred Gentlemen, accompanied by four hundred gallant Firelocks, gave a fierce assault to that place in the greatest darkness of the night, which it not being possible for the defendants to sustain, they quitted the Counterscarp, and (as Soldiers say) filing off to the right and left hand, under favour of their Fortifications, they retired into the Moat. Sir *Roger Williams*, a valiant Colonel, entered presently with Eight hundred English, and Gabions being brought with wonderful speed, he covered himself, working all night upon the edge of the very Moat; but the night following, the *Sieur de Villars* (having placed a Thousand Muskettiers upon the Curtine, who, without intermission, shot even in the dark against the angle of the Counterscarp) sent forth the *Chevalier Piccard*, and Captain *Basin*, with Four hundred Provençals, and at the head of them compleatly armed sixty Gentlemen defended with Targets, who falling on the same way by which they had retired the night before, valiantly regained that Post, beating the English from thence, who being hailed upon with a thick shower of Musket-bullets, durst not stand up to handle their Pikes; but being terribly vexed at the affront they had received, prepared themselves the two dayes following, and on the third at night assaulted the Counterscarp so precipitately in the Kings presence, that the Defendants being driven out, they lodged themselves there, and with infinite speed and diligence fortified and covered themselves more than sufficiently.

The end of the Trench was thrown open into the Moat upon the 29th of December, and upon New-years Eve two Batteries were raised: one of Fourteen Cannon, which battered

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* Or digging tools.

battered the old Fort, and the other of seven, planted against the new. These, though they thundered all the day, and continued all the night following, not to give the Enemies leisure to repair their Works; yet did they make but little progress, the Forts being all of good Earth, and newly turfed, and the Artillery being lower than the Forts, battered more weakly, and made much less impression. Wherefore, upon the second day of the year 1592. they began to make a platform in the midst between the two Batteries, that they might play more strongly against the Forts. The besieged would not pass that night in idleness, but coming down between the Hill and the City, assaulted the Trenches that were at the Counterscarp of the old Fort; and having put the Guards in confusion, killed above Sixty of them, carried away many of their * materials, and would have thrown down all their Work, if Sir Roger Williams making opposition himself, with a few to second him at the Gorge of the first Redout, had not long sustained the violence of the Enemy; for laying hold of a Pike, and with him two Captains, an Ensign, and a Serjeant doing the same, he so bravely stood the fury of the Assailants, that a few other Soldiers working a little behind, made a gap in the Redout, and fresh men still coming up, who at the noise of the fight ran to assist their fellows, the heat of the assault was first sustained, and then other Squadrons of the Army coming one after another, they of the City were at last forced to give over the enterprise, and retreat, though with much gallantry and reputation: Nor did the fight end because they were retired; for with their Artillery, *Harquebuzes a Croc*, throwing Fire-works, and a thousand other wayes, they ceased not to molest and hinder the progress of the Battery.

At the other Trench, which was cast up against the *Porte de St. Hilaire*, and finished the third day of *January*, there was a battery raised of four pieces of Cannon and two Culverins, which having found the Gate damm'd up with earth, and making no progress that was considerable, it was proposed to leave that place, and go to work against the *Porte de Beauvais* that stood lower; which proposition was favoured by the French Colonels, because the place was more convenient for them, and near the quarters where they were lodged. But in the mean time, while the Commanders are deliberating, and that the consultation, by reason of the contrary opinions, proves long, the Chevalier *d'Osse* sallying at the *Porte Cauchoise*, assaults that very Trench, and in the mouth of it makes a great slaughter of the Soldiers of *St. Denis*, not being upheld by his wonted conduct and courage, because it being then in debate, whether or no the Post should be quitted, he was gone to the Consultation, and to receive the *Marschal de Biron's* Orders. The next day the Work was removed from thence something lower, and the French (out of emulation to the English Foot, whom they saw upon the Counterscarp of *St. Catherine's*) with infinite diligence in a few dayes brought the Trench to perfection; which after it was ended, and the Gate battered with seven pieces of Cannon, Colonel *St. Denis*, without staying till the breach were made very large, presented himself valiantly to assault it; and at the same time Colonel *Piles* with his Regiment falling out of the same Trench, set up many scaling ladders against the Curtain which joyned to the same Gate. The assault was fierce, and no less fierce the defence: But the breach in the Wall being high and narrow, and a thick cloud of fire works, stones, and scalding water pouring from the Curtain, the assailants were constrained to retire, leaving above seventy of their Soldiers dead upon the place. This business happened upon the fourteenth of *January*.

Lieutenant *Landon* being taken prisoner by the Kings party, promises to let them in at a Gate of the City: but being set at liberty, he discovers the business to the Governor, who on the night appointed takes Captain *Raulet* and others that came for that purpose.

Whilst their Arms are courageously employed on this side, they that were on the other side of the River, at the *Fauxbourg St. Severe*, having no other Commission but to hinder the entrance of Men or Victual into the Town, made weaker and less bloody skirmishes; in which the besiegers having taken one *Landon*, a Lieutenant of *Commandatory Grillon's* Regiment, they laboured to corrupt him, and bring him to give them a promise, that as soon as he should have the Guard, he would let them into the Fort of the Bridge which was upon the *Seine*; *Landon* dissimbling a consent unto it, because he had formerly served under Captain *Raulet*, and had received some courtesies from him, was set at liberty; and faining to keep his promise, upon the Eighteenth of *January* at night, he having the Guard, gave the sign that was agreed upon, which being understood by those without, Captain *Raulet* on foot compleatly arm'd with twenty Gentlemen, and thirty fire-locks, drew near to the Fort to be received in, the Count *de Saisons* standing in Arms with the rest of his Forces, intent to follow him upon all occasions: But *Landon* having discovered all to the Governor, at the first appearance

pearance of the Kings Soldiers, sallied out of the Fort with sixty good men, and fell so fiercely on the Enemy, that the rest running away, frightened at that unexpected encounter, Captain *Ranlet* who stood to it, was taken prisoner by him; and the Count *de Soiffens* advancing to disengage him, could not come time enough to effect it. But about this time there was another intelligence, which was not fained, held with the *Sieur la Fontaine*; which being discovered and revealed by one *Mauclere* an Advocate, who was conversant in the same place, all the accomplices were taken and condemned to the Gallows.

They wrought now more diligently in many places than they were wont; for the soldiers had already (for their own honour) taken an affection to the enterprise, and the emulation between the Nations made the Work go forward with greater speed: To increase the which, the King having taken a new Post between *St. Catherine's* and *Martinville*, quartered 3000 German Foot there, who laboured no less than the rest to make their approach with the Trench to the Counterscarp of the Moat. On the other side, the besieged, encouraged by the prosperous success of their Sallies, agreeing among themselves in all things belonging to the defence, moved by the Governors example, who putting his hand to all employments, was present at all things; and solicited by *la Londe*, who with unwearied vigilancy went about, and provided against all wants in all places; laboured continually, sometimes to make up their Works which the Artillery had beaten down, sometimes in raising new Forts, and making new Casemats, sometimes to put in order warlike instruments and fire-works; but above all things, they were diligent and forward upon Sallies, to which not only the Soldiers ran with infinite readiness, but many times even the Companies of the Townsmen also: So that upon the one and twentieth day, sallying out of the *Porte Cauchoise* on the one side, and out at the *Porte de Martinville* on the other, they made an hot and furious conflict: But the King having caused some Field-pieces to be secretly planted on the flank of his Post, they were driven back by the violence of them with great loss, leaving slain the Lieutenant of the Governors Guards, two of the City Captains, and above 30 soldiers. Much more dangerous was the encounter that happened on the three and twentieth day, when 300 Horse and 1000 Foot sallying out at the same Gate, divided themselves into several places; for the Cavalry went toward the field which leads straight to *Darnetal*, to attack the Regiments of Guards in their Quarter, and the Foot to march more covertly, entered into the dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the Wood of *Turinge* to the English. The fight began about noon, weak at the first, because *Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was scarce able to get an hundred of his men together, and the English shooting coldly at a distance, did not close up resolutely with the Enemy; but afterwards by the coming up of the Commanders, the action rose to such a height, that at last it proved to be like a Battel: For the Baron *de Biron* and *Francois de Montmorancy* *Sieur du Hallot*, with two Squadrons of valiant Gentlemen assisted in both places, and the Baron *de Giury*, and *la Chappelle* with the Light-horse ran to reinforce their party: And on the other side, *Villars* seeing the danger of his men, who were advanced very far, came forth himself to fetch them off, with *Boresey's* and *Perdriel's* Horse, and the *Sieur de la Londe* followed him with the Regiment of *Giocopo Argent*, and three Companies of the Townsmen; wherefore fighting in every place as in a pitched Field, the service grew very dangerous and bloody, fresh numerous supplies coming up on all sides to those that fought. But the King who being at that side towards the Battery of *Martinville*, was advanced with a few Horse, passing with great danger over a little bank that was wont to stop the course of the *Robec*, to the place where the fight was, having heard that the *Sieur du Hallot*, wounded with a Musquet-shot in the thigh, was carried to the next Quarter, and that the Baron *de Biron* hurt (though but slightly) in the face, was in great danger of being slain, he presently sent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with a Squadron of *Reiters* to relieve his Forces, by whose fury *Villars* his Horse being killed under him, he himself hurt slightly in one of his hands, and many of those that were about him knocked down, he had wonderful much ado to retire under the Artillery of the Walls. In this action were killed Captain *Laurier*, the *Sieur de Plumetant* a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulein* a Captain of Horse, the Governours Captain of his Guard, the *Sieur de Malart*, and *Brebion*, with above an Hundred Soldiers: And, on the King's side were slain above an Hundred and fifty, and many more wounded; among which *Grillon* the Colonel of the Guards having

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Another practice, but not a fained one, is discovered, and those that are guilty condemned to the Gallows.

There sallied out of *Reims* 1000 Foot, and 300 Horse.

The Baron *de Biron* wounded. The Skirmish increased almost to a Battel; many Commanders are either killed or wounded, and the *Sieur de Villars* also being hurt, hath much ado to retire to the Walls under the protection of his own Cannon.

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having received a dangerous shot with a brace of Bullets under the elbow, remained a long time disabled for service.

* A Skyt-gate is that gap in the Parapet where the mouth of the Cannon lies out, called in French l'Embrasure, or Canoniere. Goville the valiant Priest is killed with a Musket shot.

The same night the Chevalier *de Varneville*, of the Order of *Jerusalem*, died in the City of his wounds formerly received; and the Chevalier *Piscard*, being shot with a Cannon-bullet in the thigh, departed this life within a few days after. This loss was increased by the death of Captain *Bafin*, that with much honor had engaged himself in all occasions, who looking out at a * Skyt-gate to discover the Enemies works, was hit with a Musket-bullet on the forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body took notice of it. *Goville* the Priest was likewise slain in a skirmish the next day; for having strained his foot in getting up a Work, and being thereby necessitated to retire softly, he was overtaken by many, and after having long defended himself, lost his life by a Musket-shot in the throat. The number of the Defendants being very much decreased by the death of these, they slackned their sallies, and therefore the approaches of the Army still advancing, the assailants were in many places fortified upon the Counterscarps, and at the old Fort of *St. Catherine*, and under the Curtine of *Martinville*, having also passed the Moats, they were working Mines under the Walls; and at the Porte de *Beauvais* they had already sprung a Mine, though with but little effect: Which Works being diligently hastned by the *Mareschal de Biron*, the Soldiers laboured with so much ardor, that by the sap they brought themselves under the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having reduced it all upon props, the Commanders believed that without Powder it would all fall of it self, as soon as the props should fail; wherefore, having drawn up two Squadrons in a readiness to go on to the assault, the props were set on fire; but the Earth, which was admirably good, and well beaten, sunk down so gently, that without opening it self; or falling in pieces, it only sunk down upon the ground, the Bulwark remaining lower, but not broken, nor discomposed on any side, which was the cause, that without any further attempt the Foot returned all into their Trenches. They then began to make a Mine in the same place, to do that effect which could not be done with the Props, and in the mean time the Germans also wrought under the Curtine of *Martinville*; in which place *La Fontaine-Martel*, and *Agneville*, a young Gentleman of that Country, drawn by the emulation that was between them, sallied out at one of the Skyt-gates of the next Bulwark, each with ten Firelocks, and twenty Corslets, and gallantly assaulted the principal Avenue of the Trench; but being exceeded by so much a greater number, and there being no means to help them from the Walls, because the Works were beaten down, after a long and gallant fight, wherein almost all their men were slain, they had much ado to get themselves drawn up at the same Skyt-gate. The Mine at the old Fort was already perfected, and was to be sprung the next morning, when Colonel *Boniface* going the Round to visit his Guards in the still silence of midnight, heard the noise of the working in that place, and having caused many Fireworks to be cast into the Moat, to discover what the Enemy did; those fires running up and down, and scattering themselves into many places, by chance found the mouth of the Mine, and gave fire to it before the time, in such manner, that the blast striking backward, and carrying part of the Bulwark with it, burned and overwhelmed with Earth all the out-guard, and hurt many of those that were preparing themselves against morning, to give the assault; yet the ruine was so large, and the Earth so overturned at the point of the Bulwark, that it might easily have been assaulted, if that sudden accident, and the death of the chiefest of them, had not terrified the assailants; so that the Baron *de Biron*, who was to give the sign for the assault, not being in the Trench, and the Foot that were to make it not being drawn up in readiness, the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Roger Williams* standing firm upon their Guards, sent away in haste to receive Orders what to do, and in the mean time the Defendants with sacks full of Earth, and brush Faggots, repaired the breach in a short space.

But the siege of *Rome*, by reason of the importance of it, had from the beginning bred great anxiety in the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being departed from *Paris*, and returned to the Army, had dispatched the *Sieur de Rosne* to *Landrecy*, where the Duke of *Parma* then was, to sollicite his coming, or at least to know his resolution. The Duke of *Montemarcano* and Commissary *Mattemcci*, had also dispatched *Antonio Maria Pallavicino* to him, to let him know, that if he by the midst of *December* were not entered with his Army upon the Confines of *France*, they had a Commission from *Rome* to disband their forces; and likewise *Diego d' Ivarra* was gone thither, as well to inform

for him of the business that had fallen out in *Paris*, as to represent unto him the importance and danger of the siege, already laid before *Rouen*. The Duke governing himself according to his Commissions, and his own design, never to let the Kings party have so much the better, that the League should be suppressed by it; and seeing that he could no longer delay to assist the Duke of *Mayenne*, he resolved to do it; but still persevering in his determination, not to show any interested end, but simply a desire to succor and sustain Religion, that he might not put things in disorder, and begot an unreasonable jealousy in the French. *Diego d' Ivarra* was of another mind; who by his own opinion, and that of the other Ministers who were in *France*, persuaded that upon occasion of the present necessity, which was most urgent, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other French Lords should be constrained to assemble the States, and cause the Infanta *Isabella* to be declared Queen, who should afterward, with the consent of the Confederate Princes, take such an Husband as should be resolved on; which coming to pass, he thought best to spend with a free hand, and with all their Forces to assist the King, and never to draw off their Army from him, till he was absolutely suppressed and overcome. But the Duke, though he knew this to be the last intention of the Catholick King, and of the Spanish Council, did not judge the present time reasonable for that business, as well because the French Lords (holding themselves deceived, and that upon occasion of their present exigency, they meant to bring their necks into a noose) would, in despair, cast themselves into the Kings mercy, who, with many insinuations sought to make them his friends; as also, because there was not time to manage that design, with that patience and dexterity it required, while *Rouen* was already besieged, and the necessity of relieving it admitted no delay. The Spaniards, and particularly *Diego d' Ivarra* (a man of a most fiery wit, and naturally of a stinging tongue) added, that the Duke of *Parma* being an Italian, (for his own interest, and that of the other Italian Princes) did not desire the so great growth of the Spanish Monarchy, and that therefore he went interposing doubts and delays, no less than the French Lords did: But the effects of after-times have clearly shown, how prudent and profitable the Duke of *Parma's* opinion was; who being resolved to help in the so great need of the Confederates, was come to *Guise*, where he met with the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Montmorency*, and having left Count *Maurfelt* in the Government of the Low-Countries, gave order to his Son, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, to draw together, and lead the Army toward the Confines.

The Duke could do no less, than give the Duke of *Mayenne* and the rest, a touch of what King *Philip* had with his own mouth, spoken to President *Jeannin*: That it was thenceforth necessary not to do things by chance, and without a determinate end, but to assemble the States; who (having understood the Catholick Kings intentions, which he would cause to be made known unto them by new Ambassadors) should resolve upon future things, which could not always go on in the present uncertainty: And when he saw that the Duke of *Mayenne* answered him very coldly to that particular, he caused it afterward to be spoken of to him by President *Riccardotto*, one of his Counsellors; but the Duke not refusing the Convocation of the States, said, it was necessary to defer it till another time, and that first it should be treated on with the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Nimours*, and *Mercaut*, and that the ends to which they should unanimously tend should be agreed upon, lest they should proceed indeed by chance, and cause some division among the Confederates: Which reasons being very conformable to the sense and opinion of the Duke of *Parma*, and having observed, that at this proposition, all the French Lords were put in suspense, and no less than they, *Madam de Guise*, who was then present, he seemed to remain satisfied, and imposed silence to that point; but fell onely to demand *La Fere* for his retreat, whither he might bring all the Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage of his Army, it not being fit that they should remain open to the Enemies incursions; and that he, advancing into the bowels of an enemies Country, should not have one place whither he might retire at his pleasure. There was enough to do to obtain this point; for the Duke of *Mayenne* refused to alienate any place from the Crown: But having discovered, that the *Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar*, Governor of that Fortrefs, held intelligence with the Spaniard, doubting, that they howsoever would get it against his will, he was at last contented that the Duke should bring in his Arms and Artillery thither, and that he should leave a Garrison there of Five hundred Walloons, paid by the Catholick King; but

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The Duke of Parma is of opinion to succor the League, without shewing any other end save that of Religion, and this is better (the League being in a strait) to force them to call an Assembly of the States, and to declare the Infanta *Isabella* Queen of France.

1592. still under the same protection of the Crown, the same French Magistrates residing to administer Justice; and not satisfied with that, he would also have a bill of the Duke of Parma's hand, to leave it free to him again whensoever he should draw forth his Artillery:

The D. of Parma about that time gave great satisfaction to the Confederates by a very prudent and generous action; for certain Deputies being come to him from the City of Orleans, to let him know, That their Citizens (not having wherewithal to pay the soldiers of the Garrison, who were many months behind, and seeing that the D. of Mayenne had no great care of their interests) were desirous to put themselves under the Catholick King's protection, being ready to receive what Garrison he should think fit: he reprehending them for seeking to swerve from the obedience of the Lieutenant of the Crown, refused to accept of them, though *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Diego d' Ivarra* were of a contrary opinion; to whom he answered, that if they thought to get possession of the Crown of France, by reducing the Cities one by one, the World would be at an end before they had absolutely gain'd it, and that it was necessary to strike at the root; and not busie themselves in pruning off the boughs.

Pope Gregory the 14th dies: Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti Cardinal of Santi Quattro, succeeds with the name of Innocent the 9th. His inclinations concerning the affairs of France.

Matters being set right with the French Lords, it was necessary to set them right also with the Ministers of Rome; for after the death of Gregory the XIVth, *Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti* Cardinal of *Santi Quattro* being chosen Pope, who took the name of *Innocent* the IXth, the affairs of the League seemed not to be hearkened to by him with the same inclination wherewith his Predecessors had embraced them; for he told both the French Agents and Spanish Ministers freely, that he would not stir to give any relief to France, till a free Catholick King (but such a one as was generally liked of) were chosen; whereby he seemed to point at a Prince of the Blood-Royal; for *Scipio Balbani* had communicated the Cardinal of Bourbon's design to many, and their mindes were much entangled with it; nor was the Pope himself much averse from this new thought: whereupon, being earnestly solicited to assist the so urgent necessities of the League, and not to forsake the cause of Religion; he answered, that he could not make the Print of the foot longer than the foot it self, and that the expences made by his Predecessor exceeded the abilities of the Apostolick See, and that he would contribute Fifteen thousand Ducats a month till businesses were settled, after which settlement he would strain himself to do the most that the strength of the Treasury should be able to bear; which things written into France by many, did not onely disturb the mindes of the French Lords, but also made the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and Commissary *Mattenecci* doubtful, which way they should carry themselves. Nevertheless, he created the Bishop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him Legat in France, as a man experienced, and who already had the management in his hands, it being commonly said, That new Ministers do maim businesses, before they have time to understand and apprehend them. The Legate being chosen, he wrote, that if the Duke of Parma came into the Kingdom by the fifteenth of December at the farthest, then the Forces of the Apostolick See should follow his Camp; but if he entred not within the said term, they should certainly be disbanded: which did not much please the Spanish Ministers; who saw the Pope little inclined to follow their ends; but much less the Duke of Mayenne, who saw he could not hope for those Aids that were fit for his design. But his death, which happened in the second month of his Popedom, did so confound the mindes of the Legate and the rest, that the Duke of Parma was necessitated with his entreaties and authority to constrain them to follow him in the present need, and to promise the Swisssers to pay them with his own money, if they were not satisfied by the next Pope.

The death of Pope Innocent the Ninth.

Upon the 4th of January 1592, the Duke of Parma being come into France, and joyned with the Popes and the French Forces, musters his Army. Upon the 16th day the Confederates march to relieve Rouen, with 24000 Foot, and 6000 Horse.

All things being thus settled, and the Forces drawn from all parts, the Armies joyned, and advanced with easie marches towards *Nesle*; where, being arrived upon the fourth of January, the Duke of Parma would needs make a general Rendezvous of his Forces, which he mustered, and caused to be paid a weeks pay; and likewise the Duke of Mayenne, the Count de *Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Monte-Marciano* reviewed their Forces; and for that purpose, and to stay for the Artillery and Ammunition, which moved more slowly, they lay twelve dayes in the same Quarters. They set forward upon the sixteenth in the morning, and by the way of *Amiens* (though the longer, yet the better, and more abundant in provisions) marched directly toward *Rouen*. When they had passed *Amiens*, and left behind them the River *Somme*, the Duke of Parma would needs distribute the parts of his Army, and march continually in

in battalia, since they entred into an Enemies Country, full of uneven places, Woods and little Rivers; for which cause he would not expose himself to the danger of being assaulted unawares by the King's readines and celerity, which by past experience was exceedingly well known unto him. There were in the Army about Six thousand Horse; eight hundred *Reiters* commanded by the Baron of *Swarzenbourg*, Two thousand Light-horse (in the absence of the Duke of *Pastrana*) commanded by *Georgio Basti* Commissary of the Cavalry, Four hundred Flemish Lances under the Prince of *Chimais*, An hundred Italian Lances of the General of the Church, led by his Lieutenant *Lodovico Melzi*; Seven hundred Lorain Lances and Cuirassiers commanded by the Count de *Vaudemont*; and Two thousand Horse of the French Gentry, that followed the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The Infantry amounted to the number of 24000, whereof Two thousand Swisssers; to so small a number were they reduced that were raised by the Church; Three Spanish *Tertia's* under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Lodovico Velasco*, and *Alonzo Idiaques*; Two of Germans, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arembergh*; Four of Walloons, under Monsieur *du Vert*, Count *Olivio Mansfelt*, the Count de *Bosju*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*; Two *Tertia's* of Italians, that of *Camillo Capizucchi's*, and a part of that which formerly was *Pietro Gaetano's*, led by his Serjeant Major, and Four thousand French, under the Sieurs de *Bois-Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel *St. Paul*. This Army was divided into three Battalions; the *Van-guard* led by the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied by the Sieurs de *Vitry*, and de *la Chastre*; the *Battel*, in which were the Dukes of *Parma*, and *Mayenne*, the Count de *Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Montemarciano*; and the *Rere-guard*, commanded by the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Count de *Chaligny* with many other Lords. The first flying Squadron of Foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi*, wherein were all the Italians; the Swisssers guarded the Artillery, which were under the command of the Sieurs de *la Motte* and *Bassompierre*; *Georgio Basti* with a good Body of Carabines and Light-horse marched before the whole Army, to scowr and secure the ways; and the Sieur de *Rosne* had the charge of Serjeant-Major-General.

The description of the Confederate Army.

The King having heard the news of the coming of the Army of the League, consulted maturely what was to be done; and having the example of *Paris* before him, resolved to leave the Marechal de *Biron* with all the Infantry, and part of the Cavalry before *Rouen* to continue the siege, and to go himself with a good strength of Horse to meet the Enemy; not to fight with them in the open field, but to hinder them upon Passes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to lay hold of those opportunities which the quality of situations, and the motions of the Confederates should afford. He was perswaded to this resolution by finding himself so strong and powerful in Horse: for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count de *St. Paul*, and many other Lords being newly arrived at the Army, there were in all above Ten thousand Horse, and in the Camp between Seven and eight and twenty thousand Foot; wherefore the King putting confidence in this number, left the major part of the German Cavalry, hard to be governed, and also some number of the French in the Camp before *Rouen*; and he himself with 2000 Cuirassiers, Five hundred light-horse, A thousand *Reiters* commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and 2000 Harquebuziers on horseback, departed upon the nine and twentieth of *January* to march up toward the Enemy.

The Kings Army before *Rouen* amounts to 10000 Horse, and above 27000 Foot.

At his arrival at *Folleville*, a little Town at the entring into *Picardy*, he received intelligence, that at that very time the Enemies Army keeping the right way toward *Rouen*, was passing a little lower, toward the Field that encompasses the passage of the great high-way: Wherefore, having sent the Sieur de *Rambures* before with Fifteen Light-horse to make discovery, he drew out the *Grand Esquire* with Forty Gentlemen upon the right hand, and the Sieur de *Lavardin* with Thirty upon the left, and he himself in the midst with Sixscore Horse advanced, that he might conveniently view what order the Army of the League kept in marching; when they had advanced in this manner little less than a League, *Lavardin* discovered some Spanish Foot, who resting themselves under a Tree, had set up their Pikes round about it; and being about to draw near to fall upon them, they on the right hand perceived two strong Troops of Horse (which had been upon the Guard at the end of the high-way) were already moving towards them; wherefore crying out that the fruit of the Tree was not ripe, they were the cause that *Lavardin* taking notice of the Enemy, turned courageously about,

The King at *Folleville* having intelligence that the Army of the League was marching near, advanced with some Horse to view it, and being met with two Troops of the Enemy, skirmishes, and retires with all his men to *Bersenville*.

1592. about, and at the head of his men, most valiantly charged them; who, having in the first encounter killed his horse under him, made a brisk On-set on both sides upon him; but the fight was short; for the King being come up with his Troop, the Horse of the League retired to their main Body. Then saw they the whole Army as it lay still, but the Guards being diligently placed through all the Field, the King found that he could not come nearer them, and therefore being joyned with the rest of his men, he retired that night to *Berteuille*.

The King going from *Aumale* with a few Lords to discover the enemy, is forced to fight upon the sudden in disorder, yet notwithstanding after a short resistance, puts them to flight.

From thence following his design, he came upon the fourth of *February* to *Aumale*, a Castle seated upon a River, which divides the Confines of *Picardy* from upper *Normandy*, where he quartered all his men in the Suburb; and the next morning, being desirous himself to see the order, and view the Camp of the Enemy, he advanced in person with the Archers of his Guard, two hundred other Light-horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, upon the way which the Army of the League marched, leaving the care of the rest that were in *Aumale* unto the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as it often hapned to that Prince, (that being led on by his courage, and the curiosity of making discovery with his own eye, in the first ranks of his Soldiers, he was suddenly entangled in wonderful great dangers) so it fell out that day, for having past a field exceeding full of Vineyards, which spreads it self from *Aumale* beyond the River, to the bottom of a Hill, and being gone up the steep thereof to the top, where there is a spacious Plain, he fell unexpectedly among the Avant-Coureurs of the League, which he thought had been yet above a League from thence. The encounter was so sudden (because the Hill being between them, had hindred each party from discovering the other) that having neither time to retire, nor draw up in order, it was necessary to handle their Arms, and fall in pell-mell without any consideration. There were at the head of the French, the King himself, the Baron *de Biron*, the Count *de St. Paul*, the Sieurs *de Marivaux*, *de Châseron*, *de Praslin*, *d'Aubigny*, *de Rambures*, and *de Champlivault*, with many other valiant soldiers; so that there was no doubt but the Avant-Coureurs of the League, being both in number and courage much inferior, must give place to their fury and valor; and indeed, after a short resistance, they betook themselves openly to flight.

Then appeared the Duke of *Parma's* Army, which being drawn into Battalia, with Military order, marched on its way along the same Plain. The whole form of their Battel was four-square, and had an open Interval in the Front, through which the Squadrons in the middle might draw forth to fight; and, at the Angles of the Rere, there were likewise two Intervals; that of the Front being shut up by the flying Squadron, and those in the Rere, by two Bodies of Horse, which were to advance first into the Battel. The Flanks were defended by the wonted carriages, which in admirable order went on without straggling: And by the side of them were the Foot of all the several Nations drawn up in Divisions: Without the Body of the Army, and of the four-square form, the Light-horse and Carabines in very great numbers, being divided into many Squadrons, filled up the extent of the Plain on every side; and in the midst of the whole Camp, the Duke, carried in an open Chair, went himself, observing what was amiss, and setting all things in order. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the Plain, to take an hasty view of this excellent order, when *Georgio Batti* (advertised by the Avant-Coureurs) coming up with the Carabines and Light-horse of the Army, he found himself entangled by two great clouds of Harquebusiers on Horseback, who hailing upon them on both sides, forced him, though very late, to think of the means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces, because in such an unexpected accident they had not had time to take them; and fought confusedly in disorder, because haste had not suffered them to draw themselves up into a Body; so that onely courage, and sense of honour, and the Kings presence restrained them from flight, which was necessary, if they would save their lives: But a great number falling dead on every side (since even the best of their Arms was not proof against the violence of those Bullets that flew from the extraordinary wide bore of the Carabines) and the first flying Squadron of Foot already appearing, which having heard the beginning of the fight, came up a great pace to fall in amongst them, the King commanding his men to wheel about, but not to charge, went on at a round trot toward the descent, to meet with his Light-horse and Harquebusiers on horseback, which being led by the Baron *de Ginry* and the Sieur *de Lavardin*, followed him not very far off. The Enemy with no less readines was at his back, and on all sides the

Captains

Captains of the light-Horse made haste to cut off his retreat; for being known by his countenance, plume, and habit, every one cryed out to his companions, that it was the King of *Navar*, and mutually exhorting each other to follow him, they put all their utmost endeavours to get him into their hands. The fury of their retreat downward (making many horses stumble and fall) did so much hinder their speed and order, that it was necessary the King himself, with evident danger, should stay among the last, to sustain the violence of the Enemy, and be in the greatest storm of shot, one of which striking at last through the cantle of his Saddle, wounded him (though without danger) under the reins. As the Kings hurt necessitated him to fly full speed to save himself, so did it utterly rout his men, who being come into the field below, were detained by the impediment of the stakes, and branches of the vines, and by the abundance of the hedges; so that men and horses fell at every step, and were exposed to the fury of the enemies, who made such a slaughter with their Carabines, that besides the great number of Gentlemen which were slain, the Archers of the King's Guard were almost all left dead upon the place. But the light-horse who were already come up into the midst of the Plain, which being but short, spread it self between the Town and the place where the fight was, being met by those who fled away, carrying news that the King was wounded and almost dead, disordered themselves without fighting, and fleeing about, fled back for company to *Aumale*; only the Baron *de Givry*, who was at the head of them with their Captains, advancing with thirty in his company to assist in the King's so manifest danger, covered him with his own Cloke, which he threw about his shoulders, and upheld him for a while, till he saved himself from the fury of his enemies. At the same time the *Sieur de Lavardin* advanced with threescore of his Harquebusiers on horseback, for the rest had also taken flight, and placing himself behind the bank of a ditch that was by the way-side, endeavoured to stop the pursuit of the Enemy; but he being wounded at the first volley, *Givry's* horse killed under him, which in falling hurt his left leg and knee very dangerously, *Aubigny* unhorsed, *Chaseron* wounded, *Rambures* bruised and bloody, not one of them would have been saved, if the Duke of *Nevers* with a great Squadron of Cavalry (wherein were the Counts of *Torigny* and *Montgomery*, the *Sieur de Montigny*, and the *Grand Esquier*) had not advanced to disengage them. The Duke, after he had heard of the beginning of the skirmish, and that the King was put to the worst, had wonderful discreetly disposed that part of the Harquebusiers on Horseback which had remained with him, along the bank of the River, to make good the Ford, and favour the passage of those that fled; and himself, with the main body of the Cavalry, all armed, and in excellent good order, had past the River to relieve and sustain his men, which he saw afar off were overpowered and oppressed by the violence of the Enemy; and his coming was very seasonable; for if he had stayed longer, both the King himself and all the rest that were in the Plain, would certainly have been either killed or taken. The Duke went on till he came to a place, where (by reason that the River was overflowed) he was fain to pass along a narrow bank, and there, not only seeing the Spanish Carabines (incouraged by the beginning of the victory) furious in a close pursuit, but also the *Sieur de Vincy*, the Baron *de la Chastre*, and the Count *de Chaligny*, who leaving the body of the Army behind them, were run to reinforce the fight, he took a resolution to retire without passing any farther, lest he should lose the Gentry that were with him, if with so great a disadvantage, and to no purpose, he should have exposed them to the Enemies whole Army, which was like to charge them every minute; wherefore, having fetch'd them off, who (their horses being lost) retired with much difficulty, having recovered *Givry* and *Lavardin*, both very sore hurt, and having gathered up many Gentlemen that were scattered about the field, he returned wheeling off, and facing often about till he came River of *Aumale*, where, being sustained by the Harquebusiers that lay along the bank, he passed it again without any disorder; and drawing up quickly, followed the King's steps, who with very great speed had taken towards a Wood, to retire the more secretly.

It is most certain, that if the Army of the League had advanced quickly (with the same fury as did the Carabines) on the right hand and on the left, (for in all that Country they might have marched freely as far as the bank) the King surrounded and encompassed on all sides before the Duke of *Nevers* had arrived, would, with all his men have remained in their power, since that notwithstanding they did not, he had both much ado, and exceeding great fortune to save himself; but at the same time the

1592.

While the King views the Enemies Army, their Cavalry come up to him, and he being in wonderful great danger, comes off wounded.

The Duke of *Nevers* relieves the Kings Cavalry that was retiring to *Aumale*, and makes good their retreat.

The Duke of *Nevers* having fetched off the Kings Cavalry, follows the King, who had saved himself in a Wood.

1592. the news being confusedly brought, that the Enemy was present, that the King himself was there in person, that they were fighting, and that they fled; the Duke of *Parma*, not suffering himself to be carried away with common reports, and not thinking it possible, that the King, without some secret stratagem, would have adventured himself inconsiderately among the *Avant Couriers*, doubting, lest in a Country where he was not well acquainted, some Ambuscado might be laid for him; therefore, causing his Army to make a halt, and having stopt the flying Squadron that was already upon its march, before he advanced, he would make himself sure that he would not be caught in a Trap; which prudent wariness nevertheless gave the King convenience to save himself; for though the Duke of *Mayenne* (who, in vain, had urged, that the whole Army might advance) set forward with a Body of Horse at a large trot to follow him, yet it being already night when they entered into *Aumale*, he was out of hope to do any good, and therefore resolved to stay and pass no further.

The King caused his wound to be dressed in the Wood; which found not dangerous he goes presently to *Neuf-Châtel*.

The King caused himself to be hastily dressed in a Wood, about half a League from *Aumale*, and having found that the wound was not very deep, (for the bullet being deadened by passing through the Saddle, stuck but in the flesh) prosecuted his journey with very great speed, and stopt not till he came within the Walls of *Neuf-Châtel*; where the Duke of *Nevers* having done the part of a prudent and valiant Soldier, arrived also, though many hours after, with all his men perfectly safe. It was feared lest the next day the Duke of *Parma* should follow on his voyage speedily, and hasting directly to *Rouen*, where the report of the King's being routed and wounded, might have bred a fright and a confusion in the Army, with very great danger of being defeated and scattered; nor did there appear any other remedy to retard his march, save to defend *Neuf-Châtel*; which place standing upon the Road, they did not believe he would leave at his back, especially if it were strongly Garrisoned, lest it should obstruct the way, and hinder the bringing in of Provisions, which were all of necessity to pass through those parts. But the Town being weak, and the exigency requiring a speedy resolution, the Baron de *Giury*, though his foot was very sorely hurt, proffered himself to stay, and to defend it so long, that the Enemy might not come unexpectedly to *Rouen*; but that the King's Army, the present terror being overpast, might have time to settle it self again, and that the King himself being grown better of his wound (which they hoped he would be within a few dayes) were able again to set on Horse-back, and with his presence put courage into the actions of his Soldiers; which was the only means to sustain himself. So Three hundred Cuirassiers, and Four hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back being left at *Neuf-Châtel* with *Giury*, the King, with the Baron de *Biron* went to *Diepe*, that they might be the better cured; and the Duke of *Nevers* with the remainder of his men returned to *Rouen* to reinforce the Army.

The King leaves the Baron de *Giury* at *Neuf-Châtel*, he having undertaken to defend it, and goes to *Diepe* to be cured of his wound.

The Duke of *Parma's* Answer to the French Lords.

The Duke of *Parma* quartered the next day at *Aumale*, and the French Lords murmuring, that if he had advanced that day, the War might easily have been made an end of; he answered, That if he were to do it again, he would take the same resolution, because it was dictated by reason, having till then believed, that he had had to do with a Captain-General of an Army, and not with a Captain of Light-horse, which he now knew the King of *Navarre* to be: but this business bred a discontent among the Commanders of the League; for the Spaniards and Italians commended the Duke of *Parma's* wariness, and his secure way of managing the War, and the French praised the forward humour of their Nation, and would have had him proceed in the same manner which they saw the King hold in the promptness of his resolutions: but the condition of the one was very different from that of the other; for the King being General of a voluntary Army, and having no other hope, nor any other security but himself, was necessitated to venture his own person upon all occasions, making way with his danger for those that followed him: but the Duke of *Parma* coming only to succour the Confederates, would not hazard at once the hopes of *France*, and the possession of *Flanders*, without expectation of some fruit by his Victory, that might countervail so great a loss; and therefore with art and prudence, as he had done at *Paris*, he pretended not to conquer, but not to be conquered. However it were, it is most certain, that from hence there began to rise differences and discontents between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which afterwards increased every day.

The

The Army of the League advancing with commodious marches, laid siege to *Neuf-Châtel*, which, by reason of its weakness, they believed would have made no resistance; but the Duke of *Parma*, incensed at the boldness of the defendants, and at the impediment which he received thereby, caused his Artillery to be planted with as much speed as was possible, and with wonderful fury to batter that part of the wall which stood toward his Camp, which being old, and not lined with earth, within a short space afforded a breach very convenient to be assaulted: which Monsieur de *Giury* seeing, began to capitulate; and though the Duke were at first highly incensed at his resistance, yet being appeased by the intercession of Monsieur de *la Chastre*, *Giury's* Father-in-law, and admiring the valour of that *Cavalier*, (who, to give his party time to recover breath, had thrust himself into so great a danger) granted him honourable conditions: about the performance whereof there arose some dispute; for Monsieur de *Rebours* a Colonel of French Infantry, who had shut himself up in the Town with *Giury*, not having been particularly mentioned in the Capitulations, the Duke of *Parma* pretended that he not having been named, ought not to enjoy the benefit of the Articles, but to remain a prisoner; and Monsieur de *Giury* argued, that having made composition for himself and all his soldiers; though *Rebours* was not named with the other Officers, because he had not his men there, was yet comprehended, and ought to go free with all the rest; which, after it had been a while disputed, the Duke of *Parma* generously remitted the difference to the Kings own decision, who knew, whether he had left *Rebours* with command or without command for the defence of the place. But the King having called a Council of War and having heard every ones opinion, gave judgement, that *Rebours* was to be understood as comprehended in the Capitulation.

But the obstacle of *Neuf-Castel*, though it was but for four days, gave great help to the King's affairs; for that time was not onely very considerable, but in that interim part of the victual being spent which was brought along with the Army of the League, it was necessary to stay to make new provisions; for the Country, destroyed in a siege of so many months, in the sterility of the Winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from *Picardy* were of necessity to be accompanied with strong Convoys, and backed by the Cavalry of the Army, because the King and the Baron de *Biron*, from *Diepe* and *Arques* where they lay, caused all the wayes to be obstructed with their Horse. This stay was of ten days, to the great murmuring of the French; for the Duke would not engage himself in an Enemies Country, all ruin'd, and not well known to him, without such abundant provisions of victual as were necessary to feed the Camp, not being accustomed to remit the event of his Counsels unto fortune. In these dayes there happened many valiant encounters; for the King being cured of his wound, suffered not the Enemy to repose without suspicion, nor without danger; but matters proceeded almost alike, the encounters being between the Cavalry, wherein the number of the Gentry on each side equalled the proceeding, with bold attempts, prompt resistance, and gallant resolutions.

It fell out that the King, being advanced upon a hill that lay on the right side of the great high-way, by which all the Enemies Army march'd, caused the *Sieur de Montigny* with a Squadron of Light-horse, and the *Sieur de Praslin* with another of Cuirassiers to fall suddenly into the Quarters of the Duke of *Annaule* (who brought up the *Rêre*) just at the time when he newly entered into them; but after a short skirmish rather than fight, being in their retreat charged by the Count de *Chaligny*, and the *Sieur de Rosne*, there followed in the adjoining Plain a great encounter, to which the *Sieur de Fervaques*, and the Count de *Torigny* son to the *Mareschal de Matignen* coming up with the Troops of *Normandy*, they fought above two hours with singular bravery; but when they of the League would have retired, they found themselves engaged by the Baron de *Biron*, who, with another Troop fell in upon their Flank, so that to save themselves they were fain to turn their backs and run full speed; which the Count de *Chaligny* scornng to do, and gallantly fighting in the midst of his enemies, was taken prisoner by *Chicot* the King's Jester, but a notable sturdy lad, who, in the taking of him received a wound from him in the head, whereof he died not many dayes after. The Count being brought into the King's presence, and being much afflicted to have been taken by a Fellow of so base a profession, the King comforted him, assuring him, that *Chicot* was a valiant Fellow, and that he ought rather

1592.

The Duke of Parma gets *Neuf-Châtel*, which, though weak, is gallantly defended by *Giury*; but a breach being made, and the assailants read to fall on, *Giury* capitulates. The Duke of *Parma* angry at his resistance, shews himself unwilling to treat; but being appeased, grants him honourable conditions.

A skirmish grows almost to a Battle.

Chicot the King's Jester takes the Count de *Chaligny* prisoner.

1592.

The King marching with his Army between the walls of two Parks, puts himself in great danger, which he escapes by reason of the D. of Parma's being in a Fever.

the other on the left, the High-way being in the midst: wherefore the Cavalry and Infantry being fain to march but few in front, the Kings Army was brought into such a condition, that the Van-guard was past the Parks, the Battel was shut up between the Walls of them, and the Rere was yet remaining on the hither side: So that if it had been assaulted, the Van-guard would have been fought withal, and defeated, and neither the Rere nor Battel would have been able to assist it. The Duke of Montpensier who led the Van, perceived it, when being come past the Parks, he discovered the Enemies Army encamped upon the side of an Hill; but not being able to do any thing else, he drew his Squadrons still into order as they came, and by redoubled Messages hastened the Kings marching up with the Battel. The Enemy likewise perceived it, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great fore-sight and experience, ran himself (as he hath often told me since) to give the Duke notice of it, showing with how much ease and facility the Victory might be gotten by reason of the enemies error; but the Duke very ill of a Fever, in great pain with his wound, and lying in his bed, could not so soon take a resolution, and told Count *Alessandro*, That to fight with the King of Navar, live men were necessary, and not such bloodless carcasses as he was: Yet having call'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, he gave them order, if the occasion would bear it, to fall in upon the Enemy, and causing himself to be set in a Chair, he made himself also to be carried to the place where the Kings Army was seen to appear advancing between the Parks; but at such time, when by the diligent care of the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Van-guard had already taken up their station, and the Battel was almost all past, and before the Camp of the League (which was come into quarters but a few hours before) could be drawn together in Arms, the Kings whole Army was past, and settled again in its former order; so fair, and so evident an occasion being lost by reason of the Generals being hurt.

The Armies quarter within a mile of one another.

The Armies being quartered at less than a miles distance from one another, there remained a thick Wood between them upon the right hand, which the days following gave matter for many remarkable encounters; for they of the League, that night drew a Trench at the entry of it toward the Enemy, to keep the possession of the Wood unto themselves, and placed there to guard it the Count *de Bossu's Tertia*, which was Two thousand Walloons. There, upon the first day of May happened three hot skirmishes, whilst the King laboured to view that Post: The first between the Baron *de Biron*, and the Duke of *Guise*, the second between the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Sieur *de Rosne*, and the third (which lasted till night) between the Sieur *de Montigny*, and the Baron *de la Chastre*; yet was it not possible for the King to discover what Works the enemy had made in the entry of the Wood; for besides the hindrance of the Cavalry, the hail of Musket-bullets which showed from thence with infinite fury, would not suffer any body to draw near it. But the next day the skirmish being begun again, the Baron *de Biron* (though many of his men were left dead upon the place) rushed on so far, that he discovered there was nothing but a single line, without any sign of Cannon, and without the defence of Flankers or Redouts; wherefore upon the third of May in the morning, the King having commanded out three Squadrons of Foot, one of Germans, another English, and the third French, sent them on at break of day to assault and make themselves Masters of the Trench, who having marched very fast over the little Plain that was between, fell unexpectedly upon the Walloons, and beat them away from their Post, (who, for haste of retreating, left also their baggage behind them) and without losing time, began to fortifie themselves in the Trench. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Prince *Ranuccio*, without giving them leisure to secure that place, having drawn forth a great number of Carabines and Light-horse upon the right and left hand, to obstruct the way, commanded *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, seconded by that of *Alfonso Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that Post. *Camillo*, out of his own fierceness, and the emulation that was between the Italian and Walloon Infantry, rushing on boldly to assault the Trench, entered it with so much violence, that the King's Foot, after a short resistance, were constrained to quit the place, and in their retreat, being surrounded by the Carabines, would have had much ado to get back safe to the Camp, if the D. of *Montpensier*, the D. of *Nevers*, and the Count *de St Paul* with three several Squadrons of Gentlemen had not advanced to disengage them. The Italians wrought all that night, possessing all the passage of the high-way, and having made a great Redoubt with Flankers and Trenches on all sides, they planted four

The Kings soldiers make themselves masters of the Trench, made by them of the League before the Wood. *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, recovers the Trench again, and secures it with fortifications.

four pieces of Cannon there; so that the King was deprived of all hope of being able to beat them out any more; and so the Wood remained in the power of the Army of the League, which stood them in great stead for hutting, and for the security of their quarters; and also was of great use for cutting wood, and to feed the Carabines horses, that were accustomed to live upon what is daily found in the field.

But the King (though the passage out of the *Peninsula* was already made good) having a desire to straiten the enemies Camp more closely; that he might the sooner effect his enterprise, turned his quarters upon the right hand by the wood-side, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could batter *Yvetot*, in which Bourg the Duke of *Guise* lay with the Van-guard; and having planted seven pieces of Cannon behind a Trench, which was brought to perfection in a very few hours, he began to play upon the enemies in the flank, in such manner, that the Duke of *Guise* was forced to quit the Bourg, and retire into the quarter of the Battel. In his retreat, the Duke of *Bouillon* with the *Reiters*, and the Baron *de Biron* with a strong party of French Cavalry, followed him in the Rere; but he bringing up the last rank himself in person, and still valiantly facing about, retired with his Baggage safe and entire, and with his men in order, though in the skirmish some were taken prisoners, among which were the Barons *de Contenan* and *de la Maison*. But the King, not only out of a desire, the more to straiten the Enemy, but to the end that continual action, and the hope of fighting, might from hour to hour keep the French Gentry from being weary, did not suffer so much as a minutes rest; and at last, upon the Twelfth of May, would needs attempt to shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of an hill that lay more forward beyond the Fortifications of the Wood, and about the distance of Cannon shot from the Camp of the League, which was guarded by three Companies of Walloons under *Ostavo Mansfelt*, and three others of Spaniards under *Ludovico Velasco*. To that end, about break of day he sent forth Count *Philip of Nassau* with his Troops; who marching on secretly by the Wood-side, and afterward having left it upon his right hand, assaulted that Guard so unexpectedly, that within half an hour the defendants were beaten from it, and the Count began to intrench himself, and to give sign that Cannon should be brought up thither: but they of the League, considering the great inconvenience which they were like to receive from that Post, presently sent the Walloon and Italian Infantry to recover it; the Swissers, with the French and Spanish Foot, standing in Battalia to keep the field; and likewise the Cavalry in Arms stood ready without the Trenches to back the Foot. The King, on the other side, had drawn up his whole Army out of their quarters, and caused his Light-horse to scowr the Plain, thereby to hinder the Hollanders (who had gained that Post) from being encompassed; for which purpose also, the Duke of *Montpensier*, with Eight hundred Horse on the one side, and the Duke of *Bouillon* with One thousand *Reiters* on the other, being upon the wings of the Battel, stood ready to reinforce them. There was a sharp fight about the recovery of that Post, and they laboured at it with much blood, for the space of two hours; but at last the Italians overcoming all obstacles, regained the Hill, and with great execution drove back the Hollanders; the Cavalry of both Armies running on each side, to suppress, and defend them, which made it generally thought, that they should fight that day with all their Forces: but neither would the Duke of *Mayenne* hazard the whole sum of affairs without the presence and consent of the Duke of *Parma*, nor did the King desire to put it then to a Battel, being confident that within a few dayes he should overcome the enemy by want of Victual. Yet fought they still, with great and redoubled encounters, for the space of ten hours; the Cannon thundred on all sides, and the Commanders engaged themselves more than once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who (his horse being shot under him) was in great danger to remain a prisoner to the English; and the D. of *Parma* causing himself to be taken out of his Bed, and to be set on horse-back, advanced to the Front of his Army, doubting, that either opportunity or necessity might draw the Army to a Battel. Night put an end to these encounters. But the next day the K. who could neither take nor give rest, having intelligence that the Light-horse of the League was lodged in a quarter very assailable, and that might be beaten up before the rest of the Army could stir to relieve it (an error alwayes pernicious in all occasions of War) fetching a great compass, went thither himself in person; and having found them in no very good order, by reason of *Basti's* absence, (who being sick of a Flux, was retired to *Candebeec* to recover his health) he put them in so great confusion, that having lost their quarter, two Captains, and their Carriages, they

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The Army of the League being in the *Peninsula* of *Caux*, the King strives to shut up their passage out, being but one, and that very narrow.

The Kings soldiers take a Post from those of the League, which after a long dispute is recovered by the Italians and Walloons.

The King beats up the quarters of the Light-horse of the League.

1592.

The Marechal *de Byron*, and the Duke *de Bonillon* had foreseen that evil, and had laboured to perswade them all to fifteen or twenty days patience longer, in which time the event of things might be totally seen; but so great was the necessity of many, and so precipitate the inclination of the Voluntiers, that they could not be kept, there being many even of the Commanders, who constantly believed that the Duke of *Parma* had lost all hopes of relieving *Rouen*, and that he had set himself in good earnest upon the enterprize of *St. Esprit de Rue*, to try if diversion could work any effect, and that therefore his return was not to be feared; but that the Infantry with the new Supplies from *Holland* were sufficient to take in *Rouen*: Which opinion (as the French are ready enough to be vainly conceited of themselves) to the contempt of the Duke of *Parma* and his Army, was grown so common, that it was also entered into the King himself; so that he little thought he should have any more need of the Cavalry. On the other side, the Foot (which had passed all the Winter in the Trenches, half drowned with the excessive Rains that fell continually after a great abundance of Snow, and consumed with perpetual watching and toiling) were not in any better condition than the Horse, but had more need of rest, than to be employed in new and dangerous actions, besides the diseases, which (according as they are wont) were spread amongst the Germans, and much more among the English, had exceedingly lessened the number of those Forces, and the French Infantry not staying to feel the uttermost sufferings, ran away every hour; nor could the King (though he at last took notice of the decay and tiredness of his Army) use so great diligence as was sufficient (after above five months wasting of provisions) to keep his Camp plentifully furnished: Which things being known to the Duke of *Parma*, and much more particularly to the Duke of *Meyenne*, having deferred till the very utmost time mentioned, in the Governour of *Rouen*'s Letters, to give the Enemies Army so much the longer time to consume it self, they arose suddenly from *Rue*, where they had rather made shew to imploy themselves, than taken any care to get the place, and being well provided of Victual, passed the River *Somme* at a place called * *Blanguetague*, where spreading it self at large, it is less rapid, and more shallow, and in six days march came very near to *Rouen*; having with this celerity made that journey in so short a space, which the time before they were no less about than thirty days.

The Duke of *Parma* leaving the siege of *Rue*, draws near to *Rouen* to relieve it.
* Which is between *Cretoy* and *S. Valery*.

The King musters his forces, and finding himself much weaker, resolves to raise his siege.

The King having heard of the Enemies sudden coming, presently made them who were in the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Severe* come back over the River to join with the rest of the Army, and with extream diligence recalled all his Cavalry to the Quarters at *Darnetal*, with an intention to oppose and meet the Enemy; but having made a strict muster of his Forces, and knowing them to be so diminished both in number and vigour, that they were no way equal to the numerous Army of the League, he resolved to raise the siege, and reserve matters till a better occasion; being certain that the greater part of the Nobility would within a few days be come back to him again. But lest the Army of the League drawing near apace, and without resistance, should disturb the order of his retreat, he sent forth the Duke of *Bonillon* with the German Horse, accompanied with a few French Light-Horse and Cuirassiers upon the great road toward *Neuf-Chastel*, to hinder and fore-slow the Enemies march. The Country thorow which the Army of the Confederates came was all plain, not troubled with either Hills or Woods, which was a great disadvantage to the Duke of *Bonillon*, who with a few men intended to make shew to be the whole Army; and yet he took his time so opportunely to assault the Duke of *Guise*'s Vanguard when the rest of the Army was not yet moved out of their Quarters, that he put the first Troops of it into some disorder, and in the first fury of the charge took a Cornet; but *Rosne*, *Bassanpierre*, and the whole Vanguard coming up, and within a while after the Duke of *Parma* with the Battel, the business was reduced to faint skirmishes upon advantage; for the Duke of *Parma* commanding out many Troops of Horse every way, endeavoured to discover his Wings and Keer, to find whether or no the Kings whole Army was there; and the Duke of *Bonillon* perceiving his design, made as many Fronts as the Enemy sent forth Troops, and extending his Battalion to the utmost, would not suffer them to effect their intents; with which arts the whole day was spent in petty encounters, and the King with his Commanders had time to raise his Camp from before *Rouen* without disorder. The Artillery were drawn off without delay, and while the Army was imbattelling, they were

were sent before with the Carriages to *Ponte de l' Arche*, toward which place the King intended to retire; who after he had made a stand, about half an hour facing the City, left the siege upon the 20th day of *April*; and the Baron *de Byron* making good the retreat, marched commodiously the same way.

The Duke of *Parma*, with his Army in Battel-array, arrived the same day at *Rouen*; and having sent *Georgio Baffi* to follow the Rcer of the Kings Army, to observe which way he marched, entered with the Duke of *Mayenne* into the City, where having given infinite praises to the *Sieur de Villars* and the rest that had been with him in the siege, he retired the same night to quarter with his Army in the Neighbouring Villages.

1592.
The King sending away his Carriages before, drew up his Army in battalia, and marches away from the siege of *Rouen*.

The End of the Twelfth BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY

OF THE

Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The THIRTEENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

IN this Book is set down the Determination of the Confederates to besiege Caudebec, thereby to open the passage of the River, and totally free the City of Rouen: They lay siege unto it; the Duke of Parma in viewing the Works receives a Musket-shot in the Arm: The Town is taken; but things go on so slowly, that the King hath time to get his Army together again, and taking all the Passes, to besiege the Army of the League in the Peninsula of Caux; many actions of importance follow: The Duke of Parma troubled with his wound, and straightened with want of Provisions, thinks of passing the River Seine to disengage himself from that danger which he found he was run into: He manages that design with so much art, that he passes the River, and retires without receiving any loss; he draws off with long marches, re-passes the River at St. Cloud, returns into Flanders, and leaves Supplies (not very powerful) under the Sieur de Roine. The Duke of Mayenne being angry, goes not with him; he takes Ponteau de Mer, and falls into discord with the Popes Commissary; he enters into a Treaty of Agreement with the King, who vexed at the unexpected passage of the Confederate Army, lessens his own, and follows the Enemy with a flying Camp. He lays siege to Espernay in Champagne, which had been taken a while before by the Sieur de Rhosne; the Mareschal de Byron is slain there with a Cannon-shot; Espernay is taken, and other neighbouring Garisons fall of themselves: The King raises a Fort upon the Seine to keep Provisions from the City of Paris, the Duke of Mayenne attempts in vain to divert him: There arises on the Kings side a third party of the Princes of the Blood, and many Machinations are set on foot. Pope Clement the Eighth is created, who applies himself with great Moderation to the Affairs of France. The Duke of Mayenne at the Solicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain, resolves to call the States-General to Elect a King; upon this there follows divers Artifices, and different Treaties; King Philip sends new Ambassadors to declare his Will unto the

the States. The Duke of Mayenne meets them, they disagree, but pick up again for their own private interests. The King attempts to dissolve the States; He causes the Catholics of his Council to hold a Conference with the Confederates, which with the Duke of Mayenne's consent is begun at Surenne; He takes Noyon; the King being necessitated to go speedily into Poitou, cannot relieve it. The Catholic King's Ambassadors propose the Infanta of Spain to be declared Queen; the Proposition is all relished by the States, and there are divers practices about it. The King takes Dreux; and being constrained by the importunities of his own Catholics, who threaten to forsake him, resolves to turn his Religion; He removes to St. Denis, and goes publicly to Mass. He appoints the Duke of Nevers his Ambassador to the Pope to ask Absolution; the States of the League are troubled at it. The Duke of Mayenne seeing that he could not obtain the Kingdom for himself, nor for his Posterity, consents that a Truce should be treated on; the Deputies at Surenne conclude it till the end of October; it is willingly accepted, and the States at Paris are dismissed.



HE relieving of Rouen effected with so much ease, and without Blood, by the Duke of Parma's excellent dexterity in making use sometimes of slowness, sometimes of celerity, according as they were seasonable, filled his Name with infinite honour, and did very much depress that height of prosperity to which the Kings affairs seemed to be grown up; but the businesses which followed, though they much more clearly shewed the Dukes prudence and valour, did yet within a short time raise the Kings affairs to their former condition.

The Council of the League, after they saw the Kings Camp was raised, began to debate what was fittest to be done. The Spanish and Italian Commanders were for following the Enemy; and now that he was so weak, and his men tired out with sufferings, advised to prosecute his suppression, while the occasion presented it self of hoping with reason to effect it: but the French Lords (to whom exceeding great belief was given, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Country, and of the situations of places) shewed, that he passing the *Seine at Pont de l'Arche*, and marching into Lower Normandy, would not only leave them in a necessity of returning to Rouen to pass the River, but also make it very difficult for them to follow him thorow a Country that was wholly the Enemies, far from supplies, retreats and provisions; whereas he with the fervour of the Nobility, which would presently be run together to withstand his danger, encreasing in strength every hour, and refreshing his Forces in places so fertile and abundant, would quickly be able to look them in the face, and reduce them, being surrounded in his Country, to some strange encounter. Wherefore, that they might utterly free the City of Rouen, and open the River unto it, they thought it much better to assault *Candebec*, that alone hindered the passage of the *Seine*; which being taken, and the intention perfected for which they were come thither, they might afterward consider what enterprise would be most advantageous to their common interests. The Duke of Parma, who desired absolutely to free Rouen, and then following his wonted designs, to return to the Government of the affairs of *Flanders*, did willingly embrace the Counsel, not taking notice (by reason he was not acquainted with the Country) that shutting himself up in the Peninsula of *Caux*, environed on one side with the River *Seine*, and on the other two by the Ocean Sea, if the King with his Army should possess the passage out of it, which was but one, and that narrow one of a few miles, he would shut them up as in a net, and by reason of the littleness of the Country, would (only by stopping provisions from him) conquer him very easily with hunger. But the French Commanders either did not believe that the King could so soon be in a condition to follow them, or else thought to take *Candebec* in a few hours, and retire before he should be come up to them; and the Duke of Parma suffered himself to be led by those who knew the situations and quality of the

1592
The Army of
the League
with no very
good advice go
to besiege Caudebec, thereby
utterly to free
the City of
Rouen.

the Country better than he, out of the apparent reason of absolutely freeing the City of Rouen, which certainly without the taking of Caudebec, being deprived of the use of the River, would have remained little less than besieged: wherefore having thrown down the Kings Forts and Trenches, the Army of the League came before Caudebec upon the 24th day of April.

Caudebec lies behind certain Hills (not very high nor steep, but fertile and well wooded) in a large Plain, upon the bank of the River Seine, encompassed with very thick Walls, but not lined with Earth, nor betted with any kind of Fortification. There were to defend the Town Monsieur de la Garde a Colonel of French Infantry, and Pausania Bracciaduro, who alone commanded the Italian Light-Horse; for Nicolo Nasi was dead in the Camp of a natural death. These, not to fail in the duty of good Soldiers, took a Post without the Town between two Hills, in the passage that led from them into the Plain, intending to keep the siege as far as possibly they could from the Walls. The Walloons of the Count de Bassin, and Monsieur de Vert, were sent to drive them from thence; with whom though they skirmished a long while, and gained time, yet being exceeded by a greater number, they were fain to retire to the Town, and leave the passage free unto the Army of the League; but as it marched down into the Plain, the Holland Men-of-War, who were drawn close to the bank of the River, plaid upon it most furiously with their Cannon, and did a very great and unexpected mischief to the first Squadrons: wherefore the Duke having commanded the Army that was marching to make a stand, did with excellent order, and no less expedition, cause his Artillery to be drawn to the side of a Hill, and from thence to give fire with equal violence upon the Ships, so that (the Cannon which were planted upon the Land, shooting with more certainty than those that were upon the Water) having almost sunk the Admiral, and shot many of their best Ships thorow and thorow, the rest drew off from the shore, and with the stream of the River fell down to Quillebeuf, a place that stands something lower, but upon the same bank, and there for their security they began to draw a Line about the Town; which for the conveniency of it, in respect of Navigation, and of the passage of the River, being made a Fortrefs, was in after-times held in exceeding great consideration. But the Ships being beaten off, and that trouble taken away, the Duke having quartered his Army, caused a Post to be taken under the walls, and the next day went in person with Prince Ranuccio, the Sieur de la Motte, and Count Nicolo Cesis, to view the place; and whilst he diligently surveyed all things, and because he would not trust to others, designed himself the manner of forming the Battery, he was hurt in the midst of the right arm with a Musket-bullet, which being shot from one of the great Towers of the Wall, took him under the elbow, and passing between the two bones, went almost to his hand, where (being spent before) it flatted it self, and stayed, not having force enough to make its way out. He never changed his countenance, nor interrupted his discourse, nor spake of his being wounded; but it being discovered by the standers by, who saw the blood run down from under his Cloke, he would nevertheless make an end of giving those orders which he had begun to design; and being brought home to his quarters, and visited by the Chirurgions, his hurt was not found any way mortal, but exceeding painful; and so much the more, because they having been found to make three incisions in his arm, to find the course of the wound, and to take out the Bullet, he fell into a Fever within a while after; which continuing upon him, he was constrained at last to keep his Bed. After this accident, the chief command of the Army was left to the Duke of Mayenne, and the ordering of the Catholick Kings Forces to Prince Ranuccio, who nevertheless did not dispose of any thing without his Fathers consent. The Cannon were planted the next day, though but slowly; and having battered and beaten down a great space of the Wall, Monsieur de la Garde (though against the opinion of Bracciaduro) began to treat of surrendring, and after some debate obtained the conditions he demanded; for the Duke of Parma being in no very good estate, every one desired that the progress of matters might be facilitated. So the next day the Town came into the power of the Confederates, who to give their Army rest, and to refresh it with plenty of victual which they had gotten there, staid there three days after the taking of it.

The Duke of
Parma viewing
the situation
of Caudebec, re-
ceives a Musket-
shot in the
arm.

Monsieur de la
Garde surren-
ders Caudebec
to the Lords
of the League.

Upon notice of
the Enemies
return, the No-
bility return to
the Kings Ar-
my with great
Supplies.

In the mean time the Nobility of the neighbouring Provinces (which had been summoned from the very first notice of the Enemies return) were come unto the King; the Sieur d'Hamiers with Two hundred Horse from Picardy, the Sieur de Sourdis from

from *Chartres* with an hundred and fifty, the *Sieur de Hertre* Governour of *Alençon* with Two hundred, the Count *de Montgomery*, and the *Sieur de Colombiere* with Three hundred, Monsieur *de Canisi* (Son-in-law to *Matignon*) with an hundred, *Odet* (Son to the late *Sieur de la Noue*) with as many, and Colonel *St Denis* with Six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back. There arrived also Monsieur *de Sourray* and the Count *de Lude* with Three hundred Gentlemen who had not been in the Camp before; and at last the Duke of *Montpensier* long expected, and the *Sieur de la Verune* Governour of *Caen* came with Eight hundred Gentlemen, Two hundred Light-Horse, and Four hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back.

The Duke of *Montpensier*'s stay had been occasioned by his desire to obtain *Auranches*, a Town in lower *Normandy*, which was the onely one, that in those parts, towards the Confines of *Bretagne*, held for the party of the League; for having besieged it at the latter end of the year before, with hope of taking it within a very few dayes, the business afterwards proved otherwise; for Monsieur *de Vicq*, an old soldier, and an undaunted Cavalier, who was come from *Pont-Orfon*, having shut himself up into the Town, had gallantly made good the Suburbs for many dayes, till the Walls and Bastions of the City were made very defensible. But the Suburbs at last being taken, and the approaches being begun, there fell so great and so continuing a Snow, as did not onely fill all the Trenches already made, but also hindered the work in such manner, that the Camp was faine to lie idle many dayes, being in the mean time tormented with such excessive cold weather, that had it not been for the Suburbs (the houses whereof were pulled down, and the wood of them burned to warm the Soldiers) it had not been possible to have persisted in the enterprize. The Snow being ceased, the Ice continued so hard frozen, and the earth therefore so dry, and as it were turned into stone, that it could not be digged nor entered with a pick-axe without wonderful difficulty; and yet having with great toil raised a Plat-form with two Batteries, they planted upon them the Artillery, which was brought from *Caen* and *Falaise*, and particularly one Cannon of an unmeasurable greatness, which they called *le grande Robin*, with all which the Walls being battered in two places, and also many houses beaten down by the shot that went into the Town, it was fiercely assaulted upon the second of *February*, and though stoutly maintained by those within, yet the heat of many of the Defendants weakned the hope of holding out, in such manner, that the *Sieur de Vicq* was forced to capitulate, and surrender the Town into the Duke's power; who having set his Forces again in order, and gathered the Nobility together, was come unto the King by whom he had been often very earnestly sent for.

Now the King's Army being in a very few dayes so increased, that in it there were between seven and eight thousand horse, and between sixteen and eighteen thousand Foot; for besides the Hollanders of the Fleet, he had dreyned all the neighbouring Garrisons; and the error of the Confederates being manifestly known, who had unadvisedly engaged themselves in a nook, where they must suffer and labour very much before they could get out, resolved to cut off their retreat, and pressing them on all sides, to reduce them (without any danger to himself) unto extreme necessity of Victual; for one part of the passage into the *Peninsula* towards the Sea being shut up by *Eu*, *Arques* and *Diepe*, which places being strongly Garrisoned, did, in great part, obstruct the way, and the *Seine* being blocked up by the possession of *Quillebauf*, and by the Holland Fleet, there remained nothing but wholly to shut up the other part of the entrance toward the River *Somme*, which alone led from the *Peninsula* into the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. The King therefore being departed with exceeding great celerity from the Walls of *Pont de l'Arche*, and marching without stop, though with his Army in Battalia, came upon the last of *April* within sight of the Enemies Camp, which being gone from *Caudebac* the same day, had taken up quarters at *Ivetot*, a great Town, which afforded much conveniency for lodging.

It was a remarkable thing, that the King also by not well heeding the situation of the place through which he marched, put himself in manifest danger of being defeated: For that Country being all inhabited by Lords, who possess many Towns there, it is for their pleasure and conveniency all full of large Parks, encompassed with great well-built Walls, as high as a man on horse-back, and some of these there are, that take up the space of three or four miles. Now the King advancing through this Countrey towards the Camp of the League, it was necessary, keeping the ordinary way, to pass between two very great Parks, one of which was on the right hand, and

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the

1592.

The Kings
Army retires,
being near
18000 Foot,
and 8000
Horse.

1592.

The King marching with his Army between the walls of two Parks, puts himself in great danger, which he escapes by reason of the D. of Parma's being in a Fever.

the other on the left, the High-way being in the midst: wherefore the Cavalry and Infantry being fain to march but few in front, the Kings Army was brought into such a condition, that the Van-guard was past the Parks, the Battel was shut up between the Walls of them, and the Rere was yet remaining on the hither side: So that if it had been assaulted, the Van-guard would have been fought withal, and defeated, and neither the Rere nor Battel would have been able to assist it. The Duke of Montpensier who led the Van, perceived it, when being come past the Parks, he discovered the Enemies Army encamped upon the side of an Hill; but not being able to do any thing else, he drew his Squadrons still into order as they came, and by redoubled Messages hastened the Kings marching up with the Battel. The Enemy likewise perceived it, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great fore-sight and experience, ran himself (as he hath often told me since) to give the Duke notice of it, showing with how much ease and facility the Victory might be gotten by reason of the enemies error; but the Duke very ill of a Fever, in great pain with his wound, and lying in his bed, could not so soon take a resolution, and told Count *Alessandro*, That to fight with the King of Navar, live men were necessary, and not such bloodless carcasses as he was: Yet having call'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, he gave them order, if the occasion would bear it, to fall in upon the Enemy, and causing himself to be set in a Chair, he made himself also to be carried to the place where the Kings Army was seen to appear advancing between the Parks; but at such time, when by the diligent care of the Duke of Montpensier, the Van-guard had already taken up their station, and the Battel was almost all past, and before the Camp of the League (which was come into quarters but a few hours before) could be drawn together in Arms, the Kings whole Army was past, and settled again in its former order; so fair, and so evident an occasion being lost by reason of the Generals being hurt.

The Armies quarter within a mile of one another.

The Armies being quartered at less than a miles distance from one another, there remained a thick Wood between them upon the right hand, which the days following gave matter for many remarkable encounters; for they of the League, that night drew a Trench at the entry of it toward the Enemy, to keep the possession of the Wood unto themselves, and placed there to guard it the Count *de Bossu's Tertia*, which was Two thousand Walloons. There, upon the first day of May happened three hot skirmishes, whilst the King laboured to view that Post: The first between the Baron *de Biron*, and the Duke of *Guise*, the second between the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the *Sieur de Rosne*, and the third (which lasted till night) between the *Sieur de Montigny*, and the Baron *de la Chastre*; yet was it not possible for the King to discover what Works the enemy had made in the entry of the Wood; for besides the hindrance of the Cavalry, the hail of Musket-bullets which showed from thence with infinite fury, would not suffer any body to draw near it. But the next day the skirmish being begun again, the Baron *de Biron* (though many of his men were left dead upon the place) rushed on so far, that he discovered there was nothing but a single line, without any sign of Cannon, and without the defence of Flankers or Redouts; wherefore upon the third of May in the morning, the King having commanded out three Squadrons of Foot, one of Germans, another English, and the third French, sent them on at break of day to assault and make themselves Masters of the Trench, who having marched very fast over the little Plain that was between, fell unexpectedly upon the Walloons, and beat them away from their Post, (who, for haste of retreating, left also their baggage behind them) and without losing time, began to fortifie themselves in the Trench. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Prince *Ranuccio*, without giving them leisure to secure that place, having drawn forth a great number of Carabines and Light-horse upon the right and left hand, to obstruct the way, commanded *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, seconded by that of *Alonso Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that Post. *Camillo*, out of his own fierceness, and the emulation that was between the Italian and Walloon Infantry, rushing on boldly to assault the Trench, entered it with so much violence, that the King's Foot, after a short resistance, were constrained to quit the place, and in their retreat, being surrounded by the Carabines, would have had much ado to get back safe to the Camp, if the D. of Montpensier, the D. of *Nevers*, and the Count *de St Paul* with three several Squadrons of Gentlemen had not advanced to disengage them. The Italians wrought all that night, possessing all the passage of the high-way, and having made a great Redoubt with Flankers and Trenches on all sides, they planted four

The Kings soldiers make themselves masters of the Trench, made by them of the League before the Wood. *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, recovers the Trench again, and secures it with fortifications.

four pieces of Cannon there; so that the King was deprived of all hope of being able to beat them out any more; and so the Wood remained in the power of the Army of the League, which stood them in great stead for hutting, and for the security of their quarters; and also was of great use for cutting wood, and to feed the Carabines horses, that were accustomed to live upon what is daily found in the field.

But the King (though the passage out of the *Peninsula* was already made good) having a desire to straiten the enemies Camp more closely; that he might the sooner effect his enterprise, turned his quarters upon the right hand by the wood-side, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could batter *Yvetot*, in which Bourg the Duke of *Guise* lay with the Van-guard; and having planted seven pieces of Cannon behind a Trench, which was brought to perfection in a very few hours, he began to play upon the enemies in the flank, in such manner, that the Duke of *Guise* was forced to quit the Bourg, and retire into the quarter of the Battel. In his retreat, the Duke of *Bouillon* with the *Reiters*, and the Baron *de Biron* with a strong party of French Cavalry, followed him in the Rere; but he bringing up the last rank himself in person, and still valiantly facing about, retired with his Baggage safe and entire, and with his men in order, though in the skirmish some were taken prisoners, among which were the Barons *de Contenau* and *de la Maisson*. But the King, not only out of a desire, the more to straiten the Enemy, but to the end that continual action, and the hope of fighting, might from hour to hour keep the French Gentry from being weary, did not suffer so much as a minutes rest; and at last, upon the Twelfth of May, would needs attempt to shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of an hill that lay more forward beyond the Fortifications of the Wood, and about the distance of Cannon shot from the Camp of the League, which was guarded by three Companies of Walloons under *Olivio Mansfelt*, and three others of Spaniards under *Ludovico Velasco*. To that end, about break of day he sent forth Count *Philip* of *Nassau* with his Troops; who marching on secretly by the Wood-side, and afterward having left it upon his right hand, assaulted that Guard so unexpectedly, that within half an hour the defendants were beaten from it, and the Count began to intrench himself, and to give sign that Cannon should be brought up thither: but they of the League, considering the great inconvenience which they were like to receive from that Post, presently sent the Walloon and Italian Infantry to recover it; the Swissers, with the French and Spanish Foot, standing in Battalia to keep the field; and likewise the Cavalry in Arms stood ready without the Trenches to back the Foot. The King, on the other side, had drawn up his whole Army out of their quarters, and caused his Light-horse to scowr the Plain, thereby to hinder the Hollanders (who had gained that Post) from being encompassed; for which purpose also, the Duke of *Montpensier*, with Eight hundred Horse on the one side, and the Duke of *Bouillon* with One thousand *Reiters* on the other, being upon the wings of the Battel, stood ready to reinforce them. There was a sharp fight about the recovery of that Post, and they laboured at it with much blood, for the space of two hours; but at last the Italians overcoming all obstacles, regained the Hill, and with great execution drove back the Hollanders; the Cavalry of both Armies running on each side, to suppress, and defend them, which made it generally thought, that they should fight that day with all their Forces: but neither would the Duke of *Mayenne* hazard the whole sum of affairs without the presence and consent of the Duke of *Parma*, nor did the King desire to put it then to a Battel, being confident that within a few dayes he should overcome the enemy by want of Victual. Yet fought they still, with great and redoubled encounters, for the space of ten hours; the Cannon thundred on all sides, and the Commanders engaged themselves more than once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who (his horse being shot under him) was in great danger to remain a prisoner to the English; and the D. of *Parma* causing himself to be taken out of his Bed, and to be set on horse-back, advanced to the Front of his Army, doubting, that either opportunity or necessity might draw the Army to a Battel. Night put an end to these encounters. But the next day the K. who could neither take nor give rest, having intelligence that the Light-horse of the League was lodged in a quarter very assaultable, and that might be beaten up before the rest of the Army could stir to relieve it (an error alwayes pernicious in all occasions of War) fetching a great compass, went thither himself in person; and having found them in no very good order, by reason of *Basti's* absence, (who being sick of a Flux, was retired to *Candebeec* to recover his health) he put them in so great confusion, that having lost their quarter, two Captains, and their Carriages, they

1592.

The Army of the League being in the Peninsula of *Caux*, the King strives to shut up their passage out, being but one, and that very narrow.

The Kings soldiers take a Post from those of the League, which after a long dispute is recovered by the Italians and Walloons.

The King beats up the quarters of the Light-horse of the League.

1598.

had much ado to get to the main Body of their Army, which though it was diligently making ready to give relief, yet the business having been very soon dispatched, the King had time, after he had beaten and driven away the Enemy, to retire to his own quarters.

The Duke of Parma sends Prince Ranuccio to assault the Kings out-guards; and while they are fighting there, being favoured by a mist, he removes his Camp without noise of either Drum or Trumpet.

But the Duke of Parma being so ill, that he was often troubled with long tedious swoonings, had great need to take some rest; and having already begun to think of the means of getting out of that dangerous place wherein he found himself, he judged it very fit to draw back his Army nearer the Walls of *Candebec*, along the Bank of the River, whereby he might make use of the conveniency of the Town; and the Army changing quarters, might avoid the cause of diseases, and be more opportune for his design: Wherefore, upon the 16th of May, the weather being dark by reason of a thick mist, which afterward turned into a very great Rain, he caused the Camp to rise in the morning by break of day, without noise of either Drum or Trumpet; and the Cannon and all the Baggage going before, he led the Army to quarter in a place half a League from the Town, between two Hills, before which there was a large Plain. Now to deceive the King, that he might not discover the moving of his Camp, (besides the advantage of the weather, and the silence and order wherewithal his Soldiers marched) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the Wood before any thing stirred, and fell upon the Kings out-guards, making as if his design were to enlarge himself, and to that end he would have beaten them from their Post; which whilst they of the King's party are intent upon with their utmost endeavours, whilst their mindes are wholly taken up there, and while thick volleys of shot rattle on all sides, there was no noise at all heard of the moving of the Camp; and the Prince, after a continued skirmish of three hours together, lessening his Forces by little and little, and sending off the Squadrons one by one to joyn with the Rereguard brought up by the Duke of *Annals*, at last himself also, with only Two hundred horse, followed the rest of the Camp at a round trot, leaving the King astonished, when after the air was grown clear, he saw what an artificial retreat the Army of the League had made. But the Prince being come to the place where the Army had been encamped, found three pieces of Cannon left there, either by the negligence or fear of him that had the charge of drawing them off; wherefore, not to leave them, to the lessening of his reputation, in the enemies power, he was constrained to recal his fleeing Squadron to disingage them, and to bring them off safe: which, though it were done with great celerity, yet would it have spoiled and frustrated the admirable art of this retreat, if the King had been more ready to follow them: so subject oftentimes, in the affairs of War, are the greatest actions to miscarry by the least disorders.

But the King being come to quarter that night in the place which they of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to discover them; and having considered the situation of the Country with no less sagacity than they, marched to the opposite hills, and there prudently disposed his whole Army into quarters, persisting still to straiten and shut them up, as his design had been from the beginning. The Duke of *Mompensier* with the Vanguard very strong in Horse, lay upon the right hand, and spread himself so far toward *Diepe*, that the Garrison of those places which obstructed all the ways, met mutually with his parties that scowred the field. The King with the Battel, in which was the greatest strength of Infantry, lay encamped upon the foot of the hills upon the great Road of *Picardy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* with the Rere, wherein were the *Reliers*, kept the left hand, possessing that pass which leads from the Country of *Caux* towards *Rouen*; so that all passages being stopt, there was no part of the way that remained free. The Army being encamped in its several Posts, the King (contrary to his ordinary custom) strove to secure himself, that the Enemy might not force him to a Battel; and therefore he strengthened and fortified all his quarters, spoiled and blocked up all the wayes, and laboured with all industry, that the Enemies Commanders, by making some brisk attempt, might not be able to force his Quarters.

The Army of the League shut up in the Peninsula, is reduced unto necessity of victual, and is in a great strait.

The Camp of the League was already reduced to such want of Victual, that it could subsist no longer; for neither did the River (obstructed by the Holland Fleet) furnish it with Provisions, nor did the Country longer afford any conveniency to feed it, that Corn being spent which was found at the taking of *Candebec*, all the Country eaten up, and all that wasted which industry had been able to supply; and not only of other things, but even of water there was very great want; for that of the River being spoiled by the flowing of the Sea, was not only very ill tasted, but also wonderfully unwholsome

wholesome. To this was added the sufferings of their Horses, which, besides the scarcity of forrage, being harrassed in the fields with continual Rains, died every hour in great abundance; and the Foot being many dayes behind, and without money to relieve themselves in their present necessity, was afflicted and consumed with the many tedious sufferings. On the other side, the King having *Diepe* and *St. Valery* near him, and behind the way open into the most fertill Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though no better stored with Money than the Enemy was, did yet abound in Provisions, and his Soldiers spreading themselves far abroad to forrage, supplied the want of their pay with plundering the Country.

Wherefore, the Duke of *Parma* seeing himself reduced to so strait and so necessitous a condition, thought there was no other remedy for it but to pass over to the other side of the River *Seine*, and getting out of the *Peninsula*, to remove into the spacious Plain of lower *Normandy*, and so dis-intangle himself from the King's designs, who already believed that he had him sure in the net. But as this was the only wholesome resolution for the safety of his Army, so was it most difficult to be effected: for it was not to be doubted, but if the King were aware of it, he might easily destroy him in crossing the River, and they were so near Neighbors, that it could not in reason be hoped that passage could be concealed. He communicated his thought to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the *Sieur de la Motte*; but it seemed to them not only dangerous, but impossible, knowing how hard it is to pass a little Ditch, when the opposition of the Enemy is near; much less was a good event to be hoped for in passing a mighty broad River, swelled in that place by the Salt-waters, with an entire Army, full of Baggage, hindred with Ammunition, and great store of Cannon, a fierce and powerful Enemy being at their back; yet necessity urged, and the safety of that Army could no other way be provided for: Wherefore the Duke being straitned within himself, resolved to try if by dexterity he could bring that thought to pass. To which purpose, having made Eight Ensigns of *Berlotte's* Regiment, by little and little, to cross the River in certain small Boats, he caused a Fort to be raised upon the other Bank, which, in the form of a Star, had three spurs toward the River, to command and secure it; and made another to be raised over against that upon the Bank, where the Army was, but with the Redout toward the River, and the Front opposite to the place from whence the Enemy might appear, and in it, besides the Count *de Bossu* with a Thousand Foot, whereof most were Muskettiers, he planted four pieces of Cannon that might command a great way off, and keep the passage of the field open. At the same time many great Boats were making ready at *Rouen*, with wonderful secrecy, whereof in that place there were a great number, which were wont to carry Merchandise upon the River, and they fastned pieces of Timber and Planks together, after the manner those Bridges are made, whereby great Rivers are commonly wont to be passed. Other little Boats likewise were prepared with six Oars in each, to help and tow the greater with more facility, and some great floating-Bridges like Rafts were made of exceeding thick Beams, sufficient to sustain and carry the Artillery. These Boats (which with the benefit of the stream of the River, and the ebbing of the Sea, were come from *Rouen* in a few hours) being arrived (the evening before the One and twentieth of *May*) without losing a moment of time, the same night the weather being clear, the French Cavalry and Infantry passed over with the Duke of *Amale*, then the Artillery, and all the Baggage of the Army, after them the Swiss-Infantry, and about peep of day, the Walloon, Spanish, and Italian Foot; Prince *Ranuccio* remaining on this side the River, with *Appio Conti*, who (the Duke of *Montemarzio* being gone for *Italy*) commanded the Forces of the Church, and with them a Thousand Italian Foot of *Capizucchie*, and Two hundred Horse; with which turning in Arms towards the Enemy, they made as if they would skirmish in the field.

The King seeing a small number of men upon the Hills, and that they stirred not, though his Light-horse ran up and down the Plain, began to suspect, that (as the time before) the Enemies were changing their quarters, but not at all that they were passing the River, which enlarged, by the flowing of the tide, is in that place more like a Sea than a River. To assure himself of the truth, he sent forth the Baron *de Biran* to discover what they were doing, who having got up to the top of a Hill, upon which nobody appeared, returned galloping with great speed, and related how the Enemies were passing the River; at which news, the King, without farther thought, hastened that way with all the Cavalry, and left the Foot to follow him. But the Cavalry could

1594.

The Duke of *Parma*, to free the Army, which was in a manner imprisoned in the Country of *Caux*, resolved to pass the River *Seine*, and his attempt succeeded.

1592.

The King perceiving the Enemies design (though too late) goes to hinder their passage over the River; but they were past already.

could not hinder the Enemies passage, unless first the Count *de Boffin's* Fort were taken, which with Cannon and Musket-shot scoured the whole Plain on every side, and was a shelter to protect those that passed the River; which the King having at last taken notice of, and thinking that enterprise too difficult, and of too great delay, possessed himself of another Hill that commanded the river, and gave order, that with all possible speed, the Artillery should be brought thither, to play upon and sink the Boats that were passing. But while they were making ready, and drawing thither in a confused haste, the whole Army was already past over; whereupon, the King almost transported with despair, not being able to do any thing else, ran to charge Prince *Ranuccio*, who last of all, retiring by little and little, was gotten under the protection of the Fort. The King advanced precipitately within reach of the Cannon and Musket, further than was fitting, but he was quickly forced to retreat with some loss, but with no effect; so that the Count *de Boffin's* Regiment, and *Capizucchi's* Thousand Foot, did also pass the river one after another, and the Cannon that were in the Fort being drawn off, piece by piece, were put upon one of the great Floating-bridges; and last of all, Prince *Ranuccio* embarked with his Horse, at which time, the Kings Artillery were come up to the Hill, and began to fire upon the Boats that passed over, and likewise upon the Fort *de la Berlotte*; but the Cannon shooting under-metall, did but little harm in all places.

Greater was the danger, in regard of the Kings Men of War, which at that very time appeared upon the river from *Quillebauf*, and went to fall upon that Raft that carried the Artillery, which were taken last out of the Fort, for being but slenderly guarded, it was doubted, they might easily fall into the Enemies power; but Prince *Ranuccio*, who in this whole action gained infinite praises, not being able to suffer the loss of his Artillery before his eyes, in the safety of which consisted the greatest reputation of that enterprise, getting out of the Boat, in which he was passing aboard a little Bark, made haste in person to relieve them, which the *Sieur de la Motte*, *Camillo Capizucchi*, Colonel *St. Paul*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers, having likewise done with other little Barks, and the Fort *de la Berlotte*, playing with great violence cross the River, the Kings Ships desisted, and the Artillery coming at last safe to the shore, were landed in a moment by two Spanish *Tertiaes*, commanded to receive and accompany them, though the Kings Artillery, no less than the other, thundred with infinite violence upon the place. The whole Army, Cannon, and Carriages being past, without leaving any thing that was of moment, Prince *Ranuccio* would not stir from the river till all the Bridges and Boats were burned in every place, to the end they might not serve the King to pass over and follow them, and having entirely perfected all he intended, without any show of disturbance, he came up towards evening to the rest of the Army that was marched off from the river.

But neither could the passage of the River (which had been effected with so much industry, and (which imported most of all) without having received any loss at all) quiet the mind of the Duke of *Parma*, doubting, that the King might pass over his Army at *Pont de l'Arche*, and resolve to follow him; which, if it had come to pass, in the condition he was in (the weariness of his Forces being considered, and principally his not having money to maintain his Camp) he doubted he should incur very great dangers and troubles: wherefore, having quartered at *Neubourg* (which place was sacked and burnt by his Army) he marched with so great speed toward *Paris*, that he came to *St. Cloud* in four dayes; and not willing to pass through the City, lest he should give his Forces occasion to disband, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be made, and having repassed the *Seine*, never slackned his haste till he came to the Wall of *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, far from the enemy, and upon the way to return straight into *Flanders*.

In the mean time the King, who was unexpectedly fallen from a certain hope of suppressing his enemies, to a certain assurance that he had lost his pains, labours, and expenses, and the blood shed from his own Person and his Subjects in the space of so many moneths, seeing the City of *Rouen* relieved, the Army of the League gotten away safe to another place, his Gentry wearied and wasted, the Germans diminished in number, and tired out with their late sufferings, after he had been two dayes, not only afflicted in mind, but also perplexed and ambiguous in his thoughts, resolved to lessen his Army, as he had likewise done after the siege of *Paris*, and freeing himself and those of his party from trouble and expence, to expect, with a fleeing Army, what resolution

The King dissolves his forces, and sends the Lords to their Governments, and with a quick fleeing Army follows the march of the enemy.

resolution the Commanders of the League would take. The Nobility departed, the Lords returned to their Governments, and the King having mustered the Germans, and reformed their Companies one into another, with Three thousand Horse, and between five and 6000 Foot, marched after the Enemy to the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*.

1592.

But the sufferings of all the winter past bred such grievous diseases among those that had been in the Camp, that a wonderful great number of Gentlemen and valiant Commanders either died or lay long sick; among which, *François de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier*, being sick of a Fever, in his return to his Government of *Normandy*, was stayed at *Lisieux* by the violence of his disease, where he departed this life upon the third of *June*. A Prince of infinite high courage, and inestimable goodness, and for those qualities very worthy of the most eminent Command whatsoever, if nature had afforded him more vivacity, and a more perspicuous understanding. About the same time, not far from *Beauvais*, died *Monsieur de Guisy*, a man of exceeding great valour, and who, for prudence and experience, had lived in a singular reputation among the Hugonots, who, next to the D. of *Bouillon*, had placed all their hopes in him and *Monsieur de la Noue*.

François de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, as he was returning to his Government of *Normandy*, dies at *Lisieux* the third of *June*, 1592.

At the departure of the Army of the League from the River *Seine*, the discords and discontents between the Generals were discovered to burn more than ever: for the D. of *Mayenne*, who was not pleased with the drawing off so soon from the King, and leaving matters again to his discretion, did publicly attribute unto himself the honor of having relieved *Rouen* without striking a blow, and of having by patience and industry caused the King's Army to dissolve, without having remitted the sum of affairs to the uncertain event of a Battel: That likewise as the removing of the impediment of *Candebec*, and the clearing of the passage of the *Seine*, was necessary; so it had been propounded and obtained by him: That if afterward the Duke of *Parma*, not trusting any body, would needs, without occasion, put his person in danger, in a place and in an action that was not worth the cost, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit, and to shut them up in a corner (from whence quickly disingaging themselves, they had found conveniency to retire) it was no fault of his counsel, which was very good and wholesome, but a defect of the execution, which had not been remitted to him: That the industry of passing over the River, could not but be praised; but if it had been employed in making a Bridge to come and go freely over the River, the passage of *Victuals* would thereby have been opened on that side; whereupon the King, being without money, and his Army wearied and consumed, would have been constrained to march off with shame, and to leave the Field open to them, to effect profitable and signal enterprizes: but because the Spaniards would spend but sparingly, and because they would afford but petty supplies, and yet were obstinate to rule, command, and govern all things their own way, it was come to pass, that now all the past toils and expences were thrown away, and the King recovering strength, would again make himself superior, both in force and reputation.

The Duke of *Mayenne* murmurs against the Duke of *Parma*, ascribing the glory of all the actions to himself.

On the other side, the D. of *Parma* said publicly, that with the Arms of the Catholick King alone, he had two several times happily delivered the League, and redeemed the two principal Cities of *France* out of the enemies hands: That he had taken away the victory and reputation from the King of *Navar*, who oppressing the French in all places, had been opportunely bridled onely by the power of his Army: and that now also, though the Count *de Vaudemont* with the Forces of *Lorain* had left him, and though the chief French who were interested had come but slowly to the Army, he would have made an end of suppressing the King, if they would have agreed to follow him, and if by imprudently thrusting themselves into a net shut up on all sides, they had not spoiled the fruits of the Victory, and lost the opportunity which presented it self of ending the War victoriously at the last: That the Catholick King poured out the gold and blood of his Kingdoms prodigally for their benefit; and they on the contrary, having no other aim but to grow rich in particular, cared but little for the publick good, and much less for the safety of the Kingdom: and finally, That he would not stay unprofitably and without fruit at *Rouen*, and suffer not onely the affairs of *Flanders*, but even also those of *France*, to go to ruine without remedy.

The Duke of *Parma* shewing that he had twice delivered the League, attributes the cause unto the French, why the King of *Navarre* was not utterly suppressed.

From these words their actions were not different: for the Duke of *Mayenne* pretending a necessity to take Physick, would needs stay at *Rouen*, and not follow the Army that marched away; and the Duke of *Parma*, next that he would not go with him, would not leave him any Forces at all; but on the other side, taking with him the

The Duke of *Mayenne* upon excuse of taking Physick, stays at *Rouen*.

1592.

the Duke of Guise, gave out, that he would leave the Command to him of those Spanish Forces that should stay in France; which more than any thing else nettled the Duke of Mayenne, who (the Cardinal-Legat departing also with the Army) remained alone and forsaken, being scarce able to obtain, that the Pope's Swissers and Commissary *Matteucci* should stay with him at *Rouen*: and yet even this also was a stone of exceeding great scandal; for *Matteucci*, a man of a harsh carriage, and most wilful in his opinions, either having such orders from *Rome*, or because he had not money to pay them, would needs dismiss the Swissers within a while after; neither was it possible, by any kind of reasons, persuasions, or threatnings, to alter his determination; but the Duke of Mayenne having earnestly desired him to stay them yet a moneth longer, offering to pay them himself, if he would not keep them in his own pay, could not prevail any thing at all: whereat highly incensed, and grieved that he was ill dealt with by them all, he gave order that *Matteucci* should be seized upon; which, though it were not effected, because he hid himself in the habit of a Soldier, and departed with the same Swissers, and because the Duke, the first fury of his wrath being over, dissembled the business, and did not care to have his order put in execution; yet notwithstanding the Legat complained grievously about it, and the thing was very ill taken at *Rome*; whereupon, the Duke's discontents multiplied on all sides; which had so much power on him, that he began afresh to lend his ear to a Treaty of Peace, which Monsieur de *Villeroy* had never given over to manage, out of a desire to conclude an Agreement with the King, and by that means to free themselves from the mischief (as he said) of forraign Forces.

Monsieur de *Villeroy* had kept the Treaty alive, sometimes with one, sometimes with another of the King's party; and as either side had the better, so did the Treaty vary accordingly: for when the King felt himself much straitned by the Enemy, he fell into a thought of satisfying the party of the League, and of freeing himself from danger and trouble; and when the Duke of Mayenne found himself either ill dealt withall, or slenderly assisted by the Confederates, he also inclined towards the hopes of an Accommodation: but the insuperable difficulty that was in the King's conversion, because he would not do it at the request of his enemies, and the Duke's not being willing to conclude the Treaty, unless he were first a Catholick, had alwayes cut off the practices, and put the business in a total desperation. But about this time, Monsieur de *Villeroy* having treated long and freely about it with Monsieur de *P. Ominie* one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken prisoner, and was at *Ponroyse*; he, after he had his liberty, treated of it with the King, just at the time when, by reason of the Duke of *Parma's* drawing near, he was both in danger and trouble: wherefore he gave order to the Sieur du *Plessis Mornay*, who formerly had treated about it (being a man in whom, by reason of his wisdom and learning, he confided very much) that he should renew the discourse of it again with Monsieur de *Villeroy*, who having written several times to the Duke of Mayenne, and to President *Jeannin* concerning it, at last, after much treating, the Duke, who had never been willing to condescend to any particular, had, at this time, declared himself by *Villeroy*, That if the King would give security of his conversion, and satisfaction to him, and the other Lords of his party, he would agree to acknowledge and submit himself unto him. *Du Plessis* and *Villeroy* treated together with mutual promises of secrecy; but no evasion could be found, whereby, the King not turning his Religion at the present, they of the League could be secure, that he would do it for the future, since they alledged, that the King had from the beginning promised those very Catholicks that followed him that he would do it, and yet had never performed it to them; whereupon, it could not be hoped, that he would assuredly do it at the importunity of his Enemies: Besides, that the King would make that promise with uncertain and ambiguous words, and with a reservation of being taught and instructed, which, as they were like to afford sufficient matter of excuse, to whatsoever resolution he should take, so did they not quiet the Duke of Mayenne; and the Conditions that were propounded in his particular, and in that of the other Princes and Lords of his party, did not absolutely satisfy them: Wherefore, after much treating, and after much writing and replying, in the end, President *Jeannin* wrote by the Duke's order to *Villeroy*, and gave him Commission to propound for the last Conditions: That the business of the Kings Conversion should be referred to the Popes arbitrement, to whom the King should send the Marquiss de *Pisani*, accompanied with Cardinal *Goath*, to know his pleasure; and to receive those Conditions in that matter

The Sieur du Plessis Mornay Secretary of State to the King, and the Sieur de Villeroy for the Duke of Mayenne, Treat of an Accommodation, with mutual promises of Secrecy. President Jeannin, by order from the Duke of Mayenne signifies those Conditions to Monsieur de Villeroy (who was in Treaty) which the Duke desires for the effecting an Accommodation.

matter which the Apostolick See should judge convenient; and that he himself would send a person expressly, and would give order to his Agents at Rome to promote the business, and help to overcome the difficulties, that the Pope might be brought to some reasonable determination: That for security, that the King should persevere in the Catholick Religion, and maintain the Peace, the Places, Cities, and Fortresses, should for the space of six years remain in the hands of those that possessed them at that present, to restore them to the King, and to his free disposing within that time, if they saw the Peace go on sincerely: That the Government of *Bourgogne*, with all the places also, that held for the King, should be left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, which Government should be hereditary to his Sops, with authority of disposing and distributing the Benefices, Offices, Governments, and Places, which should become void in that Province for the time to come: That the King should give him an Office of the Crown, superior to the rest, as it might be of Constable, or of his Lieutenant-General: That he should give him such a sum of money as should be sufficient to pay those debts which he was run into upon that present occasion: That to the Government of *Bourgogne*, that of *Lyons* and *Lyonnais* should be added: That the King should provide another Government for the Duke of *Nemours*, which should be equivalent to it: That the Duke of *Guise* should have the Government of *Champagne*, and two strong Holds for his security, the Duke of *Mercur* that of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Joyeuse* that of *Langue-doc*, the Duke of *Amale* that of *Picardy*, and for his security *St. Esprit de Rue*: That all the Lords of the League should be maintained in their Places, Offices, Dignities, and Governments, which they had possessed before the beginning of the War: That the Catholick King should be comprehended in the Peace, and reasonable satisfaction given to him for his pretensions: That there should be an Act of Oblivion concerning all things that had befallen in the War, and that the Narrative and Preamble of the Accommodation should be written in such manner, as it might clearly appear, the Duke of *Mayenne* had not acknowledged the King till then in respect of Religion, and that now he did it by reason of his Conversion with the Popes consent, and that also it might expressly appear, he had no hand in the death of the late King *Henry* his last Predecessor.

These Conditions the *Sieur de Villeroi* imparted to *Monsieur du Plessis*, and gave him an extract of them, they being set down at large, with their Causes and Reasons in the Presidents Letter. *Du Plessis* first made small show to approve of them; but *Villeroi* replied, That this was not an Agreement with the Hugonots, who by all Laws Divine and Humane, were obliged to acknowledge their King established; but a Capitulation, whereby the Lords of the Union were contented to acknowledge, or, to say better, upon certain conditions to make one King, who was not Possessor of the Kingdom; that, that acknowledgment of theirs coming to pass, the King would thereby attain the Crown of *France*, which he possessed not; and that therefore the Conditions ought not to seem strange unto him: That the Lords of the League did now require all which they thought fit for their security, because when the acknowledgment was once made, they should be then no longer able to treat or demand any thing, but as Subjects simply to beseech their Sovereign Lord: That it was no wonder they should demand much at one time, being very certain, that after that they should never obtain any thing more during his Reign, nor perchance in that of his Sops neither: That the Duke of *Mayenne* had shewed himself so good a French-man, that he would rather acknowledge a French King, though an Enemy, upon these conditions, than a Stranger, though a Friend and a Confident, upon much greater ones: That the King had always said he would content and secure the Lords of the House of *Lorraine*, and all the others of their party; and lately, while the War was in the heat before *Candebec* had affirmed as much with his own mouth to the Baron de *Luz*, with whom he had discoursed long about it, in the field, telling him, That if the Lords of the Union would acknowledge and follow him, he would not refuse any conditions; and particularly, that to his power he would give worthy satisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom he knew to be a good Prince, and a good French-man: That the *Mareschal d'Amont* had by his orders repeated the same to the same Baron, and therefore that ought not to appear strange now, which he himself had proffered but a few days before. But the *Sieur du Plessis* considered, that to refer the business of the Kings Conversion to the Pope, from whom, by reason of the Spaniards power, nothing at all would be obtained, replied, That it was not a thing to be expected from any

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But being come into the Kings Council at *Buffy* where they were, he was so far from favouring the Treaty of Peace, and the Conditions propounded, or from observing that secrecy he had promised, that publickly in the presence of all the Council, he demanded pardon for having till then, not any way out of an evil intention, but through inadvertency deceived His Majesty, since such Conditions had been propounded to him, that he was ashamed of them, and did much disdain to publish them: He confessed, that he had believed too much, out of his desire of Peace, and out of a will to serve the Publick Cause, but the Conditions that were propounded, were so unjust and dishonourable for the King, and so pernicious for the whole Kingdom, that they plainly shewed the Duke of *Mayenne*, and those of his party, had no thought of Peace; but that they sought to hold the King in hand, and to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, to draw money and satisfactions from them: That the things propounded, were such as did not deserve any answer, nor did he think them worthy to be heard by that Council; and yet having proposed them with this Preamble, not only the whole Council, but even the King himself thought them not so exorbitant, as he represented them; and so much the rather, because every one knew that demands are high in the beginning, but afterwards in the course of a Treaty, they fall by little and little; so that they were all scandalized at *du Plessis*: Nor was there any one who was not of opinion, that he as being an Hugonot, abhorred the Kings Conversion, and therefore desired not, but rather crossed the Peace. The King being of the same mind, gave the *Sieur de Villeroy* to understand, that he would willingly treat with him by word of mouth; and the *Marschal de Byron*, and the Duke of *Boüillon*, desired to confer with him, though both of them were little enclined to Peace; *Boüillon*, because he was an Hugonot; and *Byron*, because his whole fortune depended upon the Wars, whereupon by the continuation of them he hoped to rise to the height of Power and Honour, and those Offices and Titles which the Duke of *Mayenne* demanded, he grounding himself upon his own merits, aspired and pretended to for himself.

The Treaty of Agreement divulged by the *Sieur du Plessis*, comes to the ears of the Princesses and Spanish Ministers, working a contrary effect to what he that published them desired.

Du Plessis continuing his intention, and publishing his secret thoughts to men of understanding, divulged the whole Treaty, contrary to his Faith given to *Villeroy*, and to many persons shewed Copies of the Articles propounded; whereby they were not only known to all the Kings party, but also the Princesses who were in *Paris* saw them, and believed them; so that they made grievous complaints that the Duke should go about to establish a Peace, without making it known to them, and to the Lords of his party: and, which was much worse, they came also to the knowledge of the Spanish Ministers, who though they believed not the business could so easily be established, were yet filled with jealousy and suspicion. *Du Plessis* believed that at one time he should work two good effects for his own intentions; one, to cross and totally break all Treaty of Peace, because he thought he had discovered that the King, to obtain it, enclined to change his Religion, which the Hugonots feared above all things; the other, to make the Duke of *Mayenne* be distrusted of his own party, and particularly by the Spaniards, whereupon the disunion and ruine of the League would more easily follow. But as counsels that have too much of a mans particular interest, have often (either by the will of God, who is not pleased with them, or by reason of their own deceitfulness) very different events from what the Intenders of them confidently design unto themselves, this divulging produced an effect very diverse from what *du Plessis* did assuredly expect; for it wrought no ill effect in the party of the League, and on the Kings side it made an exceeding great stir and confusion.

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It hurt not the Duke of *Mayenne*, because the Pope was much satisfied with his candour, seeing that without the Kings Conversion he refused all other particular greatness and advantage, and that he referred the whole business of Religion to the Apostolick See; and the Spaniards being fallen into some fear that Peace might easily ensue, forbore to give the Duke of *Mayenne* further cause of discontent; and the Duke of *Parma* necessarily departing by reason of his health, and in respect of the affairs of *Flanders*, left some Forces in *Champagne*, and gave not the command of them to the Duke of *Guise*, as he had intended, but left the charge of them to Monsieur *de Rosne* with the title of Camp-Master-General, he being to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* without contradiction; and *Juan Baptista Tassis* going to him, endeavoured by his dexterity to remedy the late disgusts, *Diego d' Ivarra* continuing with the Army, because he knew his presence was not pleasing to him. To this was added, that the Duke, who had entered into that Treaty, out of the despair which he was brought unto, seeing that he had already recovered his authority and reputation, which he had in great part lost with the Popes Ministers, and with the Spaniards, was afterward more backward in lending an ear to Peace: But thinking that his having been deceived by the revealing of that secret, contrary to promise, afforded him not only excuse, but a lawful occasion for him, also to make use of the Treaty for his own profit, he continued it in such manner, that it served to keep sometimes one, sometimes another faithful, according as need required.

On the other side, the Catholics of the Kings party, wakened by the noise of this Treaty, and highly disdaining, that the Peace should be negotiated by the means of a Hugonot, and that the Kings Conversion should be promised to the League, which they by many reiterated instances had not been able to obtain, began a fresh to contrive a third Party, and more boldly than before, to assemble themselves severally, and discourse of forsaking the King, or to make an agreement with those of the League, in such manner, that the business having often been consulted of between the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *de Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de St. Paul*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marechal *d' Aumont*, Monsieur *d' O*, Monsieur *de Lavardin*, the Count *de Lude*, and many other Lords, they gave the Duke of *Mayenne* to understand, that it would be profitable for the common safety and security, to unite all the Catholics, and desire the King, that within the term of a certain, prefixed, reasonable time, he would turn Catholick, and give security for the maintenance of Religion; which if he would do, he should be acknowledged and established; and if he would not, they all together should elect a Catholick King, who should be acknowledged and obeyed by all. This practice beginning to grow warm, the King seeing that the event would be, either a forced dishonourable Conversion, or the utter ruine of his affairs, since from secret consultations that matter was come to open murmurings, he caused *Villeroy* to be very earnestly solicited (by the means of Monsieur *de Fleury*, his Brother-in-law) to come personally to confer with him, and resolved to apply himself of his own accord to a reconciliation with *Rome*.

Innocent the Ninth, after a long and troublesome Conclave, was succeeded in the Apostolick See by *Hippolito*, Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, a man not weakened with age, being not above fifty and six years old, but endowed with mature prudence, and singular dexterity in affairs of State, which he had gotten by continual practice in the Court, and by the management of the most important businesses of his time. He having assumed the name of *Clement* the Eighth, though he had been favoured by the Spaniards in his Election, and was therefore full of kind grateful demonstrations toward them, was not yet totally disposed to let himself be ruled by their designs, but would depend upon himself, and after the chief interest of Religion, would have an aim at the general safety and equality. He held a great correspondence with the Commonwealth of *Venice*, and with the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, judging that State to be not only the Foundation-stone of the Liberty of *Italy*, but also a wary Reconciler of the Peace of Christendom; and him, by reason of his great prudence, to be intent to follow the same way; and therefore he straitly confirmed that confidence with the Senate, which his Ancestors had in that State, having taken refuge there in their adversities: And with the Great Duke (forgetting those ancient factions for which his Father had been banished out of the City of *Florence*) he contracted a new confident correspondence, to advance (by the assistance and advice of these) the Government of the Church to the common benefit and safety of Christians.

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The Duke of *Parma* leaves Forces in *France* under the *Sieur de Rosne* depending upon the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom also the other Spanish Ministers forbear to give further discontents.

The Catholics of the Kings party displeased, that the Peace should be treated by the *Sieur de Plessis*, a Hugonot, renew the Treaty of a third party.

Innocent the Ninth is succeeded in the Papacy by Cardinal *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, with the name of *Clement* the Eighth, being aged Fifty six years.

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The first and most important business that represented it self unto him, was that of *France*; in which, as matter of Religion was chiefly considered by him, so the private emulations, the ancient discords, and the present ambition of the Great Ones were very well known unto him. But because time and opportunity were to administer those overtures that were necessary for the Peace and Union of that Kingdom, he determined in himself, in the mean time, to sustain the League with convenient relief, but not with that interested fervour his Predecessors had profusely done, desiring things should be in such a condition as might not tend towards the division and destruction, but to the safety and restauration of so great a Kingdom; which he thought would follow, if a King were elected and established who was not only a Catholick, and obedient to the Apostolick See, but also a French-man, and of such a condition as might draw along with him the general peace and satisfaction. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his Legation, judging him, by reason of his long employment there, not only to be well informed, but also more fit to manage that business than any other: and though he in times past had shewn himself very partial to the Spaniards, yet the Pope thought that his Master being changed, and his Commissions altered, he would, as a prudent experienced man, endeavour rather to satisfy his intention, than to follow the interests of *Spain*, the ends whereof could not always run united with those of the See of *Rome*: but having, by the confirmation of the Legat, shewed (as much as was sufficient) his intentions to be well inclined towards the League, in other matters, under colour of the present disabilities of the Apostolick See, he freely declared that he could not assist the Confederates with more than fifteen thousand Ducats by the month; shewing that the excessive expences formerly made, to the wasting of the Treasury, and to the burdening of the people, had not produced any fruit equivalent to so vast a charge, and to so great preparations; and insisting upon that remedy which he esteemed convenient, he gave the Legat order to endeavour the assembling of the Free-States, to the end that a King being chosen with a common consent, all machinations might be cut off, the way lockt up against ambition, and that as a certain end, and a visible apparent mark, they might aim at the good of Religion, and the restoring of Peace in the Kingdom.

Clement the Eighth gives supplies unto the League with more moderate expences and resolutions than his Predecessors had done.

The King, by the means of *Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, prays that Republick to treat with the Pope concerning his reconciliation with the Church.

The King desires *Ferdinandus de Medici*, Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, to use his endeavours also with the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals, in favour of his business.

These thoughts (which by many conjectures were known unto both parties) as they put the Duke of *Mayenne* in good hope that the Pope was inclined to acknowledge his merits, and his so great labours, and would favour his designs; so did they not displease the King, who despaired not in that moderation to find some temper to settle his own affairs; wherefore being forced by the Commotion of the Catholicks, who all were already determined to see some resolution, he discoursed at *Vernon* with *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, and told him, that having a purpose to find some way whereby an overture concerning his affairs might be made unto the Pope, he desired that the Republick, which he knew had a very near correspondence with him, would either by an express Ambassador, or by the means of the ordinary Resident at *Rome*, assist that his just intention, having determined to procure that Cardinal *Gondi*, in whose prudence and candour he confided very much, should go into *Italy*, and with him the Marquis *de Pisani*, in the name of the Catholick Nobility of his party, to treat of the means of attaining to a Peace and Reconciliation; but that this Treaty being in appearance very difficult, by reason of the Considerations at *Rome*, and of the extraordinary power of the Spaniards, he believed the intercession, counsel, authority, and endeavours of that Republick would serve as a Pole-star in so important a business. He found the Ambassador ready to give notice of it at *Venice*, who knowing the good intentions of the Senate toward the conservation of the Kingdom, assured him, that he should have all manner of assistance he could desire. The same did he cause to be treated of with the Grand Duke, by *Girolamo Gondi*, requesting him not only to use his endeavours with the Pope, (wherein he more esteemed the power of the Venetian Senate) but also to deal with the Cardinals, to the end, that the business coming into debate, it might be crossed as little as was possible.

These Foundations being laid, he solicited Monsieur *de Villeroy*'s coming; for he designed to set things right with the Duke of *Mayenne* in such manner, that he also might favour his affairs in the Court of *Rome*, since his reconciliation with the Apostolick See cotaing to pass, the scruple of Religion would be taken away, and the Duke of *Mayenne* might with his honour embrace those large advantageous offers which he would make him. But the Duke, who had taken a distrust by reason of the trick put upon

upon him by *du Plessis*, and who hoped to settle his own affairs with the Spaniards, suffered the Treaty to run on, that he might make use of it for his own profit, but without any desire to conclude, those thoughts being again revived in his mind, which despair had before disordered and destroyed. Wherefore, though *Villeroy* went to *Rouen* to him, and afterwards had a conference with the King himself by night at *Gisors*, yet went they not on to treat of any conditions; but the Duke consented, that the King should send to *Rome*, leaving the Treaty to go on, and be concluded when the business was settled with the Pope; and the King was content that the Duke should assemble the States of his party, to treat with them concerning the present resolution.

The Spaniards had never intermitted to press for the assembling of the States, and jointly with the Cardinal Legat, had made both publick and private instances about it, and the Duke had always interposed difficulties and delays; sometimes alledging the urgency of following the management of the War; sometimes saying, it was fit first to treat and conclude with the Princes of the party; and sometimes the difficulties of assembling the Deputies, because of the general combustion of the War, by reason whereof they would very unwillingly forsake their own Houses and Cities in the present distractions, and that they would not venture to take so great journeys with the danger of their lives; but at last his backwardness was ascribed to an irregular ambition, and to a desire of continuing in the power he held at that present; neither could he without grievous complaints, nor without danger of discord and disunion refuse any longer to call the Assembly; wherefore turning his thought to remove that scandal, from whence arose all the discontents with the Spanish Ministers, he considered, that as to deny the meeting was dangerous, and now at length odious to every one, so the difficulties that would spring up, and those which he would artificially interpose, should be so many, that the States should dissolve and end of themselves, without coming to any determination; and in the mean time, they might afford him conveniency and opportunity either to revive his authority, or else to find means of reconciliation with the King, if so be he could not bring to pass, that the Kingdom should fall to his posterity: Wherefore, as the Spaniards did now show a desire to satisfy and honour him, and the same did the Legat by Commission from *Rome*; so he showing, that he would grant that in courtesie, which he would not yield to for fear, nor for threatnings, wrote to the Legat, and to the Duke of *Parma*, that now the time to assemble the States was ripe, he would give satisfaction to the Princes who had solicited him with so much earnestness, and would come at last to a resolution; and therefore they should endeavour to get Commissions from *Rome* and *Spain*, because within a few months the Deputies should be convened; for which effect, he dispatched Letters to every Province, and every Bailiage, to the end they might chase Deputies to meet in the place that should be appointed for the holding of the States-General.

At the same time, the King had caused Cardinal *Gondi* to treat concerning his passage into *Italy*, and had required the Catholics of his party, to appoint an Ambassador to the Pope, which though some opposed, alledging, That the Parliament had decreed that for the time to come, none should send to *Rome* upon any emergent occasion, yet the King answered, That the Decree was made in the Papacy of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, but that he granted leave to send to the present Pope; so the Marquis of *Pisani* was chosen, and Cardinal *Gondi* was contented to take that journey to satisfy the King, and to procure the general repose of the Kingdom.

This determination did in great part stop the resolution of the Catholics, who were attentive to see what that Embassie would produce, being partly satisfied in that the King began already to treat of reconciling himself to the Pope and the Apostolick See. The Decree which the King made about this time concerning the disposing of the Benefices of the Kingdom, did help much to appease them; for after that the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons* had decreed, that for the conferring and confirmation of them, none should go any more to *Rome*; and after that the Congregation of the same Prelats had made the Declaration in favour of the King, those Benefices that became void, were disposed of to all kind of persons without regard, in reward of their expences, in requital of their labours, and for particular inclination; and the administration of Spiritual Matters was by the Grand Council, assigned to one of the Priests of the Diocess, with title of *Spiritual Oeconome*: Which was not only against the Decrees of the Cannons, but scandalous and dangerous, contrary to the good of the people,

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The Duke of *Moyenne*, who had still deferred the Convocation of the States, writes to the Cardinal Legat, and to the Duke of *Parma*, that the time of assembling them was now present.

Cardinal *Gondi* and the Marquis *de Pisani* are chosen to be sent to *Rome*.

The Decree of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*, that none should run to *Rome* for the procuring of Benefices.

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for all the Kings affairs, depended upon his prudence, experience, discipline and valour; and not only the charge of the Armies rested wholly upon his shoulders, but matters of Government, counsels of State, Treaties with Princes, and the particular affairs of the Kingdom, were all ordered by his advice; in such manner, that those who were partial to him, attributed all that had succeeded prosperously, either in War or in other affairs, to his endeavours; and those that flattered him more boldly, publicly called him *The King's Foster-father*. And truly it cannot be denied by whosoever was present at these affairs that happened successively from the Kings coming to the Crown, to the time of *Byron's* death, (which were the most difficult, most important, and, as a man may say, the Foundations of his Reign) but that in the prudence and vigilance of this man, consisted all the life and spirit, not only of counsels, but also of enterprises and action. But yet those that envied him, forbore not to attribute many disorders to his fault; and particularly, that not desiring for his own ends, that disorders should be quieted, but that the Wars should continue, because, while they lasted, he governed the Kings mind; and all the affairs of the Kingdom, and not stirring much for matters of Religion; (for which from his youth he had shewed himself to care but little) he was the occasion that not only the Civil Wars continued, with so great a both publick and private ruine, but that the King with arts and promises deferred the so necessary effect of his Conversion. He was slain in the beginning of the sixty and fifth year of his age, being entire in mind, strong in body, full of careful diligence, and indefatigable in Military exercises.

The King
wept for the
Marschal de
Byron.

After his death, the whole charge of the Army remaining to the Duke of *Nevers*, the siege of that Town began to be set in order; and the King having received the news of what had happened, after he had spent many hours in tears and publick condolings, with great celerity moved to return to the Camp. There were also three hundred Walloon-Foot of *Barlote's* *Tertio* come from *Rheims* to enter into the Town, for the relief of the besieged, the conservation of that place seeming to be of great concernment to the Confederates. These marching that way, and being already near their entrance, were overtaken by the Baron de *Byron*, who, to revenge his Fathers death, had set forward to the Camp before all the rest; and not willing to pretermitt that occasion of cutting those Foot in pieces which he found in the field without any convy of Horse, ran furiously to assault them. The Foot were not at all dismayed, being part of them Pike-men, and the rest Musketers and Fire-locks; and getting into a hollow way, shut up on both sides by two high Banks of Earth, as it were by two Ramparts, made an halt, and facing about, fiercely received the charge of the Horse with their Pikes, and in the mean time their Companions mingled among them with their shot, failed not to fire incessantly upon them; so that two Captains of Horse, and many Gentlemen being killed, it seemed very difficult to force them: Monsieur de *St. Luc* came up with another Squadron of the Kings Cavalry, which marched toward the Camp, who thinking it a great shame that so few Foot should make resistance in the field, rushed forward to make the same attempt; but being received with the same constancy, he was repulsed no less than the others: And much worse did it happen to Monsieur de *Gury*, who came up last with the Light-Horse; for going to make the same charge, he left his own Lieutenant dead upon the place, with above sixty of his men; so that the Foot being no longer molested with the Cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and went up an Hill all full of Vines; from whence, without delay, they were to march down to the Moat of the Town towards the West corner: But in this time, the King himself coming coming up with the rest of his Forces, and seeing the affront his Horse received from so small a party of Foot, ran forward galloping to the very edge of the Moat; and though the Town ceased not to play both with their Artillery and Muskets, yet passing swiftly by, he went to charge the Foot, who being come down from the Hill, were already gotten into the Plain, whereby their way being so cut off, that they could not get under the Walls, they were surrounded on every side, and after a long and valiant resistance, were at last cut in pieces, though with the loss of above two hundred of the Kings side, and above two hundred more wounded.

The same day he straitned the siege on all sides, and without losing time, began to hasten the taking of the place; and because the besieged had laboured all those days that were past to fill their Moat with Water, that they might gain more time to bring their Works to perfection, he employed his first study to divert the Water another way,

way, which spent three days time; but the passage was no sooner opened to drain the Moat, when the Baron *de Byron*, impatient to stay for the effect of the Artillery, which nevertheless were planting by the industry of Monsieur *de St. Luc*, gave a scar-lado to a great Tower, newly-made defensible by those within, and being come up close together, so that they fought only with their Swords, he renewed the assault so obstinately, twice or thrice, that at last he carried it with great slaughter on both sides; but whilst in lodging his men there, the Earth was throwing up to shelter them from the Town, he was sore wounded with a shot in the shoulder. That Tower, and the other defences being taken one after another, the Artillery having made an open breach in the old Wall, the defendents began to remember that they had not sufficient Forces to sustain the assault; and therefore having sent to capitulate the second day, they concluded to march out free with their Baggage, but to leave their Colours, which the King by all means would have, in respect of the Spanish Ensigns of the Count *de Bessa*, which for reputation the King desired to have in his power. The Town was delivered up into the hand of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governour of that Province, upon the Ninth day of *August*.

From *Espernay* the Army went to take in *Provins*, a City of *Brie*; which for the unequalness of the situation, and the greatness of its circuit, was not very defensible, being full of Gardens and Vineyards, very thinly peopled, and very ill provided of Souldiers; and yet things proceeding slowly, and the siege not pressing, all the rest of the month was spent about it, and it came not into the Kings power before the second of *September*.

The next thing that lay fit for the Army to besiege, was *Meaux*; whereof, as being nearer to *Paris*, and opportune to straiten that City, not only the Parisians were exceedingly jealous, but even the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, who being come to *Beaune*, dispatched the Sieur *de Vitry* thither with Eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, who together with the Sieur *de Rantilly*, Governour of the Town, and with the ordinary Garison, laboured in such manner, that it was made very defensible; which the King considering, and judging, that the taking of it would be difficult, and a work of time, resolved (passing beyond *Meaux* along the bank of the River *Marne*, which leads to *Paris*) to raise a Fort in the middle of the River, in an Island called *Garnay*, to the end, that standing between both, it might hinder their commerce and the navigation of the River, whereby without loss of time in besieging *Meaux*, he might reap the same, or perhaps greater fruit. This was the thought of the Duke of *Nevers*, who having had the care of executing it, applied himself to it so diligently, that within a few days the work began to rise apace, the Fortification being made in the likeness of a Star with five acute Angles, and an high Platform raised in the midst. The King with his whole Army was quartered upon the Bank of the River, where forcing the Peasants of all that Country round about, and making his Foot Souldiers weak by Companies in their turns, he endeavoured to have the Fort made defensible.

On the other side, the Parisians anxious because of that impediment, which would bring them into a worse condition for matter of victual, and increase that dearth to extremity wherewith the City was already much afflicted, ceased not to stir up the Duke of *Mayenne* to oppose the raising of that Fort, so prejudicial to the common interests; nor did the Duke desire less than they, to be able to oppose it; but the small Forces he had with him constrained him to proceed slowly: For it was necessary first to stay till the neighbouring Garisons were drawn together; and after they were met, the Count *de Colalto's* Germans, who were many Pays behind, mutinied against him; and without them he could not move with any hope of good success. The Germans at last were quieted, a certain sum of money being paid them; but in the mean time, many days were past, whereby the Duke of *Nevers* had so much the more leisure to bring the Fort into a posture of defence; and so much the more difficult became the attempt of hindering it; and yet the Duke advanced on the other side of the River, intending to fight and to possess an Abby, which standing over the River, he might afterward batter the Fort from thence as from a Cavalier; but the Sieur *de Praslin*, and the Count *de Brienne*, being in it with a very great number, both of Horse and Foot, they skirmished hotly for the space of two whole days together, before the Duke could seat himself in a convenient place to oppugn it, and as soon as the Artillery was brought and planted, the King appeared (who had been indisposed some days at *St. Denis*) at whose coming a Bridge of Boats being put over, the Garison

1522.
The Baron *de Byron*, to revenge the death of his Father, scaled a great Tower at *Espernay*, and takes it, but is sorely wounded.

Espernay yielded it self, with condition to leave their colours, which were much desired by the King, because there were some Spanish Ensigns among them.

1592. in the Abby was so re-inforced, that those that defended it, were not content to sally secretly every hour to skirmish with the Army of the League, but had also lodged themselves with many trenches in the field, and with them had brought themselves even under the Dukes Redoubts, and to the same Post where the Artillery were placed; wherefore it appearing not only difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to gain the Abby defended by so numerous a Garrison, and relieved, and sustained from the Kings Camp by the conveniency of the Bridge of Boats, the Duke not persisting obstinately, retired to quarter in the Village of *Coudé*, there to expect the *Sieur de Rosne*, and Colonel *St. Paul*; whom he had sent for with the Foreign Forces, and with those of the Province of *Champagne*; judging it impossible to oppose the Kings Army, if his own were not much encreased by the arrival of those Supplies; but having expected them in vain, from the 16. till the 22 of *September*, he retired at last to *Meaux*, without being able to hinder the perfecting of the Fort; from whence (that he might not lose his time unprofitably, and that he might give some ease to the afflicted Parisians) he went after not many days to besiege *Cressy*, a place of the County of *Valois*, and having taken it without more dispute, he made the passage more easie and more secure for some quantity of victual, which might be carried into *Paris* from that fertile Country round about.

The King desires a reconciliation with the Catholick Church, by way of Agreement, not by way of Pardon

While the Heads of the Parties entertain themselves with these petty actions, one to straiten the City, the other to enlarge it from want of provisions, the Treaties of each side went on with more heat than matters of War. The Kings mind was intent upon the affairs of *Rome*, having from the Popes Equity and Prudence conceived great hopes that he might reconcile himself to the Church; but he wished rather, that the business should pass by way of Composition and Agreement, than by means of Humiliation and Pardon; and therefore desired, That the Venetian Senate and the great Duke of *Tuscany* should interpose as Mediators, to negotiate that Reconciliation with the Apostolick See: The treaty whereof standing thus in suspense, withheld the minds of the Catholicks, till the end were seen, and did not alienate the Hugonots, who were not yet sure that the agreement would be effected, but were rather full of a reasonable hope, that that manner of treating at *Rome* would not bring forth any fruit at all. Cardinal *Gondi* having conferred with the King in his passage, and having with his passport taken his voyage thorow the places that were of his party, had made some stay at *Florence*; desiring that some of the Cardinals might first be gained by the Great Duke.

Causes that make the Pope backward in determining about the affairs of the Crown of France.

The Marquis *de Pisany* took his journey at the same time, and having passed the Alps, was come to *Dofenano* upon the lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republick of *Venice*, to procure that the Senate, by means of their Ambassador, might first break the yce in introducing the Treaty with the Pope. But these attempts were yet very unreasonable: for the things that were still acted in *France* by the Kings Council and the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*, (where they had damned the Popes Bulls, and the Commission given concerning the Legation of the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, and many other Declarations of such-like nature) gave small sign of the Kings Repentance and Conversion, and had put the Pope as it were in a necessity of protecting the League, and of resenting those injurious demonstrations which had been attempted against him with so little respect, as well for the security of Religion, as for the reputation of his own person: nor could he yet secure himself that the King, who for the time past had been so obstinate in his belief, could so all of a sudden sincerely turn Catholick; but he doubted that it was a meer fiction, to establish himself in the Kingdom; and therefore he judged it to be his office, by length of time, and by many Arguments and Conjectures, to make himself certain of his inward Conversion, that he might not complicate the destruction of Religion by a precipitate determination; and such a one as was little seemly for the dignity of his Person, and that opinion the World had conceived of him. To this was added the power of the Spaniard, who possessed the greater part of the Cardinals; the obligation the Pope himself had to that party, which had brought him to the Papacy: whereupon he was necessitated to carry himself very dexterously with them: the humour of that Court, which cannot endure those things that seem to it prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical authority, and to the Majesty of the Church, and besides these, the Kings misfortunes before *Rome*, which were then fresh, and divulged with the additions of fame, made the Treaty improper, and by no means opportune at that present. And the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had given *Villeroi* some

some liberty to favour the Kings Conversion with the Pope, thinking it as lawful for him to deceive his Enemy, as it had been lawful for his Enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of those Treaties that had passed in confidence of privacy, being now more than ever entered again upon his old design by the means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his Agents in that Court, he did both by deeds and words, to his power, oppose those things that were treated in favour of that Conversion. Wherefore the Pope being resolved not to give any scandal concerning himself in the beginning of his Papacy; and not finding things in such a condition, that with the security of Religion, and the decency of the Apostolick See, he might lend an ear to what was propounded, having shewed his reasons to the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he wrote unto the Legat to give the Cardinal of *Gondi* notice that he should not stir out of *France*: which Commission being arrived late, found him already departed: whereupon, having afterwards heard that he had past the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Francisci* of the Order of Preachers, his Chaplain, to meet him, and to forbid him in his name to come any further; for he was resolved, he being a malignant Cardinal, and an adherent to Hereticks, neither to see him, nor hearken unto him: and by the means of his Nuncio residing in *Venice*, he caused the Marquis of *Pisani* to be resolutely advertised, that he being suspected of Heresie, having followed and fought for an Heretick, should by no means enter into the State of the Church; for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him. The Cardinal, who was at *Ambrogiana*, a place of the Grand Duke's near *Florence*, not at all dismayed at the Popes so resolute advertisement, desired the Frier to give it him at length in writing, and with him dispatched his Secretary to *Rome*, to clear himself of those things that were objected against him: He shewed that from the beginning he had not been willing to subscribe unto the League as he had been desired, because, being an eye-witness, he saw, and by long practice in the customs of *France*, knew that Union was not set on foot by true zeal and sincere affection to Religion, but to palliate the ambition of the Great Ones, and to cover the interests of State, which it was not fit for him, being a Clergy-man, to give his assent unto, nor to make himself minister of other mens passions and affections: That he had made his excuse about it to Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who being made acquainted with the truth, had taken his determination in good part: That if he had treated with the King of *Navarre* during the siege of *Paris*, to free the City from the extream misery of hunger, he had done it with the consent and leave of the Apostolick Legat: That if he at that present had treated personally with the King himself, he had done it that he might not put himself in danger of being made a prisoner in his journey, and of being obliged afterwards, to the disreputation of his quality, to meet and treat with him by force: That he had obeyed the intimation which the Legat *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of *Lorain*, for he had given him notice, that if he meant to treat any thing in favour of Hereticks, or of the King of *Navarre*, he should not come to *Rome*; whereupon, he having no such intention, had continued his journey: That he marvelled the Pope should refuse him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet, to render him due obedience: where, if he were guilty, he might not only reprehend, but also punish him: That he was ready to give a particular true account of his actions; and if he were found in a fault, he refused not to undergo such chastisement as he deserved: That his intention was to come to *Rome*, to make the Pope acquainted with the calamities and miseries of *France*, which perchance were not sincerely represented to him: That as a Prelat and Bishop of *France*, and as a Cardinal, he came to let him know, there were above forty Bishopricks vacant, the revenues whereof were enjoyed by Women, Courtiers, Souldiers, and persons far from the Episcopal profession; and that in the mean time, the poor Souls were dispersed without a Pastor: That he thought himself obliged to represent unto him, that the Curates of *Parishes*, Priests and other Clergy-men, having abandoned their proper Function and the care of Souls, were busied in bloodying their hands, and living in the profession of Arms: That he should feel his Conscience burdened, if he did not let him know the danger so noble, so great a Kingdom was in, of becoming schismatical, unless some course were taken for the safety and union of it: That this seemed to him to be the duty of a good Christian and a good Catholick, not of an Heretick, not of a favourer and promoter of Heresies: That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinions concerning the discords and calamities of *France*, he would have told them, and submitted them to his most grave and prudent judgment; and if he would have imposed him silence, he would

1592.
The Duke of
Mayenne gives
liberty
to favour the
Kings Conversion
at *Rome*,
and at the
same time op-
poses it with
all his power.

Pope *Clem. 8.*
gives notice
to Cardinal
Gondi and to
the Marquis
de *Pisani*, that
they should
not enter into
the Ecclesiastical
State.

Cardinal *Gondi*
sends his
Secretary to
Rome, to ex-
cuse himself
to the Pope.

The unhappy
condition of
Ecclesiastical
affairs in the
Kingdom of
France.

1593

have held his peace, since for his part, when his Conscience was once discharged, he intended not to pass any further.

These reasons boldly proposed by the Secretary, who was brought in by the Florentine Ambassador, made a deep impression in the Pope, who having from this man, and from the discourses of the Venetian Ambassador, comprehended many particulars, was confirmed in his opinion, either with the full consent of every one, to raise one of the Princes of the Blood unto the Crown, or else that perhaps one day he might with the honour of the Apostolick See, and the restoration of all the Orders of *France*, see the King of *Navarre* reconciled sincerely to the Church, and all the discords of the Kingdom composed in that point. But because this hope was yet weak and obscure in the uncertainty of the future, nor did he think it fit either to precipitate the natural course of things, or utterly to forsake the League; (which, if for nothing else, served at least for a spur and necessary instrument of the Kings Conversion) he resolved to persist yet in that manner of appearance he had begun, in the mean time dexterously and with convenient patience promoted the secret of his thoughts. Therefore, though in a short writing to the Cardinal of *Pisance* divulged in print, he declared that he desired a Catholick King and an Enemy to Heresie should be elected, and that he abhorred that one who still persevered in his errors should be admitted to the possession of the Crown, and therefore made shew to consent also to the assembling of the States, to come in the end to a good and wholesome election; yet he dispatched his Nephew the Pronotary *Agucchi* to the Legat himself, giving him secret advice to carry himself very dexterously and very cautiously, and not to suffer that in the Assembly of the States, Votes should either be forced or corrupted, but that mens wills should be free, and their voices not interested: That he should not permit the election of a King, who was more like to kindle discords, than to put an end to the War: That he should endeavour no wrong might be done to any one: That that course should be taken, which by the most safe, most secure way, and with the least novelty that could be possible, might produce Peace; and that he should not be over-scrupulous, but yield what he handsomly might, to time, and the nature of affairs; and provided Religion were secure, he should pass by many other considerations in the order and manner of treating: Admonishing him finally, That this was a business of so great importance, as could never be sufficiently pondered and examined; and that therefore he should keep himself from hasty resolutions, and from specious counsels, and that without other respect, he should aim only at the quiet of Souls, and at the service of God. The Pope believed these Instructions, without any further Declaration, would be sufficient to the prudence of the Legat, to cause moderate proceedings in the States, and to make him understand, that he should not carry the election for a Foreign King, about whose establishment, longer and more ruinous Wars would necessarily ensue, than ever yet had been; but that, if with the honour of the Apostolick See, and the Security of Religion, he could either establish a King of the House of *Bourbon*, or compose the discords with the King of *Navarre*, it would be a much better and more expedient determination. But the Legat giving himself wholly over to the will of the Spaniards, by whom he hoped to be raised to the dignity of being Pope, (since the favourable endeavours of the Catholick King, being in good earnest added to the merit of his labours, he thought himself in a condition to attain it) and having by his long residence in *France*, and by conversation with the Parisians already contracted a partiality to the League, and an enmity to the King, was either so blinded by affection, that he could not, or so drawn by his own designs, that he would not understand the Popes meaning, and therefore set himself with all his power to advance the enterprises of the Spaniards.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being by his Secretary *des Porcez*, and by the Bishop of *Lisieux*, advertised in part of the Popes moderate Commissions, judged, that his mind inclined to favour him, and that those words of causing a Catholick King to be elected, who might be a Defender of the Church, and an Enemy to Hereticks, but such a one as might be established with the general approbation, without commotion or subversion, pointed at his person; and therefore firmly hoping he should have the Popes favour, and by consequence the Legats; and that the attempts of the Spaniards were not foisted by them, having loosened himself from the Treaty of Peace, he turned his mind wholly upon the assembling of the States, being intent to do it in such manner, that it might succeed to the advantage, and secure establishment of his Affairs. For this purpose he had with exceeding great diligence laboured, that the Deputies who were

The Pope, sends Monsignor *Agucchi* to Cardinal *Saga* Legat in *France* with prudent Instructions concerning the affairs of that Kingdom.

Cardinal *Saga* affectionate to the Lords of the League, and persuaded by hope, being become partial to the Spaniards, doth not execute his orders according to the Popes intentions.

The Duke of *Mayenne* interpreting the Popes manner of proceeding to be in favour of him; applies himself to the Convocation of the States, with hope to be chosen King of *France*.

selected,

selected, might not be of those that were taken with the gold or promises of the Spanish Ministers, but of his dependents; and where those could not be had, he at least obtained, that they should be for the most part men of good understanding, affectionate to their Country, and the general good, thinking, that such would hardly condescend to a Foreign King, and one that was not of their own Blood. The place where this Assembly of the States was to be held remained to be resolved on; and the Spaniards, who designed at the same time when it should be convened, to make the Duke of Parma enter into France, and draw near with the Army to back and colour the Catholic Kings pretensions, desired principally, that it might be the City of *Seissens*. The Duke of *Bourbon* proposed the City of *Rheims*, (as nearest to him) from which the Spaniards did not much dissent. But President *Jarmin*, and the *Sieur de Villenoy* counselled the Duke of *Mayenne* to reduce the Assembly into the City of *Paris*, without having regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the incommodiousness and dearth of victual, to give content and satisfaction to the inhabitants thereof, who were wonderful earnest to have it so, and had need after so many calamities to be comforted and kept faithful: And moreover to make the Congregation of the States more publick and more famous by the quality of the place, and not to put the Cities of *Rheims* or *Seissens* in danger; for it was considered, that the Duke of *Parma* coming thither, accompanied according to his custom, with strong Forces, might easily force the Assembly to his will, and make himself Master of those places, which would be hard for him to obtain in *Paris*, as well by reason of the greatness of it, and the number of the people, as because it was further from the Frontiers, and all surrounded and encompassed with the Kings Fortresses, full of strong Garisons, which upon all occasions might be called to hinder any violence that should be offered to the City, or to the States. Besides this, the City was better inclined than ever it had been in former times; for the pernicious power of the *Seignen* being weakened, the Government remained in the hands of the wiser Magistrates, elected with great care by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, and the Indendiaries not being there, they quieted the minds of the people without those insurrections that were wont to disturb all businesses: Moreover, the Parliament residing in the City, might serve as a fit instrument to treat and hinder many things.

This determination did very much displease the Spanish Ministers, and they opposed it at the first, shewing the necessity of the Duke of *Parma*'s being there, who could not advance so far into the Kingdom, and withdraw himself so far from the Frontiers; and arguing also, that the great number of the Deputies would increase the dearth and necessity of the Parisians. But the objection concerning the Duke of *Parma* was removed by his death; and the interests of the Parisians was not put into consideration, for they themselves perswaded the Spaniards to desist from interposing any hindrance, because the City esteemed it to be for its advantage and profit, and much more for its honour and reputation, that so famous an Assembly should be made in their City, they intervening and assisting in it. The Cardinal Legat assented also to this opinion, as well not to incommode himself with the expense of new journeys, as because he thought by the heat of the Parisians to bring the Assembly to make election of that King, who should be of greatest satisfaction to the Apostolick See, and to the intentions of the King of *Spain*. Wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne* having left the Government of the Army to the *Sieur de Rosne*, by him created Marechal and Governour of the Isle of *France*, went to *Paris* with a small retinue, and there with his presence, and with his words laboured to comfort the afflicted people for the dearth of victual, and the interruption of commerce and trading in the City, shewing them, that within a few days there would be some course taken in the Assembly of the States, and convenient order settled totally to free the City, and ease it of its present necessities; striving with liberal promises, and by honouring and cherishing every one, (especially the Magistrates of the City, and the Preachers) to gain the good will of the people, which by his late severity he feared he had wholly lost.

It was not without great reason that the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped at last to transfer the Crown upon himself and his Posterity; for considering the present estate with due regard, it was clear, that neither the Union of the Crowns, nor the Election of *Infanta Isabella* (things laboured for by the Spaniards) would ever be endured by the French, who by no kind of interest, by no kind of practice, could ever be brought to submit themselves to the Empire of their natural Enemies; and though some particular

1592.

The City of *Paris* is appointed for the Convocation of the States.

The Duke of *Mayenne* leaves the command of the Army to the *Sieur de Rosne*, and goes himself to *Paris*.

Causes that move the Duke of *Mayenne* to hope to be chosen King of *France*.

1592. men, corrupted with money, or by the expectation of places and honours, had accommodated their gust unto it; yet the general, which was more powerful, would never have been perswaded by any means: Wherefore these pretensions failing, and being excluded; he thought (and reason told him so) that the Catholick King could not concur more willingly to the election of any other than his own person; since, if either the Duke of *Lorain*, or the Duke of *Savoy* should be elected (as the report went) by the party that they should make, new States and power would be added to the Crown of *France*, with the augmentation whereof, it was likely the Catholick King would not be well pleased, but rather that it should decrease in strength and greatness; he did not see that the Catholick King could expect to draw greater fruit from his past labours and expences, than in chusing him; who by reason of the need he should have of him to establish himself in the Kingdom, would be constrained by necessity to content him, and to condescend to many things which the rest perhaps would not so easily consent to. The same he judged of the Pope; who, as far from interests, and full of that moderation which he made shew of, would more willingly yield to him than any other, not to deprive him of the fruit of his so great labours, considering that he alone had sustained the Catholick party; and the Cause of Religion, which no other, either by authority or prudence could have been able to sustain. He saw the French generally inclined and disposed in favour of him, by reason of his authority in the party, whereof he had so long been the Chief; and that between the Dignity and Office he now possessed, and the full power of King, there was no other difference but the title, he already holding the administration of affairs as Lieutenant of the Crown: He knew that not one of the rest of his Family could equal himself to him, either for valour, merit, experience or authority, and that the sole shadow of his will would confound and terrifie them all. To this was added the diligence wherewith the Deputies had been elected to his advantage, the inclination of the Parliament, newly (by the punishment of the *Sixteen*) by him restored to its being, the dependence of the Council of State, and the art of managing this design, in which Conditions all the rest were incomparably inferiour to him.

The same conceit had the Duke of *Parma*, who (after that his counsel of overcoming things with patience, and drawing matters out in length, was no longer hearkned to in *Spain*) thought the election of the Duke of *Mayenne* more profitable for the Catholick Kings affairs than that of any other man, because he might be established with more facility, less charge, and more advantageous Conditions: wherefore he writ into *Spain* about it, and it appeared that in the course of the business he would have favoured his affairs, either because he so judged it profitable for King *Philip* as he demonstrated, or (as the other Ministers said) because he desired not that the Spanish Monarchy should increase to such a height, and come to the only one in Christendom, without counterpoise or opposition. But his death, which happened upon the second day of *December*, in the City of *Arras*, after a long painful sickness, did something vary the state of things, as the Spaniards then said, to the advantage of the Catholick Kings affairs; but, as it appeared afterwards by the effects, to their notable damage: for the reputation of his name being removed, which had already brought the humour of the French as it were into obedience, they neither much esteemed the other Spanish Commanders and Ministers; nor were the Ministers themselves equal to him either in knowledge or authority; and having conceits and opinions different from those which he prudently nourished in his mind, and wherewith he had managed the business till then, they went on afterwards with such a precipice, that the Catholick Kings affairs took an impression very different from what they held at that present. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the loss of him, lost also much of his hopes; and seeing the other Ministers, particularly *Diego d' Ivarra*, utterly averse from him, he began to doubt he should be forced to take another resolution, and thought to guide his businesses with more art and caution than he had formerly done. Nevertheless the Convocation of the States was advanced so far, that it could no longer be deferred: and it was necessary to assemble it, as well not to break absolutely with the Spaniards, as to satisfy the Popes importunities; but most of all, because the Deputies were already elected, and many of them upon their way to *Paris*.

These things happened *Anno* 1592, in which year various fortune had with divers accidents troubled the other Provinces of the Kingdom. Monsieur de la *Valette* Governour of *Provence*, had in the beginning of the year laid siege to *Rochebrun*, a place held

in

The Duke of Parma's death was hurtful to the interests of the King of Spain.

in that Province by the Duke of *Savoy*; and after he had in vain battered it many days, being resolved to remove his Artillery, and plant them in another place, where he had discovered the wall to be weaker, and the passage to go on to the assault more easie, began new Trenches to plant his Cannon there; about which Work whilst he laboured in person to hasten the perfecting of it, he received a Musket-shot in the head, and being carried into his Tent, died within a few hours. A Cavalier who (having sagacity of wit, joined to valour and undauntedness of mind) had with slender Forces, honourably, without loss, sustained the much superiour power of the Duke of *Savoy*. When he was dead, *Provence* remaining without a Governour on the Kings part, Monsieur *Les Dignieres*, who was wont to help in those necessities, left the care of *Dauphine* to Colonel *Ornano*, and hasted thither with his usual diligence, and having joined the Forces of that Province to his own, with infinite expedition made himself Master of all the Towns and Castles seated upon the banks of the River *Vare*, which divides *Italy* from *France*; and then having suddenly past the River, and thrown down the Fortifications raised by the Duke, to hinder the entrance into his Territories, he with wonderful terrour to the people pillaged all the Country to the very Walls of *Nizza*; and having repassd the River, set himself with prosperous success to take in the neighbouring Castles; yet not thinking it fit to assaile either *Aix*, *Marseilles*, or the principal Cities, because he had neither Army nor preparations sufficient to undertake any of those enterprises.

But while he stays in *Provence*, the Kings affairs received exceeding great damage in *Dauphine*: for Monsieur de *Maugiron* Governour of *Valence* (whatsoever the occasion was) agreed to put that City into the hands of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of his Brother the Marquiss de *St. Sorlin* Governour for the League in those parts; which being executed without impediment, the Duke of *Nemours*, intent to follow the prosperity of his fortune, battered and took *St. Marcellin*, and after that, many other places, which being diligently fortified, had hindered the Forces of the Leagues from joining on that side with the Duke of *Savoy*. Wherefore *Les Dignieres* being by this diversion constrained to depart out of *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of *Savoy*, who having past the *Vare*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay siege to *Anibo*; which Town standing upon the Sea, and for the famousness of the Port being very considerable, was taken by him, though with difficulty and length of time.

But *Les Dignieres* being returned into *Dauphine*, removed him out of *Provence* by diversion, as he by the means of the Duke of *Nemours* had been diverted before: for having rallied an Army rather good and expert than numerous, he resolved to pass the Alps, and carry the War into *Piedmont*; and having overcome *Maurice Genoue*, the ordinary Pass to conduct Armies on that side of the mountains, he enlarged himself along the valley of *Perosa* and the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, with so much noise and terrour to the people, that the Duke leaving the charge of *Provence* to Count *Francesco Marinengo*, was forced to come to remedy the destruction of his Country. The quality of the place steep and mountainous, begirt with rocks and cliffs, and encompassed round about with the Alps, especially in a season when Winter in those parts was already growing on, (for it was about the end of *September*) hindered the progress of Arms, and did not suffer the Armies to encounter with all their Forces: and yet the French having taken *Perosa*, and the Tower of *Laferne*, advanced as far as *Briqueron*; and having had intelligence that the Dukes Commanders gathered part of their Army at *Vigone*, resolved to assault the Camp before all their Forces were drawn together: so having advanced by marching all night, upon the fourth of *October* in the morning they suddenly assaulted the Town; where, by reason of the difficulty of the situation, and the resistance of the defendants, the toil was long, and the conflict dangerous; yet the *Savoyards* being but few, and the place of it self but weak, they were defeated, six hundred Souldiers slain, many Commanders taken, and ten Colours of Foot; and the French being returned victorious to *Briqueron*, began with wonderful diligence to fortifie that place, which being made defensible by the forcing all the men of those quarters to work, they left a good Garison in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo*, (at such time as the Duke was already come with his whole Army to *Ville Fransa*) and having no more important enterprise to attempt, applied themselves to take *Cavour*, a mountainous place defended by a very strong Tower, situated just above it: but while they with art and industry strive to get near it, and to plant the Artillery, the Duke passing another way,

1582.

Monsieur de la Valette is slain with a Musket shot at the siege of *Rochebrant*.

The River *Vare* is the confine that separates *Italy* from *France*.

The Sieur de *Les Dignieres* makes great incursions against the Duke of *Savoy*.

Monsieur de *Maugiron* Governour of *Valence* for the King, gives up the place to the Lords of the League.

The Duke of *Savoy* recovers the places taken by *Les Dignieres*, and takes *Anibo*.

1592. way, marched by night to assault *Briqueras*, judging that the Works not being yet finished, it would not be very hard to get it from the Enemy; and it being taken, they remained invironed in such manner, that in the narrow Passes of that Valley they might easily be defeated: but he found a brisker resistance than he expected; wherefore, after a most fierce assault of four hours, he resolved to retire, knowing that the French were so near, that it could not be long before they came to relieve their men; which proved very true: for Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, leaving the place besieged, which was but little, and might be blocked up with a few, went with the rest of the Army whither he was guided by the noise of the shot, which rattled aloud among the mountains: but having found the Duke was departed from *Briqueras*, he resolved to follow him speedily; and having overtaken his Reer-guard near a Village, as they were passing a certain Rivulet, assaulted it so violently, that he disordered the last Squadrons of Cavalry. The rest of the Army made a halt, and skirmished furiously for many hours, till being all tired out, and the night drawing on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les Diguieres* returned to *Cavors*, where the Tower and Castle being extremely battered, at last surrendered; and he having over-run and pillaged those Valleys, being hindered by the Snow and the coldness of the weather from proceeding to other enterprises, marched back into *Dauphine* about the end of December.

The Duke of *Espernon* going into *Provence* recovers *Antibo*, and all the towns held by the Duke of *Savoy* as far as the River *Vare*

But the Duke of *Espernon* was come into *Provence*; who having heard of his Brothers death, and being desirous to keep that Province, the Government whereof had been given him by King *Henry* the Third, in which he had substituted the *Sieur de la Valette*, went thither with all his Forces, and without much dispute recovered *Antibo*, and reduced into his power all the Towns as far as the River *Vare*, which by reason of their weakness were a prey sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other; and though many in the Province, even of those that were of the Kings party, did not follow him; yet he trusting to the Forces he had brought, applied himself diligently to subject all the Towns to the obedience of his Government.

Antoine Scipion, Duke of *Joyeuse*, lays siege to *Villemur*, a Fortrefs near *Montauban*.

The Kings affairs went on also prosperously in the Provinces of *Guaſcogne* and *Languedoc*; for *Antoine Scipion*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, Brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the Battel of *Contras*, and chief Commander for the League in that Province, having obtained many Victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those quarters, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a Fortrefs not far from *Montauban*, with a design as soon as he had taken it, and spoiled all the Country about, to strengthen also *Montauban* it self, the secure receptacle, and for many late years the settled standing quarter of the Hugonots. But the Duke of *Espernon* passing at the same time with his Army to go into *Provence*, and having stept a little out of his way to relieve that place, *Joyeuse* knowing himself inferiour in strength, arose from the siege, and went to the Towns of his own party, till the Duke of *Espernon* being gone on his journey, he thought he might opportunely venture to *Villemur*, and prosecute his begun design.

Monsieur de *Temines* enters with men into *Villemur*.

There were in *Villemur* Three hundred Foot, a very weak Garison to sustain so sharp a siege; wherefore Monsieur de *Temines* who was in *Montauban*, being resolved not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with Two hundred Firelocks, an hundred and twenty Cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by ways that were not ordinary, and thorow secret uneven passages got into the place, desiring rather to labour in the defence of *Villemur*, than when it was lost to be put to defend the Walls of *Montauban*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* having taken the Outworks, and made his approaches to the Moat, planted Eight pieces of Cannon, and with them battered the Wall very furiously, and not failing in any thing that was the part of a valiant diligent Commander, being abundantly furnished from *Tbolouse* with those things that belong unto a siege, straitned it in such manner, that the danger was already urgent, and a speedy resolution was necessary, either to relieve the besieged, or let them perish: Whereupon *Henry d'Anville*, Duke of *Montmarcy*, Governour for the King in that Province, not willing to receive that affront before his own face, gathered the Forces he had together, and having called to his assistance the Gentry of *Auvergne* which were near, dispatched Monsieur de *Lacques*, and with him the *Sieurs de Chambaut* and *Montoyſon*, to the end, they might endeavour either to raise the siege, or to relieve the Town with powerful assistance some other way. These made their Rendezvous at *Bellegarde*; which the Duke of *Joyeuse* having heard, left his Infantry to continue the siege, and he himself with the Cavalry, and a certain number of Firelocks, ran fiercely to assault them. The encounter at the first was hot and furious, where-

whereupon they of the King's side began to be put in disorder; but *Leagues* having caused two Culverins to give fire, as also two other lesser Pieces, which they had taken out of *Montauban*, stoppt the assailants in such sort, that at last they drew off without having wrought any further effect, and the Duke of *Joyeuse* returned to his quarter, continuing the siege with so much security, and so much contempt, that he quartered his Cavalry scatteringly in the Villages about, to the end, that in the sterility of that Country, they might be more commodiously furnished. But the Viscount *de Gordes* being come to assist them of the King's party, they being increased in courage and in strength, (for they had One thousand eight hundred Horse, and little less than four thousand Foot) resolved suddenly to fall upon the Dukes Trenches, judging, that if the besieged (as they promised themselves from the valor of Monsieur *de Temines*) should fall upon them on the other side, they might easily pass through the Trenches, and put relief into the place. With this design, being (upon the Nineteenth of December at night) entered into a Wood, which largely spreading it self, reaches near to *Villemur*, they arrived so unexpectedly the next morning to assault the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Camp, that they entered the first Trenches, before those that negligently guarded them, had time to stand to their Arms. The Duke having heard of the enemies coming, and the flight of his Guards, sent Two hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back before, to hold the enemy in play, and giving sign by Three Cannon-shot to his Cavalry to hasten to the Camp, stood firm with his Forces in Battalia between the first and second Trench, to receive the assault of the Royallists, who encouraged by the prosperity of that beginning, charged them valiantly, and were no less fiercely received. The conflict lasted with great uncertainty of the Victory for the space of an hour and an half; but in the mean time, Monsieur *de Temines* with the greater part of the Garrison, falling at the Skitgates of the Fortrefs, and having drawn up a small, but a valiant Squadron, fell upon the Rere of the Dukes main Body, which hardly made any resistance; so that not being able to sustain the violence on both sides, the Infantry took flight, and ran without stop, to pass over a Bridge, which for the convenience of the Camp they had caused to be made of Boats over the River *Tar*: But the Bridge being weak, and the croud exceeding great, it broke under so great a weight and the men upon it in a miserable confusion were all drowned. The Duke, who being got upon a Pad-nag, had used all the endeavors of a good Commander to stop his men, made his retreat with a few Gentlemen, still fighting till he came to the bank of the River, where he found the Bridge already broken, and his men drowned; whereupon, being necessitated to pass the River upon the same Nag, he was carried away by the Waves, by reason of the weakness of his Horse, and for haste to get over, fell into the midst of the stream, and was drowned with no less misfortune, than his Forces had perished in their flight. In the mean time the Cavalry was got together at the warning of the three Cannon shot; but the General being dead, and their Trenches taken every where, they endeavoured to save the relicks of them that fled, and retired without troubling the Enemy. Thus the Camp of the League being routed, with the loss of a Thousand men, Two and twenty ensigns, and all their Artillery, *Villemur* remained free from the siege, and the Kings Forces much superior in that Province.

But matters proceeded very differently in *Bretagne*. The Prince of *Comy*, Commander in chief of the Army in *Poitou*, and the Country of *Maine*, was joyned for the defence of the Kings party with the Prince of *Dombes*, Governor of *Bretagne*, and they had joyntly resolved to besiege *Craon*, a great strong Town seated upon the Confine that divides *Bretagne* from the other Neighbouring Provinces; in which, there being a very great Garrison, it over-ran and pillaged all the Country about. Wherefore, having gathered together all their Forces, they set themselves about this enterprize; one on the one side, and the other on the other side of the River, which running through the midst of the City, divides it into two parts; but as it commonly comes to pass, that where more than one General commands in Armies, things alwayes go on, not onely slow and coldly, but also disorderly and confusedly, the siege very hopefully begun, was delaid and protracted so long, that the Duke of *Mercœur* had time to draw his Forces together to relieve that place, as he much desired: For which purpose, having sent for the Spaniards from *Blaves*, and gathered together all his Horse and the Gentry of the Country, having also raised Two thousand Breton Firelocks, he marched with speed toward *Craon*, at the time when the Prince of *Comy* having diverted the water out of the Mount on his side, and the Prince of *Dombes* battering fiercely on the

1591.

The Kings Forces sent to relieve *Villemur*, assault the Duke of *Joyeuse*'s Camp, and make themselves masters of the first Trench.

While the Royalists fight with the Leagues, with equal fortune, *Temines* sallies with most of the Garrison of *Villemur*, and catching the Enemy in the midst, routs them, and puts them to flight.

Craon a great strong Town that held for the League, is besieged by the Princes of *Comy* and *Dombes*.

1592.

The Royal-
lists raise their
Siege at Craon,
by reason of
the Duke of
Mercœur's ar-
rival with re-
lief.

other, the besieged were brought in danger of not being able to make good the first assaults. At the Dukes advancing, the Princes not judging it good for their Armies to be divided, with the River between them, resolved, That the Prince of *Dombes* should repass the River, and joyn with the Prince of *Conty* in the same quarter, which was done before the Enemies arrival; but with so little circumspection, that not to deprive themselves of the conveniency of repassing the River, either through inadvertency, carelessness, and something else, they left the Bridge standing, and very weakly guarded, which they had made upon Boats over the River about a League below the Town. The Prince being past over, and the Armies reunited, they desired to free themselves from the incumbrance of their great Artillery; wherefore having without loss of time drawn them off from the Wall, they sent them before to *Chasteau Gontier*, whither they had designed to retire, and their great shot, which by reason of the number of them, and their haste, they could not carry away, they buried in divers places to hide them from the Enemy. But the Duke of *Mercœur*, who finding the Bridge entire, had speedily past the River without resistance, marching in gallant order, advanced so quickly, that the Princes had scarcely raised their Camp, and set the Army in Battalia to draw off, when the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, who led the Vanguard of the League, appeared in the Field, and began to send forth his Light-horse toward them. Many of the most expert Commanders, and particularly *Charles of Montmorancy*, Lord d'Anville, condemned the Counsel of retiring in sight of the Enemy, arguing, that there was no example of any such resolution, but had ever been pernicious to Armies; it not being possible but that the one should retire with terror and disorder, and the other advance with violence and boldness: wherefore they were of opinion, that standing firm in the Post they held, and drawing, (if they had so much time) a Trench before the front of the Army, they should stoutly expect the enemies assault; and that recalling the Artillery, which was not gone very far, they should turn furiously against them. The Prince of *Dombes* did in great part assent to this advice; but the Prince of *Conty*, superiour in authority and years, and who commanded in chief, because he was upon the confines of his own Government, sent to tell him that he should retire, according to the order already appointed, because, being inferiour in Force, he would not endanger that Army and all the neighbouring Countries: wherefore marching before with the Vanguard led by *Hercule de Roban* Duke of *Montbazon*, and with the Battel which he himself commanded, he left order that the Prince of *Dombes* should come after with the Rere-guard: but he, straitened and followed at the heels by the Enemies Cavalry (for, not onely their Van-guard pressed him, but also the Duke of *Mercœur* with the whole Forces had overtaken him) was at last constrained to stand, and facing about, to close up against the Enemy, whose boldness he repressed for a while, till, being surrounded with so much a greater number, and being forsaken by his men, after he had shewed all the proofs of a valiant resolute Commander, he was fain (being in a manner left alone) to retire, quitting the passage to the Enemy, who fiercely prosecuting the course of their Victory, fell upon the Infantry, which retired very disorderly, by reason of the narrowness of the wayes: whereupon, without so much as making the least shew of defending themselves, they were destroyed and dissipated in a very short space, there being an exceeding great slaughter made of them by the Light-horse and the Spanish Foot. The Prince of *Conty*, without ever turning his face, came with his Cavalry untouched to *Chasteau Gontier* in the evening, whither the Prince of *Dombes* came up to him a while after, with no more but Eleven Horse. The Artillery left upon the way by those that had the charge of conducting it, fell all into the Enemies hands; and the Gentry, as soon as they were come safe into a place where they could not be pursued, disbanded of themselves, and every one severally betook himself to the security of his own house. This defeat, which happened the Three and twentieth of May, weakned the King's Forces in those parts so much, that not onely *Chasteau Gontier* being quitted by the Princes who retired further into the Country, but also *Maine* and *Laval*, with all the neighbouring places, came into the power of the League. The Prince of *Conty* retired into the Country of *Maine*, and the Prince of *Dombes* by a different way went back to *Rennes*; and the English, wounded and disarmed, got into the Suburbs of *Vitre*, leaving the possession of the field for many dayes to the Duke of *Mercœur*.

The Kings
Forces desir-
ing to make
their retreat
in sight of the
enemy, lost al-
most all their
Foot, who are
cut in pieces.
The Prince of
Conty, without
ever turning
his face, saves
himself with
all the Horse
at *Chasteau-
Gontier*.

The Marechal d'Amont was already appointed by the King to be Governor of *Bretagne*: for the Prince (whom from henceforth we will call Duke of *Montpensier*) had

had already succeeded his father in the Government of *Normandy*, and for his Lieutenant had chosen *François de Espinay* *Sieur de St Luc*, a man, who, by the readiness of his wit, the ornaments of learning, and his valour in Arms, was risen to a very high estimation; who, having gathered Forces from all parts, and made a levy of Foot in the Country of *Bronage*, of which place *St. Luc* was Governor, hastened their coming, because the Duke of *Mercur* having taken the Castle of *Malestroit*, prepared himself to besiege *Vitte*, a considerable Town, in the conservation whereof the sum of affairs consisted. The King's Commanders having drawn their Forces together, at their first coming besieged *Mayne*, a City more great than strong; and having gotten it upon conditions, stood doubtful whether they should pass forward to meet the D. of *Mercur*, or stay to attempt *Rocheport*, a wonderful strong place, which did incommode all the places thereabout, and particularly the City of *Angiers*. At last, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they resolved to try what they could do upon that place: but the taking of it proved so difficult, being defended by the *Sieur de St Offange*, that after Two thousand and five hundred Cannon-shot, and the loss of much time, and the best Soldiers of the Army, the rains of Autumne falling, and the Duke of *Mercur*'s relief drawing near, they were at last constrained to rise without having obtained their intent. But the Duke having held the Enemy in suspense, by taking several ways, and by making shew of turning, sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, came suddenly to *Quintin*, whither 700 Germans were gotten, who were under the command of the D. of *Montpensier* in those parts; and having found them unprovided of those things which were requisite to make a long defence, he forced them to yield, with express conditions to go out of the Province, and not to serve any more against him; a thing which proved very hurtful to the King's affairs; for he had no Foot that were more forward, more expert, nor better disciplined than they.

The loss of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the English who being (as they still are wont) afflicted with grievous diseases, and brought to a very weak estate, had obtained leave of the Duke of *Montpensier* to go to *Danfront* in lower *Normandy*, to change the air, and to recover their strength by rest: but being set upon in the way by the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, with the Garrisons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fongeres*, and of the near adjacent places, they were so shattered, that of so great a number, hardly 200 remained alive.

On the contrary, the affairs of the League in *Lorain* went on unsuccessfully: for, while the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken *Stenay* with a *Petard*, and possessed some lesser places, at last went to relieve *Beaumont*, besieged by Monsieur *d'Amblise* General for the Duke of *Lorain*: the Armies encountred fiercely, and the Lorainers losing their Trenches and Artillery, were utterly routed and dispersed: after which business, the Duke of *Bouillon* took *Dun* suddenly, by having likewise fastened a *Petard* to the gate; and overrunning all the Country without hinderance, had put the Forces of the League in very great confusion.

In this condition of affairs began the year 1593, the general dispositions of mens mindes, as well of the one side as the other, being more inclined to the settling of affairs, than to the management of Armes. The first novelty of this year, was the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Declaration, made from the *Decemher* before, but not published before the fifth of *January*; in which, making known his intention in assembling the States of his party, he prayed and exhorted the Catholicks that followed the King's party to unite themselves to the same end with him, and to take some course for the safety and peace of the Kingdom. It was of the tenour following.

Charles of *Loraine*, Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, To all persons present and to come, Greeting. The inviolable and perpetual observance which this Kingdom hath had of Religion and piety, hath been that, which hath made it flourish above all others in *Christendome*, and which hath caused our Kings to be honoured with the name of *Most-Christian*, and *First Sons of the Church*; some of them having, to obtain that so glorious Title, past the Seas, and gone as far as the utmost bounds of the earth, with most powerful Armies, to make War against the Infidels; and others of them, fought often against those that sought to introduce new Sects and Errors contrary to the faith and belief of our forefathers: in all which Expeditions, they were alwayes accompanied by the Nobility, who voluntarily exposed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have

The Declaration made by the Duke of *Mayenne* for the congregation of the States, published the fifth of *January*, 1593.

1593. part in that onely true and solid glory of having helped to conserve Religion in their Country, or to establish it in places far remote, where the Name and Worship of our Lord was not yet known : from whence not onely the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole Nation resounds in all parts, but by the example of it, other Potentates have been stirred up to follow in the honour and danger of so worthy enterprises, and of so laudable atchievements. After this ardor, the holy intention of our Kings, and of their Subjects, was not at all cooled nor changed, till these last dayes that Heresie hath been secretly introduced into this Kingdom, and increased in such manner, by the means which every one knows, that there is now no more need to set before our eyes, that we are at last fallen into so lamentable a misfortune, that the Catholicks themselves, whom the Union of the Church ought inseparably to joyn together, have, by a new prodigious example taken Arms against one another, and disunited themselves in stead of joyning together for the defence of their Religion: Which we judge to be come to pass by the wicked impressions and wonted artifices Hereticks have made use of, to persuade them, that this War is not for Religion, but to destroy and usurp the State; though we have taken Arms, being moved thereunto by so just a grief, or rather being constrained by so great a necessity, that the cause thereof cannot be ascribed to any others, than the authors of the most wicked, disloyal and pernicious counsel that was ever given to a Prince; though the King's death happened by a blow from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without the help or knowledge of those that had but too much cause to desire it; and notwithstanding we had made protestation that all our aim and desire tended onely to preserve the State, to follow the Laws of the Kingdom, by acknowledging for King the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the nearest and first Prince of the Blood, declared so to be in the life-time of the late King, by his Letters-Patents, verified in all the Parliaments, and in that quality designed his Successor, in case he should die without male-children, which obliged us to confer that honor upon him, and yield him all kind of obedience, fidelity, and service, as our intention was to do, if it had pleased God to free him from the captivity he was in: And if the King of *Navarre*, from whom alone he could hope for that good, had been pleased (obliging all Catholicks) to set him at liberty, to acknowledge himself as King, and to stay till Nature had brought his dayes to an end, making use of that occasion to cause himself to be instructed, and to reconcile himself to the Holy Church, he should have found all the Catholicks united, and disposed to yield him the same obedience and fidelity, after the death of the King his Uncle. But he persevering in his Errors, it was not possible to do it, if he would remain under the obedience of the Apostolick Roman Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the rights he could pretend to the Crown: Besides that, by so doing, we should have broken and violated that ancient custom, so religiously kept for so many ages, and through the succession of so many Kings, from *Clouis* till this present, not to acknowledge any King in the Royal Throne, who was not a Catholick, and Obedient Son of the Church, and who had not promised and sworn at his Consecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Scepter, that he would live and die in it, defend and maintain it, and extirpate Heresie with his utmost Forces; the first Oath of our Kings, whereupon that of the obedience and fidelity of their Subjects is grounded, and without which (so zealous they were in Religion) they would never have acknowledged that Prince, who pretended by the Laws, to be called unto the Crown. A Custom judged so holy and necessary for the welfare and good of the Kingdom, by the States held at *Blois* in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided in the defence of their Religion, that it was by them held as the principal and fundamental Law of the State, and it was established by the Kings will and authority, that two of every Order should be deputed and sent to the K. of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, to represent unto them from the States, the danger they put themselves in, by forsaking the Holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themselves unto it, and to denounce unto them, that in case they did not, if they should chance to succeed unto the Crown, they should be perpetually excluded as incapable. Nor is the Declaration which was afterward made at *Rouen* in the year 1588. confirmed in the Convocation of the States last held at *Blois*, that this ancient Law and Custom should be inviolably observed, as a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, any thing else but a simple approbation of the judgment given upon that point by the foregoing States, against which he cannot object any just suspicion to condemn or reject their opinion and authority. So the late King received it for

a Law, and promised and swore to the observing of it in his Church, and upon the precious Body of our Lord; as likewise all the Deputies of the States did in the last Assembly, not onely before those inhumane murders which made it infamous and fatal; but also afterward, when he no longer feared those that were dead, and when he despised those that remained, whom he held for lost, and in despair of all safety, having done it, because he knew himself to be bound and obliged to it by right, as all superiors are to follow and conserve the Laws, which are as the principal Pillars, or rather the Foundations of their State. Therefore the Catholics of the *Union* cannot be justly blamed, who have followed the Decrees of the holy Church, the example of their Ancestors; and the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which do require the profession of the Catholick Faith, as an essential and necessary quality in that Prince that aspires to the Crown by being next of blood, because he is King of a Kingdom which is gained to *Jesus Christ* by the power of the Gospel, which it hath received so many ages since, and in the form as it is Preached in the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church.

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These reasons have made us hope (though some appearance of duty retained many Catholics with the late King) that after his death, Religion, the strongest bond of all other to joyn men together, would unite them all for the defence of that, which ought to be more dear to them than life: But against all humane belief, we see the contrary is come to pass; for it was easie in that sudden moment to perswade them, That we were guilty of his death, of which we never so much as thought; That honor obliged them to assist the King of *Navar*, who published, that he would revenge it, and promised them that he would turn Catholick within six months; and being once engaged in it, the injuries which Civil War produces, the prosperous successes which he hath had, and the same calumnies which the Hereticks have continued to publish against us, are the true causes that have kept him in it till this present, and that have given the Hereticks means to proceed so far, that Religion and the State are in manifest danger thereby. And though we long foresaw the mischief this division would bring, that it would be the cause of establishing Heresie with the Blood and Arms of the Catholics, and that this could onely be hindered by our Reconciliation, which we for this end have sought with so much earnestness; yet hath it never been in our power to attain it; so much have mens mindes been transported and possessed with passion, that they have hindered us from using the means of our own safety. We have often caused them to be entreated, that they would enter into conferences with us, as we offered to do with them, to take some course in the business. We have caused to be declared, both to them, and to the King of *Navar* himself, upon some proposition made for the quiet of the Kingdom, That if leaving his error, he would reconcile himself to the Church, to his Holiness; and to the most holy See, by a true unfeigned conversion, and by actions that might give testimony of his zeal toward our Religion, we would most willingly have added our obedience, and all that is in our power, to help to put an end to our miseries, and would have proceeded with such candor and sincerity, that none should justly have been able to doubt, but that such was our true intention. These overtures and Declarations have been made at such times, when we were in greatest prosperity, and had means to undertake greater matters, if we had had such a thought in our mind, rather than to serve the publick, and seek the general quiet. To which he answered (as it is known to every one) that he would not be forced by his Subjects, calling the Prayers that were made unto him to return into the Church, by the name of force, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholesome admonition which represented to him his duty, to which the greatest Kings are no less obliged, than the meanest persons of all the Earth; for when a man hath once received Christianity in the true Church (which is ours, whose authority we will not put in doubt with any whosoever) he can no more go out of it, than a Soldier enrolled can depart from the Fidelity which he hath promised and sworn to, without being held for a desertor and violator of the Laws of God and the Church. He likewise added to the said Answer, That when once he should be obeyed and acknowledged by all his Subjects, he would cause himself to be instructed in a free general Council; as if Councils were necessary to condemn an error so often reprobated by the Church, especially by the last Council of *Trent*, as solemn and authentick as any other that hath been celebrated these many ages. And God having permitted that he should have the advantage, after the winning of a Battel the
same

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But how unjust soever this will is, and though the following of it is the true means to ruine Religion; yet among those Catholicks that assist him, many have suffered themselves to be perswaded, that it is rebellion to oppose him, and that we ought rather to obey his Commands, and the Laws of that temporal policy, which he would establish anew against the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, than the Decrees of the holy Church, and the Laws of his Predecessors, from the succession of whom he pretends to the Crown, who never taught us to acknowledge Hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and make War against them, and not to hold any to be more just and necessary than it, though it be exceeding dangerous. Here let * us remember, that he himself often took Arms against our Kings, to introduce a new Doctrine into the Kingdom: That many defamatory Books and Writings were made and published against those that opposed it, and counselled to extinguish the growing evil betimes, while it was yet weak: That then, he would needs have his Arms to be believed just, because for matter of Religion and Conscience; and that we defend an ancient Religion received into this Kingdom as soon as it began, and with which this Crown grew till it became the first and most potent of all Christendom; which we know very well cannot be kept pure, inviolable, and without danger under a Heretick King, though at first, to make us lay down our Arms, and make him absolute Master, he dissemble and promise the contrary. Late examples, reason, and that which we find every day, ought to make us wise, and teach us, that Subjects willingly follow the life, customs, nay and even the Religion of their Kings, to maintain themselves in their favour, and to have share in the Honors and Benefits which they alone can distribute; and that after they have corrupted some with their favours, they have alwayes means to constrain the rest by their power and authority. We are all men, and that which hath once been accounted

lawful,

* *Mem. de la Ligue, Him.*

lawful, though it were not, shall afterwards be so again for another cause which shall appear to us no less just than the first that made us erre. Many Catholicks have thought, that for some consideration they might follow an Heretick Prince, and assist to establish him; nor hath the sight of the ruine of Churches, of Altars, and of the Monuments of their fathers (whereof many died fighting to destroy the Heresie which they maintain) nor the present nor future danger of Religion, been able to divert them. How much more suspected ought his Forces and adherents be to us, if he already were established King and absolute Master? since that in such a case, every one would be so afflicted and tired, or rather ruined with the late unhappy War, that, provided they might but live secure in repose, and also with some hope of reward, they would chuse rather to suffer any kind of trouble, than make opposition with danger. Some are of opinion, that in a such case all the Catholicks would unite themselves unanimously to conserve Religion, and that therefore it would be an easie matter to interrupt the design of whosoever should attempt Innovations. Certainly we ought to desire that happiness; but yet we dare not hope it on such a sudden: but admit that, the fire being extinguished, there should in one instant remain no heat in the embers; and that, Arms being laid down, all our hatred likewise should be quite extinct; yet it is most certain, we should not therefore be exempt from all other passions which sometimes make us run into errors; and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being (in spite of us) subject to the motions and passions of Hereticks, who finding that they had the advantage of having a King of their own Religion, which is as much as they desire, would, by force or art, do whatsoever they had a minde to. And if the Catholicks at this present would well consider the actions that proceed from their advice, they might see it clearly enough: for the best Cities and Fortresses that are taken, are put into their power, and into the hands of persons who have at all times shewed themselves favourers of them. The Catholicks that reside in them, are every day accused and convicted of supposed crimes, the sole, but concealed cause thereof being onely the opposition which hitherto they have made against their designs, which they by a false name call Rebellion. The principal Offices fall into their hands, and it is already come even unto the Crown. The Bulls of our Lord Gregory the Fourteenth, and Clement the Eighth, full of holy Precepts, and fatherly admonitions given to the Catholicks, to separate them from Hereticks, have not onely been rejected, but with all contempt trampled upon by Magistrates, who unjustly give themselves the name of Catholicks: for if they were such indeed, they would never abuse the simplicity of those that are so. For to make use of the example of things done in this Kingdom, at such a time when the business was about introducing matters that were against the liberty and priviledge of the Gallique-Church, is very different from our case, the Kingdom never having been reduced to so great an unhappiness (since it received the Faith) as to endure an Heretick-Prince, or to see any of that quality pretend right unto it: and if they thought those Bulls had any difficulties in them, they, being Catholicks, ought to have proceeded by Remonstrances, and with that respect and modesty which is due unto the Holy See, and not with so much contempt, and so many blasphemies and impieties as they did: but perchance they thereby intended to shew those, who know how to be better Catholicks, that small reckoning is to be made of the Head of the Holy Church, to the end that they may afterward be so much the more easily excluded. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they alwayes begin with that which either is not evil, or at least is evil in a lower degree; the next day they rise higher, and at last arrive at the top of all. Thence it is that we know God to be highly incensed against this poor desolate Kingdom, and that he will yet punish us for our sins, since that so many actions, which tend to the ruine of our Religion, have not been able to bend them, nor the many and often repeated Declarations made by us (especially within these few dayes) that we will refer our selves in all things to what it should please his Holiness and the holy See to determine concerning the King of Navarre's Conversion, if God gave him the grace to leave his errors; which Declarations ought certainly to give undoubted testimony of our innocency and sincerity, and justifie our Arms as necessary for our own safety. Yet they forbear not to publish, that the Princes united for the defence of Religion, tend onely to the ruine and destruction of the State; though their actions, and the Propositions made by the common consent of them all, especially of the greatest that assist us, be the true and most secure means to take away the cause and means from whosoever should aspire to it. The Hereticks have nothing else to lay hold of, but the

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With

With this form of Declaration, though the Duke of Mayenne strengthened his pretensions very much, and wonderfully defended the cause of his party, yet did he not engage himself to the election of a new King, but holding things in equal balance, left himself a way open, that upon opportunity he might take any resolution whatsoever time should advise, and the quality of affairs permit; for being much diminished in his hopes by the Duke of Parma's death, by the Union which he saw between the Legat and the Spanish Ministers, who he knew hated his person, and by the concurrence of the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, who were not likely to be faulty to themselves; he intended not to attempt the election of himself, and of his posterity, except in case it should seem to him not only that he might be able to effect it, by the number of Votes, and with the general consent; but also, that he should have such, and so secure Forces and Dependents, that he might not need to fear, being able to establish himself in the possession of the Crown; otherwise he was resolved, either to settle himself in the full authority of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and to follow the War, if by the means of the States he could bring matters to pass, that he might be able to uphold the enterprise with small foreign dependents; or else, if he proved not able to attain to these, rather to bring the States to agree with the King by means of his Conversion, than suffer the Kingdom to come to any other body: Still firm to his principle, of neither suffering the Union of the Crowns, nor the disunion of the Kingdom: Which resolution of his, full of integrity and sincerity towards his Country, did not only please many of his party, but even the King himself (to whom it was known by many conjectures) could not sometimes forbear commending it.

But the Cardinal-Legat and the Spanish Ministers, not well satisfied with his so ambiguous Declaration, wherein he seemed rather to aim at an Accommodation with the Catholics of the contrary party, than at the election of a new King, resolved to agree together, and declare their intention perfectly; and therefore the Cardinal-Legat published a Writing in the form of a Letter, of the tenor following.

PHILIP by the Grace of GOD, Cardinal of *Piscarata*, of the Title of *St. Ondesfriso*, Legat a *Latere* of our Lord, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, by Divine Providence Pope, and of the Apostolick See in this Kingdom: To all Catholics, of what pre-eminence, state or condition soever they be, who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere unto him, or favour him in any manner whatsoever: Health, Peace, Love, and the Spirit of better counsel in him who is the true Peace, only Wisdom, only King, only Governour, JESUS CHRIST our Saviour and Redeemer. The performance of so holy and necessary a Work as is that which concerns the charge and dignity which it hath pleased his Holiness to give us in this Kingdom, is so dear unto us, that we should account our Blood and Life well employed, if they could be helpful to it; and would it pleased God, that it were permitted to us to go in person, not only from City to City, or from Province to Province, but even from House to House, as well to give a most certain proof to all the World of our Affection, which is known to God, as by word of mouth to awaken in you a generous desire, with the singular piety of your Ancestors, that is, with the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, to make that prosperous flourishing State spring up again in *France*, from whence Heresie hath miserably caused it to fall. But since that by reason of the unhappiness of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, we cannot (as it would be the intention of his Holiness, and our desire) communicate familiarly with you, we have thought it our duty to supply that want with this Letter, in the best manner that is possible for us. But if you please to accept of it, and read it with the spirit of true Christians and Catholics, free from all passion, as it is naked from all artifice which is averse from truth, you will excite in us a most pleasing and firm hope, of being within a short time able to offer our presence to you in all parts of this Kingdom, not to exhort you any more to what is fit, but to congratulate with you for what you shall so valiantly have performed, to the consolation of all good men. Making no doubt at all, but that if entering again into your selves, you will take care to examine your selves as you ought, you will need neither Word nor Letter, nor any other exteriour remedy, to settle you again in your former sanctity: For then every one of you will see, that from Heresie alone, as from the Fountain of all Evils, this blindness of understanding and dazling of spirits is sprung up in you, which hinders you from making so sound a judgment as you were wont; of your own and other mens actions. Then

The Tenor of another Declaration published by the Cardinal Legat, wherein he exhorts the Catholics of the Kings party to forsake the Heretick, and unite themselves with the States, to elect a Catholick King.

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for certain you will discover the various Artifices wherewith the Hereticks continually labour to withdraw you from the devotion and obedience, which, as true Sons of the Church, you have so religiously yielded, till these last days, to its chief Head and the Apostolick See, whose Name and Authority they by all means attempt to render odious and contemptible unto you, knowing, that this point alone, by necessary consequence, draws after it the ruine of the Catholick Religion in *France*, and the establishment of their impiety, which could not take footing where the Throne of *St. Peter* is revered as it ought to be. And not to touch any thing here, but what is most to our purpose, What likelihood is there to think that the Head of the Christian Church, would in part assist or consent to the ruine and destruction of this most Christian Crown? What good could he expect, and what misfortune ought he not to fear from thence? Although this is the principal calumny wherewith they have laboured to make you abhor the name and holy memory of the late Popes, howbeit they swerved not at all from the footsteps of their Predecessors, whose sollicitousness for this Kingdom you were wont not long since with reason to commend, as also the acknowledgment which they rendered for so many, so signal enterprises, achieved by the most Christian Kings, with most singular piety, liberality and valour, for the benefit of the holy See; and, to omit more ancient examples, you cannot so soon have forgotten with what applause and thanks you received the notable supplies which were sent against the Hereticks, from *Pius Quintus* of happy memory, to *Charles* the Ninth then your King: Can you then now accuse that in his Successor, which you approved in him? Heresie is still the same, still pernicious, cursed, execrable; and it is against that Infernal Monster, that the Vicars of Christ, and the Successors of *St. Peter*, (not to transgress in the duty of their Office) do wage mortal War, and not against the Catholick Kings and Kingdoms, to whom they are Fathers and Pastors. It is against it that without exception of persons they do no less justly than wholsomly employ the Sword of Supreme Jurisdiction which our Lord Jesus hath put into their hands, to cut off the festred putrified Members from the body of the Church, to the end that their contagion might not be pestiferous and mortal to the rest: which nevertheless they do as late as they can, mildness and fatherly pity still going before in the Office of Sovereign Judge; so that their rigour never chastiseth any but those that are incorrigible. But if you please to turn your eyes upon other Countries, or rather, without going out of your own Kingdom, to consider what usage it hath ever received from the holy Apostolick See, you will find, that since the combustion kindled in it by Heresie, which still continues to consume it, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or could do to help to quench it. The good intelligence which they have ever held with your Kings, and the continual assistance which they have always given them of men and other means, and the frequent sending of Legats hither, do sufficiently shew the zeal they have ever had, for the tranquillity, repose and conservation of this most noble State. Nor were their actions ever suspected or ill interpreted by you, while, as true Catholicks and Frenchmen, you desired rather to give the Law to Hereticks, than to take it from their hand. You have always found them to be such as need required, till these late days, that by your discords and connivance you have suffered Heresie to gather such footing upon you, that now it no longer demands favour of impunity from you as it was wont, but begins it self now (as every one knows) to punish those, who, more careful of their Salvation, refuse to submit themselves unto their yoke. A strange unhappy revolution, which makes you detest that as a most hainous crime, which you your selves have taught others to be a rare and excellent vertue, and which on the contrary makes you to crown vice, which you ought still (as in former times you have done) to condemn unto the fire. See what the deadly poison of Heresie can do, from whose touch, so many other absurdities and contradictions are bred, which you would not deny to be spread amongst you, if you would lay your hands upon your hearts. For, to go about to maintain that the priviledges of the *Gallicke Church* extend so far, as to permit that a relapsed Heretick, and one excluded from the Body of the Universal Church, should be acknowledged King, is the dream of a mad-man, which proceeds from nothing else but heretical contagion. And from the same original we may likewise say have sprung all the sinister interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy Fathers. But let us see a little whether those of the late Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, which are expressly declared by his Bulls concerning the business of the most illustrious Cardinal *Gattano's* Legation, can, in any part, be calumniated.

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That Cardinal was sent by the aforesaid Pope, of happy memory, into this Kingdom, not as a Herald or King at Arms, but as an Angel of Peace; not to shake the foundations of this State, nor to alter or innovate any thing in its Laws or Policy, but to help to maintain the true, ancient, Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion; to the end that all Catholicks being united together for the service of God, the publick good, and the conservation of the Crown, with a mutual unanimous consent, might with security and repose, obey, and yield themselves subject to one only Catholick and lawful King. Now as these intentions were pious, and directed toward the common safety; so can it not be denied but that the effect and execution of them hath been endeavoured, as well by the said Pope *Sixtus*, as by Cardinal *Gastano*; not perhaps with that severity which according to some mens judgments had been necessary, but with all the mildness, clemency and charity that could be desired from a most loving Father towards his dearest Children. No sooner was that wise Legat entred into the Kingdom, but, to begin to lay his hand in good earnest to the work, he addrest himself at his first arrival to all those whom he believed he should find so much the more disposed to shew him all favour in the administration of his Charge, by how much greater were their obligations and means to do it: he sent some Prelats purposely unto them, to confer particularly about what might concern the fruit of his Legation: those men, as also all the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, (with whom he treated, or caused to be treated during his Legation, and to whom he wrote about this matter) can give testimony whether he ever exceeded the limits of his Commission, and how much he always protested that his Holiness had no other aim nor design, than to maintain and defend the Catholick Religion, and to conserve this Crown entire for the lawful Catholick Successors that were capable of it. But if by the same means he complained that having as it were forgotten, not only the singular Piety and Religion of your Ancestors, but the conservation, and together with it, the reputation of your Country, and, which is worse, the safety of your Souls, you had joyned your selves to the party of him who you could not but know was deservedly cut off from the body of the Church; of him whom as such you had long ago, and also a few months before, most justly pronounced, in a full Congregation of the States, to be incapable of this most Christian Crown; of him whose Arms never knew how to shed any other blood than that of the Catholicks; and who finally, by an example altogether barbarous, had in the person of one man alone, violated all Laws both divine and humane, having suffered his Uncle, a Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Prince of the Blood, a man of so pious and holy a life as the most eminent Cardinal of *Bourbon* was always known to be, to die in captivity, under the custody, and in the sacrilegious hands of an Heretick. These complaints were not without great ground and reason, nor ought you to have been displeased with them who made such-like demonstrations to you. And in effect, experience hath certainly made you sufficiently know, that they were wholsom and charitable; and from how many adversities you might have freed this Kingdom, if lending your ears to him, and to his holy Exhortations, you had readily separated your selves from the Heretick, to apply your selves with the rest of the Catholicks to any good or quiet. But the same unhappiness which then made you to reject them, rendered vain also the Interviews and Conferences which followed many times after between the Legat and his Prelats, and some principal Lords that are amongst you. Whilst things here were in these terms, and that at Rome *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, desirous to withdraw you from the Heretick, and to win you to *Jesus Christ*, gave free access and audience to those whom you sent unto him, while every thing (to shorten it) seemed to be done to your hands, in stead of embracing the fair occasion that God offered you, of being able to free your selves and your Country from the infamous yoke of Hereticks, you suffered your selves to be transported with the wind of an unhappy prosperity to those designs and hopes that have reduced this poor State to the desperation you now see it in. The death of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the Seventh who succeeded him, having given place to the succession of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, he began presently to let you see, that a particular care and sollicitousness for your Salvation, and the preservation of this most Christian Monarchy, is inseparably joyned unto the Papacy. The *Breve* which he was pleased to send us in the month of *January* 1591, which was published; the Bulls and other *Breves* which in the month of *March* following were represented to you by *Mansigno Landriano* the said Popes *Nuncio*, (whatsoever the Hereticks can

1593. say to the contrary) could not, nor ought not by you to have been taken in another sense. Well did the good Pope judge, (as being a man endowed with singular piety and prudence) that while you were mingled among Hereticks, (the known plague of this Kingdom) your Salvation was desperate; that therefore it was necessary you should quickly withdraw your selves far from them, otherwise you would within a short time miserably lose your own Souls, together with theirs, and expose your bodies and estates to those troubles and ruines which you have since suffered and continued to prove every day. To these most urgent and lively reasons which he alledged to you in this matter, he added his Remonstrances full of charity, and to them his fatherly Exhortations: certainly it was a very great fault that you would not lend an ear unto them, and yet a greater to go about to calumniate them; but so injuriously to use, not the insensible Paper which contained his will, but in it the name and authority of the Head of the Church, and by consequence of the holy Apostolick See it self, this is a wickedness which comprehends in it as many new kinds of crimes, as there are words in the pretended Decrees which were published thereupon in *Tours* and *Chalons*; and yet the enormity and greatness of these misdeeds, and of those likewise which in this business were committed by them of the Clergy that were present in the Council as *Chantres*, hath till now been dissembled by them who might have made some just resentment of it. Nor did Pope *Innocent* the Ninth, of happy memory, who succeeded him, carry himself otherwise towards you, whose sudden death would yet be more lamented by good men, if Divine Providence, which never forsakes the holy Church in time of need, had not by the election of the most blessed Father *Clement* the Eighth, provided us of such a Pastor, as the necessity of the times requires, being one who comes not behind his Predecessors in any kind of rare vertue; but rather in what concerns the particular care which they have always had of the safety and secure repose of this Kingdom, seems to go before them all. Nor was he sooner raised to the Supreme Degree of Apostleship, but all the faithful transported with joy, turned both their eyes and minds upon him, as upon a clear Sun, which God the Father of Light, and Giver of all Consolations, seems to have made shine in these our days to dissipate the darkness of so calamitous an Age. And when every one began to have certain hope, that each of you opening his heart to receive the beams of so clear, so gracious a Light, would draw near in the obedience and union of the holy Church, under the authority and conduct of so great an Head: Behold, that to our infinite grief, another pretended Decree brought forth by Heresie at *Chalons*, is published against the Bulls of his Holiness concerning our Legation, whereby they still make tryal to banish all hopes from us, of that which ought to be most dear to all persons, jealous of Gods glory, and of the honour, repose, and conservation of this Kingdom. For, (let them say what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawful Parliament of *Paris* (which hath still retained its ancient equity and constancy) hath grievously condemned as men, who by their carriage manifest themselves to be rather slaves to Heresie, than Ministers of Justice) it is impossible ever to see *France* enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, nor any other kind of prosperity, whiles it groans under the yoke of an Heretick. This is no less true than known to every one of you, whose Consciences are sufficient to bear witness of it, besides many of your outward actions, which clearly enough do let us see what you think among your selves; since by your wonted Protestations and Remonstrances, wherein you declare, That the obedience you yield to the Heretick hath no other foundation but a vain hope of his conversion, and of his again becoming capable of the Crown; it clearly appears, that the fault of acknowledging a relapsed obstinate Heretick for the King of a most Christian Kingdom, seems too heinous to you to confess your selves guilty of it. But since his obstinacy hath already deprived him of all the rights which he could pretend to, it likewise takes from you all pretences and excuses, that you can alledge in his favour and your own discharge. It is now time, that you discover boldly all that you have in your hearts; and if there be nothing in them that is not Catholick, as your former actions have made known, when the sorcery of Hereticks had not yet bewitched you, declare for Gods sake with the rest of the Catholicks, that you desire not any thing so much as to see your selves united under the obedience of a most Christian King, both in name and actions: It will be a prudent thing to have such thoughts, a magnanimous one to endeavour the execution of them, and a vertue every way most perfect to do both. Now as at this present

present there is no more just, nor more lawful means to compass this end, than the holding of the States General, to which you are invited by the Duke of *Mayenne*, who following the duty of his Office and Authority, hath ever sought, and doth now more than ever seek (with a piety, constancy, and magnanimity, worthy of eternal praise) the most certain and secure means to defend and secure this State and Crown in its integrity, and to maintain the Catholick Religion, and the Gallique Church in its true liberty, which consists principally in not yielding obedience to an Heretick Head: So we have thought fit in this place, to protest unto you, that containing our selves, as our intention is, within the limits of the charge it hath pleased his Holiness to give us, we neither could, nor would in any way assist or favour the designs and enterprises of the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor of any other Prince or Potentate in the World; be he who he will, but rather with all our Forces would oppose them, if we should know that they were in any part contrary to the common votes and desires of all good men, true Catholicks, and good Frenchmen; and in particular, to the holy, pious intention of our Lord; which moreover by these presents, we desire to declare to have no other aim nor object but the glory of God, the conservation of our holy Roman Catholick Apostolick Faith and Religion, with the utter extirpation of Heresies and Schisms, which have reduced this poor Kingdom of *France* to so miserable a condition, which his Holiness desires to see principally crowned with its ancient splendor and majesty by the establishment of a King truly most Christian; such an one God in mercy grant the States General may name; and such an one no Heretick ever was, nor ever can be. Thither then in the name of his Holiness do I invite you, to the end, that separating your selves totally from the company and dominion of the Heretick, you may with minds free from all passion, and full of an holy zeal and piety toward God and your Country, assist in all that you shall judge may serve to extinguish the general combustion, which hath even almost burnt it to ashes. It is no longer time to propose vain excuses and new difficulties, you shall find no others but those that proceed from your selves: For if you please to come to the said Assembly for the effect you ought, we can assure you in the name of all the Catholicks, who by Gods Grace have still persevered in obedience and devotion to the holy Apostolick See, that you shall find them most ready to receive you, and to embrace (as Brothers and true Christians, whom with the price of their bloods and very lives they desire to save) a holy peace and reconciliation with you. Take order therefore that in good earnest we may see you there separated from the Heretick; and in such a case demand all the securities you shall think necessary, that you may freely go and come, speak and propose in the said Assembly all that you shall judge most expedient to attain to the desired end. The Duke of *Mayenne* is ready to grant you them, and we on our part make no difficulty to oblige our selves that nothing shall be done to the contrary in any kind, offering in that respect to take you, if there be need, under our especial protection, that is, of the holy Church, and of the holy Apostolick See: And we conjure you again, in the Name of God, that at last you would with lively effects shew, that you are true Catholicks, conforming your intentions to that of the chief Head of the Church, without longer deferring to render to our holy Religion, and to our Country, that faithful duty which it expects from you in this extream necessity. There is nothing to be expected from your divisions, but desolation and ruine; and though from elsewhere every thing should succeed according to your wish, (which me thinks you should not dare to promise to your selves under an Heretick Head) yet ought you nevertheless to consider, that Schisms, which this Kingdom seems to be full of, do in the end turn into Heresie, which God of his Mercy be pleased not to permit, but rather to enlighten your hearts and minds, making them capable of his holy Inspirations and Benedictions, to the end, that being all united in deed and will, in the unity of the holy Roman Catholick Church, under the obedience of one King, who may deservedly be called Most Christian, you may in this life enjoy a secure tranquillity, and finally come to that Kingdom which his Divine Majesty hath prepared from eternity for them, who persevering constantly in the Communion of his said Church, out of which there is no Salvation, do give clear testimony of their lively Faith by holy and virtuous actions.

With this Writing, in appearance like that of the Duke of *Mayenne's*, but indeed full of matter very different, did the Legat endeavour to establish the principal end of the

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Pope Clem. 8. sends Innocentio Maluagia into France, in the place of Commisfary Matteucci, with more particular Commiffions to Cardinal Segs the Legat; but they work small effect.

The Spanish Council resolves to propose the election of the Infanta Ifabella to be Queen of France. Diego d' Ivarra, ill affected to the Duke of Mayenne, practices with the Deputies of the States apart, to dispose them to the election of the Infanta; but every one of his private treaties comes to the Duke of Mayenne's knowledge.

the Assembly to be, not to treat of business with the Catholicks of the Kings party, not to agree with him if he should resolve to reconcile himself to the Church, not to raise any Prince of the Blood to the Crown, but to elect a new King, not only depending upon the Apostolick See, but approved also by the Catholick King, that they might make use of the power of his Arms and Moneys to protect and establish him. And though the Pope (being made acquainted with the Legats inclination, and particularly advertised by the Venetian Senate, that there was great suspicion of him, and that many were scandalized, because they thought he seemed to have more care of the satisfaction of the Spaniards, than of the safety of the State and Religion) did declare himself much more than he had done before by the Pronotary *Agucchi*, by the means of *Monsignor Innocentio Maluagia*, sent by him to be Commisfary of the Army in the stead of *Matteucci*, and gave him particular Commiffion, that above all things he should take heed of a monstrous election, not generally approved, and that might be like to cause new Wars more pernicious than the former; yet the Legat (either because he really thought the interests of Religion so linked to those of *Spain*, that they could not be separated; or in respect of his own private designs, which perswaded him to get the Catholick Kings favour absolutely; or else by reason of the enmity he had contracted with the King, because of the Declarations made by the Parliaments against him; or that the Popes so obscure Commiffions were not well understood by him) did not take himself off from his first manner of treating, but with the pretence and colour of Religion, (which truly was very great) did wonderfully serve all the Plots and Practices of the Spanish Ministers. These were yet uncertain of the means, but most certain of the end of their treating; the Council of *Spain* having determined, that for the greater decency and speciousness, the Union of the Crowns should not be mentioned; a thing rather to be discoursed of in the Infancy, than to be hoped for in effect; but that the election of the *Infanta Ifabella* should be propounded, which by divers ways came to the same end.

But at this time in *Paris* there was no other Spanish Ministers except *Diego d' Ivarra*, who continuing his disaffection to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being of opinion that without him the Catholick Kings Forces, Money and Authority were sufficient to cause the States to make that election; continued still private practices with the Deputies; all which nevertheless came perfectly to the Duke of *Mayenne's* knowledge. *Lawrenzo Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, appointed Head of the Embassie, was expected, and with him *Inigo de Mendoza* a most learned Spanish Lawyer, sent to dispute (by way of right) the lawful Succession of the *Infanta*, and *Juan Baptista Tassis*, who, that he might give them information, was gone as far as the confines of *Flanders* to meet them: but these also came with an impression that the *Infanta's* right was evident, and that the Catholick Kings Forces and Authority were so feared in *France*, that without the Duke of *Mayenne* they should be able to obtain their intent of the Assembly: and though *Juan Baptista Tassis* told them otherwise, believing that without the Duke of *Mayenne* they could not compass any end; yet they being prepossessed with the opinions of *Spain*, and far from the moderate counsels which the Duke of *Parma* in his life time had held and represented; persevered in their conceit, and continued on their practices in the manner they were begun. *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and together with him the Counsellors of *Flanders*, who knew the French humour, and by reason of their neighbourhood saw things at a nearer distance, counselled that they should march into *France* with a powerful Army, and that with it Count *Charles of Mansfelt* (to whom that charge was committed) should draw near to *Paris*: That at the same time with great sums of money they should gain the Duke of *Mayenne* especially, and then the other principal Lords, and every particular Deputy that had credit and authority in the Assembly; and that to the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, who were chief of the Union, large advantageous offers should be made, and full security given them for their performance: and with these Conditions, and not otherwise, they thought the election of the *Infanta* which was to be propounded, might be brought about: for if the French were not besieged and taken, on the one side by profit, and on the other by fear, they thought it impossible that of their own voluntary will they shall ever consent to submit themselves to the Spanish Dominion: And if the Princes of *Lorain*, who were in so great power, and in a very near hope that one of them might attain to the Crown, were not by exceeding high and secure Conditions removed from that design, they did not think that ever they would condescend to transfer that to others,

others, which they pretended to for themselves: besides, there was no doubt, but that to establish an election so new, and so contrary to the nature of the French, powerful and extraordinary Forces were necessary, and such preparations of Souldiery, Money and Commanders, as might overcome those difficulties and oppositions which would discover themselves much more in the progress, than in the beginning of the business. To this was added, that to break into a matter of so great difficulty, a great increase of reputation was necessary, and a certainty that the King of *Navarre* might, without much length of time, be overcome and suppressed; which was not possible to be effected without very great store of Men and Money.

These were the solid and well-grounded counsels of those, who, judging with reason of the importance and weightiness of those affairs, were of opinion, that for the Catholick Kings honour, the thing should not be propounded, without an infallible certainty of bringing it perfectly to an end. But those that were newly come from *Spain*, either by reason of the different opinion that was there, or of the relations given by *Diego d' Ivarra*, judged quite differently, that neither many Forces ought to be drawn into *France*, nor much money distributed, nor that the House of *Lorain* should have satisfaction in deed, but in words and appearance only; because, by keeping the Duke of *Mayenne* low, and by driving him and his party into a straight, they thought they should put them upon a necessity of consenting to their demands, that thereby they might obtain such assistance from them, as might raise them from the abject condition they were reduced to: for they were moreover informed, that they were not inclined to content them willingly; that if they should free the League, and particularly the City of *Paris*, from their present want and scarcity, they would not afterward be content to condescend to the Catholick Kings will; gratitude being but a weak instrument, where such weighty matters were treated on; but that then rather they would consent unto it, when they saw no other remedy to free themselves from misery; which would be so much the more effectual, by how much the more nearly it pressed and straightened them: That to give money now, was but to throw it away, without any ground or assurance that it should produce the effect, and to satisfy the greediness of those who being once glutted with Spanish gold, and having compassed their own designs, would not care afterward to satisfy their promises as they ought: That in plenty and prosperity the French would be proud and insolent; but in want and necessity, abject and tractable: That it was not fit to dismember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give part to this, and part to that man of the House of *Lorain*, thereby to attain to it afterwards, being weak, mangled and destroyed.

The present state of the Catholick Kings affairs inclined most toward this Counsel: for his treasures at this time being much exhausted by his past expences, and by the commotions of *Aragon*, he could not draw together those sums that would have been necessary for the first advice: and the affairs of the Low Countries, and of the Army there, being, by reason of the Duke of *Parma's* death, in great weakness and confusion, it was not possible to make so great a Body of men, as the contrivance of that design required: and finally, the nature of the Spaniards made them begin with thrift and parsimony to manage the affairs of that Kingdom, which was not yet begun to be obtained. For these reasons, the Spanish Ministers would needs follow the last counsel; perswading themselves also, that by their arts, and the Legats assistance, they should overcome many difficulties, and that with words and promises they might supply, where deeds were defective.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom these conceits were in great part known, was very certain, that without his will and consent they could never obtain any thing; and by reason he saw the Spanish Ministers so disaffected to him, but much more because he hoped to attain the Kingdom for himself, was wholly averse from contenting them; only the discords that arose between him and the others of his Family, held him in suspense: for the Duke of *Lorain* still pretended right unto the Kingdom, and the superiority above the rest of his Family; and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* pretended to the Crown no less than he; the first, by reason of the name and merits of his Father, upon whose blood (as he said) the whole structure of the League was grounded: and the other, because of his prosperous defence of *Paris*, whereby he judged himself to have deserved more than any one of the rest, and to have that people at his devotion: besides that, being both of them young and unmarried, they were not so averse from the election of the *Infanta*, hoping that one of them might be destined for her husband.

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The Spanish Ministers ill informed of the inclinations of the French, and of the Duke of *Mayenne's* authority, contrary to *Juan Baptista Tassis's* opinion, prosecute their Treaty a wrong way.

The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the Spanish practices, as he was certain that without his consent none of their designs would take effect, so was he troubled at the pretensions which the Lords of his House had to the Crown as well as he.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* being led by this doubt, resolved to prepare many strings to his bowe, that he might have several ways to hinder the designs of the rest, and to bring his own businesses to their appointed end. Whereupon, after having by his Declaration invited the Catholicks of the Kings party to a Treaty, (a Weapon by him esteemed most powerful, to cross the Spaniards in the business) he also caused the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* design to be renewed, that he might keep it alive, and make use of it in convenient time and place: and *Jehan le Maître*, a man totally depending upon his will, having after the death of President *Brissac* taken the place of first President of the Parliament, he began by his means, not only to deal with the Counsellors of that Parliament, and Magistrates of that City, but also with those, who, because they inclined to favour the King, were called *Politicks*, that in time of need he might also make use of their help; and having found the Parliament most disposed to his designs, and grounding himself very much upon the support of the Commanders of the Militia chosen and raised by him, he propounded and obtained (for the greater reputation of so great an Assembly, and for the greater assurance of the election of a King, a thing of so great weight and consequence) that also the Parliament, and Governours of Provinces, and the Commanders of the Militia, might Vote in the Assembly of the States, not every one by himself, but by Deputies for each body, to the end, that by the counterpoise of these, he might balance the Votes of the other Deputies, if they should ever dissent from his will; wherein (because he was exceeding well versed in the business, and knew the persons very particularly) he proceeded with so much art and dissimulation, that the Spanish Ministers and the Legat did not take notice of many things till after they were established; and he gained more men with art, than they were able to do with gold or promises; and on the other side, they could hardly design the framing an engine, but he, founding the end of it, found many evasions to dissolve or hinder it.

The Overture of the States is made in Paris, Jan. 26. 1593.

The Duke of Mayenne sitting under the Cloth of State as King in the Hall of the Louvre, makes the Overture of the States, exhorting them to elect a Catholick King, able to sustain the weight of the Crown.

In this state of things, time no longer allowing, that the celebration of the States should be deferred, the Overture (as they call it) of the Assembly was made upon the Six and twentieth of *January*, at which all the Deputies being met in the Hall of the *Louvre*, and with them all the Magistrates and Officers of the Crown, the Duke of *Mayenne* sitting under the Cloth of State, (as Kings are wont to do) said, That he had called, and with very much ado assembled that Solemn Meeting, that they might take some course to find a remedy for the calamities and miseries that afflicted their common Country: He exaggerated the evils of the present condition, the danger of Religion, and the unhappiness of the War; and concluded, that the only remedy was the election of a King, who in the first place should be so constant and sincere a Catholick, that he should prefer the good and honour of the holy Church before his own life; and in the second, should be such an one for valour, experience and reputation, that not only unruly minds might willingly obey him, but also might be able to fight with and conquer the Enemies of the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he exhorted the Assembly, that being met, not to moderate grievances, or to find means to pay the debts of the Crown, (things ordinarily introduced to be treated of in the States) but to provide a King, a Pastor for themselves, and the whole people of the greatest Kingdom of Christendom, they should not let themselves be carried away with any private interests, but should take that holy, that worthy resolution, which the present need and their common safety required.

When he had done speaking, Cardinal *Pelle-vé*, as Ecclesiastical President of the Assembly, with a long tedious Oration full of digressions, praised the Duke of *Mayenne's* zeal and valour, and by several ways coming round about again, concluded at last with exhorting the Assembly to elect a King, who as the present exigent required, might be totally devoted to the holy Apostolick See, and an Enemy to Heresie, against which more than any thing else, it was at that present necessary to make opposition. The Baron *de Senecey* for the Nobility spake to the same effect, but much more briefly, and to the purpose; and the same did *Honoré de Laurent*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Provence*, for the third Order of the Commons. There was nothing else treated of at this first meeting, it being the custom only to use these Ceremonies at the first overture.

The next day in a particular meeting, which was held among the chiefest about this business, there was a very sharp dispute between the Legat joined with the Spanish Ambassador, and some of the greatest Personages of the Assembly; for the Legat proposed, That at the second Session for the beginning of the States, all should take a solemn

The Cardinal Legats Proposition.

solemn Oath, never to be reconciled to, nor acknowledge the King of *Navar* for Superior, though he should turn his Religion, and make show to live as a Catholick; to which the Duke of *Mayenne* not consenting, as a thing very different from his practices and intentions, the other Deputies that were present spake against it with divers reasons: But the Legat urging, with wonderful vehemence, at last the Archbishop of *Lyons* said, that the States were Catholicks, obedient to the holy Church under the superiority of the Apostolick See in such cases, and met together in obedience to the Pope, and that therefore they would not be so impudent as to go about to bind his hands, and presumptuously to declare that which he had not declared, preventing his Judgments, and declaring the King of *Navar* irreconcilable to the Church by a vain determination, which was out of the Secular Power, and wholly proper to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and that therefore they were resolved not to proceed to that Oath, lest they should offend their own consciences, and the Majesty and Jurisdiction of the Pope and the Apostolick See. Which reason, with the decency thereof, stopt the Legat's mouth; and the Duke of *Mayenne's* intention not to proceed to that Declaration prevailed.

The Arch-bishop of *Lyons* his Answer.

But upon the Twenty eighth day there came one of the King's Trumpets to the Gate of the City, desiring to be brought in, that he might deliver a Packet of Letters directed to the Count de *Belin* Governor of it, and being ask'd what his business was? he answered freely and publicly, That he brought a Declaration of the Catholicks of the King's party, addressed to the Assembly of the States; and being come before the Governor, he gave the Letters into his hand, and made the contents of them more fully known among the People. The Governor carried the Packet to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who lay troubled in his Bed; and not being willing to open it, but in the presence of all the Confederates, he sent for the Legate, the Cardinal of *Pelle-ut*, *Diego d Ivarra*, the Sieur de *Bassompierre* Ambassador from the Duke of *Lorain*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, Monsieur de *Rosne*, the Count de *Belin*, the Viscount de *Tavannes*, the Sieur de *Villars* by him newly declared Admiral, Monsieur de *Villeroy*, President *Jean-ain*, and two of the ordinary Secretaries, which they called Secretaries of State; in the presence of whom the cover being taken off, there was a Writing found with this Title:

A Trumpet of the Kings comes to *Paris*, and brings a Packet to the Governor, which being opened by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the presence of the Confederates, contains an offer from the Catholick Lords, and Prelates of the King's party.

The Proposition of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counsellors of the King, as others, now present with his Majesty, tending to the end of obtaining Peace, so necessary to this Kingdom for the conservation of the Catholick Religion, and of the State: made to the Duke of Mayenne and the Princes of his Family, the Lords and other persons sent by some Cities and Corporations, at this present assembled in the City of Paris.

Having seen the Title, and every one being desirous to hear the contents, the Writing was read by one of the Secretaries, being of this Tenor following:

THE Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and Chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Council, as attendance of His Majesty, having seen a Declaration Printed at *Paris* in the name of the Duke of *Mayenne*, dated in the month of *December*, published with the sound of the Trumpet in the said City upon the Fifth day of this present Month of *January*, as is found at the bottom of it, and which came into their hands at *Chartres*, do acknowledge, and are of opinion with the said Duke of *Mayenne*, that the continuance of this War, bringing the ruine and destruction of the State, doth also by necessary consequence draw along with it the ruine of the Catholick Religion, as experience hath but too well shewed us, to the great grief of the said Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who do acknowledge the King, whom God hath given them, and serve him as they are naturally obliged, having, with this duty, ever made the Conservation of the Catholick Religion their principal aim, and have then always been most animated with their Arms and Forces to defend the Crown under the obedience of his Majesty, when they have seen strangers, enemies to the greatness of this Monarchy, and to the honor and glory of the French name, enter into this Kingdom, for it is too evident, that they tend to nothing else but to dissipate it, and from its dissipation would follow an Immortal War, which in time could produce no other effects, save the total ruine of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, Cities and Countries,

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an event which would also infallibly happen to the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom. Thence it is, that all good Frenchmen, and all those that are truly zealous thereof, ought to strive with all their Forces to hinder the first inconvenience, from which the second is inseparable, and both inevitable by the continuation of the War. The true means to prevent them, would be a good Peace, and a reconciliation between those whom the misfortune hereof keeps so divided and armed to the destruction of one another: for upon this foundation Religion would be restored, Churches preserved, the Clergy maintained in their estates and reputation, and Justice settled again; the Nobility would recover their ancient force and vigour, for the defence and quiet of the Kingdom; the Cities would recover their losses and ruins, by the re-establishment of Commerce, Trades, and employments (maintainers of the people) which are in a manner utterly extinct; the Universities would again betake themselves to the study of Sciences, which in times past have caused this Kingdom to flourish, and given splendour and ornament unto it, which at this present languish, and are, by little and little, wasting to nothing; the fields would again be tilled, which in so many places are left fallow and barren, and in stead of the fruits they were wont to bring forth for man's nourishment, are now covered with thorns and thistles: in summ, by Peace every one might do his duty; God might be served, and the people enjoying a secure Peace, would bless those who had procured them that happiness; whereas, on the contrary, they will have just cause to complain, and curse those that shall hinder it. To this effect, upon the Declaration which the said Duke of Mayenne makes by his writing, as well in his own name, as in the names of the rest of his party assembled in Paris, where he alledgeth, that he hath called the States, to take some course and Counsel for the good of the Catholick Religion, and the repose of this Kingdom; it being clear, that if for no other reason, yet because of the place alone (where it is neither lawful nor reasonable, that any other but they of their own party should interview) no resolution can proceed from it; that can be valid or profitable for the effect which he hath published: and it being rather most certain, that this can nothing but inflame the War so much the more, and take away all hopes and means of reconciliation; the said Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords now present with His Majesty, being certain, that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholick States who acknowledge Him, do concur with them in the same zeal towards the Catholick Religion, and the good of the State, as they agree in the obedience and fidelity due unto their King and natural Prince; have, in the name of all, and with the leave and permission of his Majesty, thought fit, by this Writing, to make known to the said Duke of Mayenne, and the other Princes of his Family, Prelates, Lords, and other persons assembled in the City of Paris, that if they will enter into conference and communication about the means proper to bury these tumults, for the conservation of the Catholick Religion and of the State, and depute any persons of worth and integrity to meet jointly at a place which may be chosen between Paris and St. Denis, they will on their parts send thither, upon the day that shall be appointed and agreed upon, to receive and carry all those resolutions and overtures which may be proposed for so good a purpose, as they are confident, that if every one will bring those good inclinations he is obliged to, which they for their parts promise to do, means may be found to attain to so great a happiness: protesting before God and men, that if, neglecting this way, they shall use other unlawful means, which cannot chuse but be pernicious to Religion and the State, if they shall compleat the reducing of France to the last period of all calamity and misery, making it a prey and a spoil to the insatiable greediness of the Spaniards, and a trophy of their insolency, gotten by the practices and blind passions of a part of them, who carry the name of French-men, degenerating from the duty which hath been held in so great veneration by our Ancestors, the fault of that evil that shall come thereby, cannot, nor ought not justly to be ascribed to any others than those who shall be notoriously known to be the sole authors of such a refusal, as men who prefer the ways that are fit to serve their own particular greatness and ambition, and that of their somenters, before those which aime at the glory of God and the safety of the Kingdom. Given in the King's Council (where the said Princes and Lords have purposely assembled themselves, and, with his Majesties permission, resolved to make the above-said Propositions and Overtures) at Chartres the Seven and twentieth of January, 1593. Subscribed Revol.

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The first mover of this Writing, penned and presented in this manner, was the *Sieur de Villeroy*: for being of himself averſe to the Spaniſh attempt, and rather inclined to an Agreement with the King, than to any other reſolution; and being ſet on by the Duke of *Mayenne*, deſirous to put ſome Treaty on foot, to make uſe of it, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, for his own advantage, wrote to his brother-in-law the *Sieur de Fleury*, that addreſſing himſelf to the Duke of *Nevers* and the other Catholick Lords that were with the King, he ſhould ſhew them in how great danger the affairs of the Kingdom were, with how much earneſtneſs the Spaniards had ſet themſelves to promote the election of the *Infanta Iſabella*, how many there were, that for their own intereſts favoured that election, and how the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had never been able to induce the King to be reconciled to the Church, was now in ſuch a neceſſity, that he would be conſtrained to agree with the Catholick King, if by ſome means they did not interrupt thoſe proceedings. That they ſhould conſider, if ſtrangers ſhould obtain their intent, and that the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and the other Confederates, ſhould oblige themſelves unto it, in how great danger the King would be to be deprived of the Kingdom, being to fight with the Spaniſh power, which then would employ it ſelf wholly to his ruine; the mindes of the French Confederates would become irreconcilable, as if of their own accord they had put themſelves under the ſervitude, and engaged themſelves under the dominion of ſtrangers: the way to a reconciliation with the Pope and with the Church would be ſhut up, when once he ſhould have approved of the election which the States were to make within a few weeks; and that therefore time was not to be loſt, but ſome way found to interrupt the courſe of thoſe deſigns.

Theſe Conſiderations were repreſented by the *Sieur de Fleury*, not onely to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gaſpar Count of Schomberg*, who about that time having been ſent for by the King, was come to Court. He by birth was a German, and by nature a man, not onely of great courage, but free in his opinions and words; and for his experience and valour, highly eſteemed by every one; wary in his courſes, provident in his actions, infinitely inclined and very faithful to the King; and (which at that time was much to the purpoſe) one, who had not been preſent at the conſultations that had been held among the Catholicks about forſaking him, and for this cauſe had more authority and belief with him to treat upon this buſineſs, than the Duke of *Nevers* and many others: Wherefore, being of opinion, that the Conſiderations repreſented by *Villeroy* were moſt important, and that to them many others were added; for already every one knew, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was thinking to depart, and go over to the League, and that many Princes of the Blood, and other Lords, were inclined to follow that reſolution; that the Catholicks, for the moſt part, holding themſelves deceived and mocked by the King's promiſes, were very ill ſatisfied; and that every one weary of the War, longed impatiently for Peace, he found a fit conjuncture to diſcourſe with the King about it; and with ſolid effectual eloquence, wherein he was very prevalent, made him fully acquainted with thoſe reaſons, which out of reſpect were coldly, and but in part repreſented to him by others; and demonſtrated to him the nearneſs of his ruine, unleſs he ſuddenly took ſome courſe to content the Catholicks, and to croſs the deſignes and attempts of the Spaniards. The conjuncture of the time was alſo favourable: for the King's late proſperities had brought him into ſuch a condition, that if the Catholicks perſevered conſtantly to ſerve him, he had but little need of forraign Forces; which of how little benefit they were, and how much miſchief they did to his Country, he himſelf had already found: The *Sieur du Pleſſis* was far off, who, with his reaſons, partly Theological, partly Political, was wont to withhold him, and put ſcruples in his minde, to the end he might not change his Religion: and the Duke of *Bouillon*, then Head of the Hugonots, who was preſent at the buſineſs, had ever been one of thoſe who were of opinion, that the King could never be a peaceable poſſeſſor of the Crown, unleſs he changed his Religion: and perchance for his own intereſt it diſpleaſed him not that the King ſhould turn Catholick, to the end the firſt place among the Hugonots might remain to him: Wherefore, all theſe obſtacles being removed, and neceſſity urging; for already the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Count *Soiſſons*, with many other, began to talk very plainly; and the States aſſembled by the League being in much greater conſideration with the King, than perhaps they were with the Confederates themſelves; after many conſultations with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High-Chancellor, and *Preſident de Thou*, to whom, by reaſon

The *Sieur de Villeroy*, averſe from the Spaniards, and a friend to peace, writes to the *Sieur de Fleury* to advertiſe the Catholicks of the danger the King was in, and of the attempts to cauſe the *Infanta Iſabella* to be elected Queen.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, a Hugonot, was ever of opinion that the King could not be a peaceable poſſeſſor of his Crown unleſs he turned Catholick; perhaps to the end he might remain Head of the Hugonots.

1593. of his learning and experience, the King gave much credit, he resolved that the Catholics should make this Overture, with intent either to interrupt the course of the State by that means, or else to resolve upon an Accommodation and Reconciliation with the Apostolick See, and the Lords of the house of *Lorain*.

The Legate's
opposition a-
gainst the
Propositions of
the King's
Catholicks.

As soon as the Writing was read in the presence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords, the Cardinal of *Piacenza* rose up in choler, and without consultation or deliberation said angrily, that that Proposition was full of Heresies, and that they were Hereticks that should take it into consideration, and therefore it was by no means fitting to give any Answer to it: Cardinal *Pelle-ve* and *Diego d' Ivarra* assented without any demur; but the Duke of *Mayenne* remained in suspense, as also the rest that were present, who durst not immediately oppose the Legate's words. But *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* not losing courage, without contradicting the Cardinal, found another evasion, and said, That the Writing not being directed to the Duke of *Mayenne* alone, but to the whole assembly of the States, and the Trumpet having freely said so to many at his entrance into the City, whereby the business was become publick, it was fit to communicate it to the States, and refer it to them, to the end that the Deputies might not be disgusted in the very beginning, and believe that they were not freely and fairly dealt withal, but that endeavors were used to conceal many things from them, and to deceive them: That this would be an ill beginning, and would not only cause suspicion, but also disunion among the Deputies. The Count *de Belin* added, that the Trumpet had not only told, that the Writing was directed to the whole Assembly, but had also scattered some copies of it among the People, as he thought he had heard, whereby it was so much the more publick, and could not be concealed from the Deputies.

It is concluded by the Votes of the major part of the Lords in the private meeting, that the Writing should be read in the assembly of the States, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legate and the Spaniards. The tenor of a Manifest published by the King at *Orléans*.

It was determined, that every one should consider of what he thought most convenient to resolve about it in the same place against the next day; which being come, though the Legate and Spanish Ambassador laboured stily that the Writing might be suppressed and rejected, the Duke of *Mayenne* nevertheless, with the votes of the major part, concluded, not to use his Deputies ill, nor give them cause of distaste; but bearing that respect to them which was fit, would have the Writing read in the full Assembly, where afterwards that should be resolved on that should be thought most convenient: which while it was deferred, by reason of the contrariety of opinions, and of the Obstacles that were interposed, the King being at *Echartes*, published a Manifest upon the nine and twentieth day; wherein, after having briefly attested his singular affection toward the general good and safety, He said he was extremely grieved to have happened in such perverse times, wherein many degenerating from that fidelity towards their Princes, which had ever been peculiar to the French Nation, did now use all their studies and endeavors to oppugne the Royal Authority, under pretence of Religion; which pretence, how falsely it was usurped by them, was clearly seen in the War twice attempted against the happy memory of *Henry* the Third, which it was not possible to value so much, as to think the cause thereof could be attributed to matter of Religion, he having ever been most Catholick, and most observant of the See of *Rome*, and employed with his Arms even against those that were not of the Catholick Religion to subdue them, at the same time when they having furiously taken Arms, ran to *Tours* to suppress and besiege him; and that now it was more clear than the Sun it self, how improperly and unjustly they made use of the same colour against him, for by how much the more they sought to mask and palliate their malignity under that specious cloke, so much the more, breaking forth, did it shew it self clearly to the eyes of all men; nor was there any one who knew not, that their conspiracy, attempted for the oppression and ruine of their Country, was not caused by zeal to Religion; but that their union appeared manifestly to be composed of three kinds of Persons for three different reasons. First, the wickedness of them, who led by an incredible desire to possess and dissipate the Kingdom, had made themselves Heads and Authors of this Rebellion. Secondly, the craftiness of Strangers, ancient enemies to the French name and Crown, who having found this opportunity of executing their inveterate designs, had voluntarily joyned themselves with their assistance to be Companions in so perfidious a Conspiracy. And lastly, the fury of some of the meanest dregs of the People, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme beggery and misery, or else led by their misdeeds in fear of justice, out of a desire of spoil, or hope of impunity, had gathered

thered themselves together to this factious confederacy. But it being the custome of Divine Providence to draw good out of evil, so it had now miraculously come to pass, since that the Duke of *Mayenne*, by setting down in Writing his reasons of assembling a Congregation in *Paris*, by him called the States, had clearly laid open and manifested his designs by his own confession: for striving with all his power dissemblingly to represent the face of an honest man, and to make it believed that he had no thought of usurping that which belonged not unto him, he could not in the interim give greater testimony of his ambition and impiety toward his Country, than by framing an Edict, and sealing it with the Royal Seal for the Convocation of the States, a thing reserved onely to the Royal-Power, and never communicated to any other; whereby he had made clear to the World his usurpation of the Royal Office and Majesty, and his crime of High-Treason, having taken upon him the Royal Ministry, and the proper marks of Sovereignty. But, What eye was so dazeled, or what mind so blinded, as not to see how false those things were which he had inserted in his Edict with so much pomp of words? That the Laws permitted him not to render due observance and obedience to the King God had given him: a Lye as apparent, as it is true, that the *Salique-Law*, a wholesome fundamental one, born at one birth with the Kingdom, hath ever been the basis of the Subjects obedience, and the foundation and safety of the Crown: That open injury is done to the constitution of this Law, when the lawful Dominjon of him is called in doubt or controversie, who, by the prescribed order of it is called by God unto the Crown: That the force and authority of this Law is so great and venerable, that no other Law hath power to prejudice it, and the Kings themselves, which are loose from other Laws, are subject, and not superiour to this alone; and that therefore it was a vain thing to alledge against it the Decree of the States at *Blois* in the year 76; for not the King, nor the States, but that Law it self, ought to decide the Succession of the Kingdom: and yet, What man of sound understanding could ever hold the Assembly at *Blois* to be a lawful Congregation of the States? in which the liberty of votes being taken away, and the voice of good men suppressed, there was nothing else minded by the Conspirators of that Confederacy (the fruits whereof are now found) but to oppugne the King's Authority who then reigned, and to reduce him to the slavery of his enemies, disposing of the affairs of the Kingdom, according to the will and fancy of factious persons: That perchance that violence used against him, from which he had so much laboured to defend and free himself was not clear enough; who was he that could believe the late King would voluntarily break and violate that Law, by vertue of which his Grandfather *Francis* the First was come unto the Crown? But, What needed there other proofs? The same men who had forcibly and treacherously caused that Decree to be made, had themselves waved, forsaken, and declared it ineffectual and of no validity; for if the Duke of *Mayenne* had esteemed that constitution valid, after the seditious deposing of King *Henry* the Third caused by him, he would not have entituled himself Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France* before the Kingdom were vacant, but Lieutenant to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to whom, by that seditious Decree, the Kingdom appertained. But what? not onely then, but also after the King's death (who was by them caused to be murdered) he, for three moneths together, usurped the same title, declaring, how little valid he esteemed the determination of those States; that therefore it was manifest and known, that it was not out of reverence to the determination of his own States, which they now publish, that he made use afterwards of the fained person of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, when it was convenient for him; but thereby to usurp the Royal-Power and Ministry, and to gain time and means to establish himself in his intended usurpation. But that no less vain was the reason he alledged, *viz.* That he was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion; for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but confessed the same God and the same Redeemer the Catholicks confess and adore; nor ought some difference in opinion to make such a desperate irreconcilable division. That he would not be obstinate, nor refuse to be taught and instructed, and that he was ready, if his error were shown him, to forsake it, and reduce himself to those rites which the Catholicks of his Kingdom desired, and that he wished he could, with safety of Conscience, take away all scruples from all his Subjects; but he prayed the Catholicks not to wonder if he did not so easily leave that Religion which he sucked with his milk, nor ought it to appear strange, that he should not forsake the ancient institution of his life, unless first he were made to see the error, which they were of opinion he was in, which when it should

1593. should come to pass, no body should need to desire his readines and willingness to condemn his fault, and enter into that way which should be known to be the best. That it was fit, in a business that concerned his Soul and eternal life, he should proceed with great circumspection; and so much the more, because his example was like to draw many with it, whom he would not help to damn, but willingly to save them if he could. That therefore he had often demanded Councils, not to oppose himself against those already celebrated, as his Enemies reported, but, to the end, that he together with them of the same Religion, might be instructed and taught thereby: that it was no absurd thing to celebrate a Council, and moderate many matters which times and occasions produce: and to say they had already been decided by other Councils, was nothing; for so all later Councils would have been vain and absurd in confirming and ordering things again which had been settled and determined by former ones: That if a more speedy and more proper way were found for his instruction, he would not refuse it; and that he had given clear testimony of it to the World, when he gave leave to the Catholicks under his obedience to send Ambassadors to the Pope to take some course in it, and when he so often caused his very adversaries to be told, that in the midst of Arms it was no time to talk of Conversions, but that making Peace, they should resolve upon a Conference wherein he might be instructed; but that they, abusing his goodness, had made shew to lend an ear unto it, onely when for their own designs they desired to work a jealousie in the Spaniards: That it was certain, they abhorred to have him instructed, since now in their Writings, they reckoned it as a thing to be despaired of, having never yet so much as attempted it, and because that presently as soon as the Marquis *de Pisani's* Embassie tending to that effect was agreed upon, they had, by all possible means, crossed his negotiation, and brought it so to pass, that the Pope would not admit him to his Audience: That if they published and vaunted, That they would refer the business wholly to the Pope, He on the other side did not despair, but the Pope at last, knowing their subtilty and cunning, would take that resolution which should be most conformable to decency and reason: That therefore seditious persons ought no longer to tempt the good Catholicks that stood armed for the defence and safety of their Country; but that they rather should acknowledge their error, and, as members gone astray, return to joyn themselves with the rest of the Body: for, except the Princes of *Lorain*, who were strangers, all the Princes of the blood, Prelates, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and in a manner all the strength of the Gentry, were of his party, and made the true Body of *France* united for the defence of their Liberty, and the safety of the Kingdom: That they should consider how unworthy, how monstrous a thing it was, to open the Gates to the *Spaniard* to come and invade the bowels of the Kingdom; their Ancestors, and even they themselves, having spilt and poured out so much blood to drive them from their confines: That they should see how impious that insatiableness was, which, for covetousness of Gold, sold the French Name, Glory, and Liberty: but that it was no wonder they felt not the prick of conscience in that business, since they felt it not in the most cruel Parricide committed on the person of the late King, which they were so far from detesting and abhorring, that they impiously attributed it to Providence and the hand of God: That if (as they now made shew) they would be held innocent of that fact, which obscured the glory, and laid a foul blot of wicked perfidiousness upon the Name of the French, they should not at the same time joy and rejoyce at it, commend, exalt, and Canonize the Name of the Murderer, and do so many other barbarous monstrous things; but should rather shew, that they were moved at so great a wickedness, and resolved to reconcile themselves to that Country that had bred, nourished, and raised them to the height of greatness; and not take part with barbarous Nations, that are enemies to, and separated from *France*, as in language and manners, so in candour and disposition: That if these reasons could not prevail to persuade those that were gone astray, and make them know their error, at least they would confirm the resolution of good French-men, to continue constantly in the defence of their Country, wherein He, as he had for the time past, so he would also for the future afford them alwayes his example, exposing his body, health, blood, and life before them all, as a sacrifice for so worthy, so profitable a work: That his affection and devotion till that present, were sufficiently known, and with what tenderness of mind he had embraced the Catholicks, conserved, protected, and maintained them in their possessions, and in their privileges; how he had favoured and preserved their Religion, and constantly and inviolably

ably observed all that he had promised them at his coming to the Crown; and now, for more security, and absolutely to take away all scruples, he swore before God and Men, that he was ready to persevere in their protection and conservation till his latest breath, and that he never would do any thing to the prejudice or diminution of them or their Religion, and that he desired those things which his Subjects required of him, might, to the glory of God, be orderly and fitly executed, as he hoped in Gods divine Majesty, and in his infallible Providence, that the effects would quickly be seen, which out of a confidence in God's mercy he doubted not to promise and attest. That in the mean time he, with the advice of his Council, had decreed, and by that present manifest did decree and declare, that the Duke of *Mayenne* in having assembled a Congregation in *Paris* under the name of States, had seditiously and unjustly usurped the office and power of King, and that those States being null, invalid, and seditious, were not to hold, nor to be effectual, nor any thing that in them should be done, established, or determined.

This Writing, which carried with it no necessity of an Answer, was, according to the disposition of mens minds, variously received and interpreted; but, that of the Catholick Lords of the King's party sent to the Assembly at *Paris*, held the Confederates anxious and solicitous for different respects; for the Legate having caused it to be examined by the Colledge of the Divines of *Sorbonne*, persisted to say, that being heretical, it was not worthy of any answer; and the Spanish Ambassador said, it was but a trick to disturb the good for which they were met together: but the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, the Count *de Belin*, and those of the Parliament, maintained, that what a kind of one soever it was, it ought neither to be despised nor rejected, and gave their reasons for it; and between these the Duke of *Mayenne* stood doubtful what should be resolved; for, on the one side he had a great desire to begin a Treaty with the Royallists, and on the other he would not absolutely alienate nor exasperate the Legate and the Spaniards. In the end, after many consultations held privately with his friends, he resolved to defer the consideration of that business in the Assembly till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, and the rest that were coming, and till he had seen the strength of the Army, and what Orders Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* had, who was already prepared to enter into the *Confinés*, to the end he might regulate himself afterward according to time and occasion; wherefore he determined to go and meet the Ambassadors, and to receive and imploy the Army himself, lest the Duke of *Guise* should go to receive it, and (to the lessening of his reputation) have it assigned to him by the Spaniards, who openly favoured him. He hoped also to make some progress in the War, which might augment his credit and reputation; but above all, it was necessary for him to draw a certain sum of money from the Spaniards, to be then distributed (in favour of him) among the Deputies, many of whom, by reason of the dearth of *Paris*, and their own poverty, had urgent need thereof.

This resolution being taken, he called the Deputies of the Assembly, and prayed them to busie themselves about smaller matters, but not to deliberate any thing concerning the Election till his return, it being fit that all the Catholick Ambassadors should be there, as likewise himself, together with the Duke of *Guise*, and the other principal men of the party, which he would bring along with him within a few dayes; and because his praying was commanding, they all promised it without contradiction; and he having left Monsieur *de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin* to prevent those secret practices which might be set on foot in the mean time, went with Four hundred Horse to *Soissons*, where he had given order that his French Forces should be in a readiness. Being come to that City, upon the ninth of *February*, he found the Duke of *Feria*, and the other Spanish Ambassadors there; with whom having conferred, discontents began to break forth in their first meeting.

In *Spain* they thought it very agreeable to justice and decency, that the *Safique* Law should be broken, because all they of the Family of *Bourbon* were notoriously either Hereticks, or favourers of Heresie, and that the Kingdom should come to the *Infanta Isabella* the Catholick King's Daughter, who, by the ordinary Laws, was the nearest heir to the late King, as being born of *Elizabeth* his eldest sister. And on the contrary, when it was alledged, that the posterity of the Royal Family failing, the authority of making a new King returned to the commonalty of the People of *France*; they replied, that though that were true, yet was it seemly, that the Commonalty in that election should

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The Duke of *Mayenne* resolveth to defer the business of the protection of the Kings Catholicks till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, Ambassador from *Spain* to the Assembly of the States.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having left order with the Deputies not to meddle with matters of importance till his return, goes to *Soissons*; where having conferred with the Spanish Ambassadors, they break out in disputes

1593. should have respect to the Law of Nations, which alwayes calls the nearest heirs ; and that it was very fit much should be condescended to, in regard of the so great expences the Catholick King had been at, and of those many things he had done for the maintenance of the Crown and of Religion ; since with great detriment to his own affairs, he had employed all his Armies, and all the revenues of his Kingdom, through the course of so many years, for the benefit of the affairs of *France* ; which if he from the beginning had abandoned to the discretion of the *Navarrois*, there was no doubt but it would have been constrained to bend its neck, and receive the yoke of Heresie : whence certainly would have proceeded the total ruin of every Catholick in particular, and the general servitude and dishonour of so Christian a Kingdom. Thus these Counsellors having perswaded themselves that these reasons would have the same efficacy in the mindes of the French, had concluded to apply themselves speedily to the advancing of so great a design. Wherefore the Ambassadors, having this expresse order from *Spain*, and believing also by *Diego d'Ivarra's* Letters, that the election of the *Infanta* would willingly, and without contradiction be embraced by the States, did not defer to urge the Duke of *Mayenne* about it, to the end that he assenting to it, might favour that Declaration.

The Duke of
Fris and
Mendoza Span-
ish Ambassa-
dors, urge the
Duke of *May-
enne* for the
election of the
Infanta Isabel-
le to the King-
dom.

They said, that the Catholick King pretended justly to that election ; first, by reason of the right which the *Infanta* (as born of the eldest daughter of *France*) pretended to that Kingdom ; and then, by reason of the benefits *France* had received from him, and of those likewise which it might receive for the future, he being resolved to use all his force and power to free them from the contagion of Heresie, and to establish that Crown as soon as could be possible, in a quiet peaceful condition. To this purpose they added many magnificent promises to every one in particular, and much more largely in the Duke of *Mayenne's* interests, shewing, that the Catholick King would use him honourably, increase him in riches and reputation, and make him the first person in the whole Kingdom : finally, they demonstrated the honor the Catholick King did him already, in putting his Arms under the authority of his Command, having given order to Count *Charles* absolutely to obey and acknowledge him superior.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had already at his first coming been advertised, that Count *Charles* brought not above Four thousand Foot, and One thousand Horse, and that the Ambassadors had no order to pay him any more than Five and twenty thousand Duckets, a sum much inferiour to the greatness of his present need, answered the Ambassadors Proposition very resentingly, and with more boldness than he was wont, and reproached them with the weakness of those Forces, and their thriftiness of money, which things were not like to free the Confederates from the yoke of Heresie, nor to make the Kingdom peaceable, as they boasted in their words, but to continue the calamities of War without end, and to reduce the affairs of the League unto extreme weakness and misery : That it had been seen in times past, how the Catholicks Kings Armies were hardly come in sight, when presently they vanished again, fomenting, but not remedying the mischiefs that afflicted the Kingdom ; which now appeared much more clearly, since in that very point, when a course was to have been taken for the common safety, and when he, to satisfy their so great importunities and complaints, had, with infinite difficulty, assembled the States of the Crown, there came such poor assistance, as neither the Army was sufficient to give heat and authority to so great a business, nor the money able to supply, or so much as give the least ease to the present necessities : That he marvelled exceedingly at that preposterous manner of proceeding : That now indeed the prudence of the Catholick King, and his Counsellors was requisite ; and that he knew no good could be expected for the future by that way : That it was a vain thing to propose the *Infanta* for Queen, and not to send fitting means to make her be acknowledged, and to establish her in the Kingdom : That this was a difficult weighty important business, and not well relished by many, and to carry it on with such feebleness of Forces, and so small reputation, was onely the way to destroy and ruine it, which, out of his observance to the Catholick King, he would not endure : That the mind of men, who had fetted the sum of their hopes in the present Congregation, would be incensed and put in despair, when they should see a stranger-Queen proposed, and that without power or means of attaining to the Crown : That this was a thing aversé from the nature of the French, crossed by the impediment of the Salique-Law, no way consonant to the ears of Freemen, and such as were not accustomed

accustomed to suffer themselves to be brought under ; and that therefore it was necessary first to engage mens minds both with high reputation, and the noise of great Armies, and also to win their affections by the allurements of profits and riches ; but to propound so great a matter in so faint a manner, was neither conformable to the greatness of the Catholick King, nor decent for the name and reputation of the Confederates ; and that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage himself in that Proposition, being certain, not only that nothing at all would be effected, but that in despair it would necessitate the Deputies to turn to an Agreement with the Hereticks, rather than precipitate themselves into a bottomless pit of perpetual misery, where both the publick and private desolation were most visible.

This answer appeared as strange as unexpected to the Ambassadors, and they perceived at the very first, that they were far from the imaginary reckonings they had made ; yet persisting in their Proposition, they answered, That the commotions of *Aragon*, and the long indisposition, and afterward the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had hindered the King from making those preparations, which should within few months (if there were need of them) be made ready : That the Succours of the Catholick King had always been so powerful, and so opportune, that they had manifestly delivered the Kingdom and Religion from the oppression of the Hereticks ; and that the French could not complain of any but themselves ; who of themselves had lost battles, and brought themselves under in such manner, that afterward the King of *Spain* had been fain to forsake his own affairs, to recover them as he were from death to life : That the sums of money were not small, but the greediness of the French very great and insatiable ; and yet when they should give just reasonable satisfaction to the Catholick King, He would strive to the utmost to content them ; but that to desire all advantages, all conveniencies, all satisfactions, and all contentments, and to give none at all, was not an equal dealing, nor a fair reasonable way of proceeding : That they should resolve to declare their good will in acknowledging the rights of the Infanta to be just and valid ; and for the rest, it was not to be thought the Catholick King would be careless of his Daughters interests, but would empty his Kingdom both of men and money to place her in the Throne, and to establish her perfectly : That the King, weary of so many disturbances, and of so many expences without fruit, would no more tire his people and ruine himself, unless he knew the charge and labour should in the end come to effect ; but the Infanta being chosen, he would send Fifty thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse, which should be paid till the enterprise were perfected ; and would freely pour out all the Treasures of his Kingdom upon the French.

The Duke of *Mayenne* smiling at the proffer of these future Magnificences, said it was necessary to think of present things ; and that to make the States swallow that bitter Pill of Foreign Dominion, it was necessary to temper it with the sweetness of profit and reputation, else it would prove impossible to get it down. But *Isidro Mendozza* (more able to dispute among learned men, than to manage so weighty an Affair of State) replied, That they knew all the Deputies would not only accept the Infanta, but also beseech the King to grant her for their Queen ; and that he alone opposed that Election, which already was desired by them all. The Duke grew angry, and told *Mendezza* he was little acquainted with the businesses of *France*, and not knowing the magnanimity of the French, promised himself they should govern the Deputies, as they were wont to do the stupid senseless Indians ; but that in the effect he would find himself much mistaken. *Mendezza* added, That rather in the effect they would make him know, they were able to make the Infanta be elected by the States without his help. But the Duke not enduring that, replied, That he feared it not ; and that if he should not consent unto it, all the world would not be able to make that election. To which the Duke of *Feris* answering, said, They would quickly make him perceive his error, and would take away the command of the Army from him, and give it to the Duke of *Gaise*. This nettled the Duke of *Mayenne* more than all the rest ; and as he was most passionate in his anger, he added, that it was in his power to turn all *France* against them, and that if he pleased, he could in a week turn them all out of the Kingdom : That they played the parts rather of Ambassadors from the King of *Navarre*, than the Catholick King, nor could they serve him better if they were paid by him : but they should not think to use him as their Subject, for he was

1593.

The Answer of the Catholick Ambassadors to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* by reason of the answers and threats of the Spanish Ambassadors, departs in anger from the Meeting.

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1593. not so yet, nor did ever think by that manner of usage to be so for the future; and scornfully taking leave, departed from them.

The Popes Ministers and others labour so far that the differences between the Duke and the Spaniards are composed in show, but not in their hearts

Juan Baptista Tassis took the business in hand again the next day, striving to pacify and overcome him with promises; but the Duke told him freely, that if now they used him in that manner, he might, if he were not mad, perceive how he should be used when he was obliged, and a vassal; and refused a great while to confer any more with the Duke of *Feria*, and *Mendoza*. But Pronotary *Agucchi*, and Commissary *Malvagia*, who were present by order from the Legat, and Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who was come thither to consult what should be done with the Army, laboured so far in the business, that on the one side the Spaniards knowing they could do nothing without the Duke of *Mayenne*; and he, when the violence of his anger was past, remembering that he was not in such a condition that it was convenient for him to lose the supportation of the Spaniards, differences were composed again at last, but with so much prejudice to the Catholick Kings designs, that the Duke to put a hard bit in their mouths, wrote to *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, by all means to cause the Writing of the Kings Catholicks to be answered, and that he should begin the conference which they proposed, to the end they might have that refuge in a readiness, whensoever they should be ill dealt withal by the Spaniards for the future; and yet dissembling on both sides, they agreed among themselves, that the Duke of *Mayenne* should assent to the election of the Infanta, and favour it with the States; and on the other side, that she being elected, he should have the Title of the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, the Government of *Picardy* for his life, the Title and Authority of the Queens Lieutenant-General thorow the whole Kingdom, that all debts should be paid him, as well those that were contracted in the name of the Publick, as those in his own particular; and that he should be repaid all the money which he could make appear he had spent of his own; they paid him Five and twenty thousand Crowns at that present, and consigned Letters to him for Two hundred thousand more, and gave order to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the Army to obey him, and dispose of himself according to his Orders.

This Convention pieced up in this manner, did indeed stop the discords and dissensions for the present, but made not things so secure as to go on unanimously in their endeavours for the future; for the Duke of *Mayenne* on the one side, did not believe himself obliged to observe what the necessity of publick affairs had extorted from him by force, and the Spaniards as they had but little confidence that he would observe them, so were they ready to embrace any occasion that should present it self, of treating and establishing the business without him. But being departed from *Soissons* upon the Five and twentieth of *February*, and come to *Paris*, as soon as they began to converse with the Deputies, they easily perceived that the Duke of *Mayenne* ruled all the Assembly, and that without him nothing at all could be obtained.

On the other side he being gone to the Confines where the Army was, found it so weak, that he lost hope of doing any enterprize of such moment, as was like to bring him either profit or reputation. They all agreed that the Army should not advance into the inward parts of the Kingdom, but for diverse ends: the Spanish Ministers, to the end *Paris* might not be freed from scarcity, following their conceit that it was profitable for their designs the League and the City should be streightened and kept low; the Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side, to the end the Spaniards might not take heart by the nearness of their Forces, and Count *Charles*, because by reason of the weakness of his Army, and that he had but little money, would not engage himself in places far from the confines, and in actions of long and difficult event; wherefore though the Legat and the Parisians were earnest, that the Army should advance and besiege *St. Denis*, to free the passage of victuals into the City on that side, yet it was nevertheless unanimously determined, that the Forces should be employed in other enterprizes, among which, the Duke of *Mayenne* was better pleased with the besieging of *Noyon* than any other, as well because he had almost a certain hope of taking that place, and coming off, with increase of credit and reputation, as to dispatch quickly, that he might return to the assistance of the Assembly; also because it was near to *Rheims*, where the Lords of the House of *Lorain* were to meet, before the State should come to a final determination.

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The Forces being come together from all places, the Army drew before the Town, and having fortified their quarters, without delay, began to break ground, to cast up trenches, and raise batteries. There were in the Army four thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse of the Catholick Kings; twelve hundred German Foot, and one hundred Horse, paid by the Pope; which Forces were commanded by *Appio Conti* as General of the Church, and by Commissary *Maluagia*; and between five and six hundred German Foot of the Prince of *Aiguillon's* Regiment; three thousand French Foot, and between eight and nine hundred Horse of the Duke of *Mayenne's*, with which were the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, and the Sieur de *Rosne*, and *de la Chastre*. In the Town was Monsieur *d'Estree* with nine hundred Foot and about eighty Horse, but not assisted by the Towns-men, who by an old inclination had ever desired to be under the Confederates. Within a few days three batteries were planted, one of which was that of the Walloons, under the command of *Berlotte*; another where the Spaniards wrought under *Antonio Zunniga*, and *Ludovico Velasco*; and the third, where the Germans were, under the command of *Appio Conti*; and the French being entrenched on the side toward *Chauny* lay upon the way from whence relief might come. This siege lasted but few days, in respect of what men had thought it would; for the Duke of *Mayenne* himself with extraordinary diligence would needs assist at all the works, and show that now he commanded alone without the superiority of other Generals, he knew how with valour and celerity to bring an enterprise to perfection; wherefore being busied both in mind and body, and applying his utmost endeavours to it, he wearied the besieged in so many places, and with so many sorts of Mines, Batteries, turnings of Water, and frequent assaults, that not being longer able to resist, they agreed to surrender, and upon the last of May Monsieur *d'Estree* delivered the Town into their hands, whereupon there was grievous complaint in the Army; for by reason of the pains the Souldiers had taken, they pretended the pillage of it belonged to them; but the Duke of *Mayenne* averse from rapine, and knowing how well-affected the Towns-men were, would not suffer strangers to enrich themselves with the Blood of the French.

But in the time of this siege a thing happened which did very much weaken the Army of the League: for the Colonel of the Popes Lands-Knights having denied to obey *Appio Conti*, who commanded him to make his men work at the trenches, as the other Souldiers did, and being come from words to swords, *Appio Conti* was slain by a thrust the German made at him, who being seized upon in the midst of his men by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, escaped afterwards out of the hands of them that kept him; whereupon the German Captains furling up their Ensigns, refused to bear Arms any more; which not displeasing Commissary *Maluagia*, he (though the Duke stiffly contradicted it) dismissed them from the Popes pay, with no less error than *Matthæus* had formerly sent away the Swissers. The Catholick Kings Foot were likewise diminished, especially the Walloons, who because they were not paid ran in great numbers from their colours; and the French, according to their wont, were both decreased in number and abated in force; wherefore it was necessary to omit the prosecution of other enterprises, *Mansfelt* not being willing to advance further, either because of the weakness of his Army, or of his Orders from the Spanish Ministers, the Parisians almost in an uproar, solicited the enterprise of *St. Denis*; which the chief Commanders not being willing to undertake at that time, and they of the City insisting still that the number of their Garisons might be increased, to the end they might be able to convoy their provisions more securely, which were taken away and hindered by the Kings Garisons, it was determined in *Paris* that the Popes Germans should come in thither, that neither the Spaniards nor the Duke of *Mayenne's* Forces might be increased, but the Legats Order arriving after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commissary had dismissed the Germans, the Duke of *Mayenne* laid hold of the occasion, and in stead of them, sent in the Regiment of the Prince his Son, thereby giving warmth to them that depended upon him, and desired his greatness. *Noyon* being taken, and the Army half dissolved, Count *Charles* retired toward the Confinnes, expecting an opportunity to return into *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* went to *Reims* to meet with the Princes of his Family, and then to go and assist the Assembly of *Paris*.

The King at this time was forced by an unthought-of accident to go to *Tours*, which was not without prejudice to his affairs, and particularly caused the loss of *Noyon*.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* with the Spanish Forces commanded by *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and with the Popes Forces commanded by *Appio Conti*, and with his own besieged *Noyon*.

Monsieur *d'Estree* surrenders *Noyon* to the Duke of *Mayenne* after a few days siege.

It is determined at *Paris* that the Popes Forces should enter into the City, but their Commander being killed, and the Souldiers dismissed, the Duke of *Mayenne* sends his Sons Regiment thither to put heart into his adherents.

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Count *Soissons*, to whom the King had formerly promised his Sister the Lady *Catherine* to wife, departed from the Camp, and went secretly into *Bearne*, where being assisted by *Madam de Grammont*, once beloved, and after forsaken by the King, he intends to marry the Princess; but the King being advertised, goes into those parts, and bringing back his Sister with him, cuts off the Counts designs.

He from the year 1587. had treated about giving his Sister the Princess *Catherine* in marriage to the Count *de Soissons*; but things not having succeeded according to agreements, by reason whereof the Count went unto him to the Army in *Xaintonge*, they remained as ill-satisfied of one another, as the Princess was pleased with the gentle fashion and behaviour of the Count; wherefore though he both departed from, and returned to the party of the Catholics during the States at *Blais*, yet had they continued secret conversation by Letters, whereby their hearts in progress of time were the more enflamed, and they were gone so far by the means of the *Madam de Grammont*, that the Count, who was one of those that thought of forsaking the King, being come to *Tours* under the apparent pretence of visiting his Mother, posted from thence secretly into *Bearne*, with an appointment to contract and consummate the Marriage with the Lady *Catherine*. But the King (who hoped the Marriage of his Sister would be a means to gain him the friendship of other Princes, and therefore made several designs about it) had his eyes so intent upon the Counts actions, that he dived into that intention before it was executed: For having in former times long loved *Madam de Grammont*, and then left her after his departure out of *Gascogne*, as she did all she could to disoblige him, out of disdain for having been forsaken; so his Sisters, most trusty Gentlewomen, being corrupted by the Kings gifts, were as ready to give him notice of every particular: Wherefore being come to the knowledge of all that was in agitation, he gave order to some of the Parliament to go into *Bearne*, and hinder that Contract; and he having before sent the Baron *de Byron* (by him created Admiral) under pretence of taking possession of that dignity in the Parliament, followed him speedily, leaving his household and Council at *Chartres*, and having caused the Princess to come to *Tours*, he brought her with him, after the space of two months, unto the same City, being exceedingly angry to see himself so little esteemed by those of his own Blood. But this was a thing that made him more clearly know, it was high time (nor could he any longer defer) to take some resolution, and to establish his affairs, since that even the Princes of the Blood were openly alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it seemed cross, was yet always favourable to his greatness and establishment.

The Writing of the Kings Catholics fear to the Convocation of the State, is damned by the Spaniards for Heretical, and therefore they urge that it should neither be accepted nor answered.

Whilst they were fighting about *Narbon*, with no less ardour did they contend in *Paris* about resolving upon the Answer that was to be given to the Catholics of the Kings party; for the Spaniards supported by the Cardinal-Legat, strove to cross it, and for a manifest reason alledged, that the Writing being heretical, as the Divines of *Sorbonne* had declared, it could not be taken into consideration, nor ought the States to give an Answer to it: That which made it heretical, they said, was, because it affirmed that Subjects were obliged to yield obedience to their Prince, though he were an Heretic, both known to be such, and condemned by the holy Church: They added, that this was a nec to catch the inclinations of the simple, an obstacle to hinder the progress of the States, and a stone of scandal to retard Gods service; that it was not fit to lose time about their Enemies subtilties, nor about the interpositions of the King of *Navarre*, from whom it was certain that Writing was derived, since they themselves that caused it to be presented, confessed they did it with his consent; and it was subscribed by no other man but *Revol*, one of the Secretaries of State; and therefore, as he that will do well ought not to hearken to the temptations which the Devil suggests; so they that would procure the safety of the Kingdom, and the establishment of Religion, should in no sort mind the interpositions of the King of *Navarre*, and those that spoke by his instigation, and throw his very mouth. On the other side, many of the Deputies said, that they ought not to shut their ears against those of the same Blood and Religion, who perchance sought to amend their errors; and cure their Consciences by retiring to the party of the good Catholics; and adhering to the Confederates; that if it should come to pass, the King of *Navarre* would remain so weak and abject, that it would need no great pains to vanquish him; that all means ought to be used, and covetously laid hold on, which might lead to Peace, that being the last end to which all good Frenchmen tended, and to which for their own safety all aspired; and if with a common consent the way to attain to quietness could be found, why should they ingulf themselves in new miseries of War, and in new perpetual distractions of Arms? That to this end, the Duke of *Mayenne* had in his Declaration invited the Catholics of the contrary party to meet and confer with him: That he had protested this unto them, adding, that if they resolved not to unite themselves with

with him, they should be guilty of all the subsequent mischiefs and calamities: Which Protestation the Catholics trusting in, had now demanded a Conference, and if they should not accept it, they should make themselves guilty of the same crimes: That their speaking by the Kings permission, imported nothing; for things are not done and obtained all at once: That being now subject to his power, they were necessitated to speak in that manner; but that afterwards being perswaded and drawn by little and little, by reason and gentleness, perchance they would make a more clear, more express resolution: That it was no matter though *Revol* were Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, for he was a Catholic, and perchance no less inclined to a revolt than the rest: That it was already known, how even the Princes of the Blood thought of changing their party, that the Catholics were ill satisfied, because the promises of his Conversion were not kept; and therefore it was necessary to foment that beginning of alteration, to help them to bring forth a firm determination, and by means thereof reunite all the Members into one Body, to attain the safety and quiet of the Kingdom.

This was the more plausible opinion, and it was carried by the Duke of *Mayenne's* Confidants, from whom they had received order to bring it to pass; nor did there want any thing, save the Legats consent, from whom neither the States, nor the Duke himself would in any wise alienate themselves. Therefore the Archbishop of *Lyon* went to him, and demonstrated, that if the Proposition of the Royalists were not accepted, some very great tumults would follow; for the Nobility and the Order of Commons stood so stiffly for it, that being tired out with the War, and toil of Arms, they would make an insurrection, with great danger of revolting to the King of *Navarre*: That no harm could be feared from that Conference; for such persons should be employed in it, as there would be no danger of their forsaking the cause of Religion: That if the Catholics of the Kings party would join with that of the Confederates, it would be the very point of Victory; and if on the other side, they should show themselves averse from doing so, it would be easie, after having given satisfaction to the World, and to the States in appearance, to dissolve the Conference a thousand ways: That also in the time of Cardinal *Garnier* there had been many Treaties and Conferences, both by himself and others, and yet no absurdity had followed; and if at that present there should not be one, he would not only be accounted scrupulous and severe, but also obstinate, and an Enemy to Peace: That if only through his opposition, the proposal of the Catholics were not embraced, it would be attributed to an unseasonable pride, and a too interested union with the Spaniards, which perchance would not be pleasing at *Rome*; that already all men murmured at it, and that the demand was so just, that whosoever should refuse it, would manifestly put themselves on the wrong side. The Legat (whose ears were already filled with the popular discourses, which condemned his too much assenting to the Spaniards; the Prevost *des Marchands* having added, that the City, which by this Conference hoped for the benefit of being partly freed from scarcity, would certainly thin if it were refused, and those of the Parliament still boldly crying, and giving out, that they would make Protestation to the States) at last yielded in secret, that the Catholics should be answered, and that the Conference should be accepted, but without his apparent consent. So with a general Vote it was decreed in the States, that the Conference should be accepted, and upon the Fourth day of *March* they framed an Answer to the Catholics of this Tenor.

The Cardinal-Legat perswaded by the Archbishop of *Lyon*, consents in secret that an answer should be given to the Catholics of the Kings party.

WE have seen some few days ago, the Letter which was written to us, and sent by a Trumpet in your Name; which we could wish came from you with such zeal and affection as you were wont (before these last miseries) to bear to the preservation of Religion, and with such respect and observance as is due to the Church, our Lord the Pope, and the holy Chair; we should, for certain quickly be agreed and united together against the Hereticks; nor would other Arms be longer necessary for us, to beat down and break in pieces these new Altars which are set up against ours, and to hinder the establishment of Heresie, which (because it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, when it should have been punished) is not contented now adays to be received and accepted; but will become Mistress, and domineer imperiously under the Authority of an Heretick Prince. And though that Letter name no body in particular, nor is subscribed by any of those whose names

The Tenor of the Answer, wherein the Conference demanded, is accepted.

1593. names it bears, and that we therefore are uncertain who sent it us, or rather certain that it was done at the suggestion of others, (the Catholicks not having in the place where you are, that liberty which is necessary, to hear, deliberate, and resolve with the counsel and judgment of their conscience, any of those things which our misery and the common safety require) yet should we not have so long delayed to make answer to it, had it not been that we stayed expecting to have the Assembly fuller, and increased by a good number of persons who were upon the way to come unto it, of whom the greater part being arrived, out of a doubt that our so long silence may be calumniated, We do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of the rest who are yet to come. And we declare first of all, That we have all sworn and promised to God, (after having received his most precious Body, and the blessing of the holy See by the hands of the Cardinal-Legat) that the scope of all our counsels, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions shall be to secure and preserve the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, wherein we will live and die. Truth it self which cannot lye, having taught us, that by seeking the Kingdom and Glory of God before all other things, temporal blessings shall be added thereunto; among which in the first place after Religion, we put the conservation of the State entire; and hold that all other means of hinderance ruine and destruction, grounded only upon humane wisdom, smell of impiety, are unjust, contrary to duty, and the profession we make to be good Catholicks, and without likelihood of ever having any good success. And we being freed from those accidents and dangers which good men foresee and fear by reason of the mischiefs Heresie produceth, will not reject any counsel which may help to diminish our miseries, or bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too sensible of the calamities which Civil War brings forth, and have no need of any body to shew us our wounds; but God and men know who are the authors of them. It sufficeth us to say we are trained up and instructed in the Doctrine of the holy Church, nor can our Souls and Consciences have repose and tranquillity, nor taste any happiness while they are in fears and jealousies of losing Religion, whose danger can neither be dissembled nor avoided, if men continue as they have begun. Thence it is, that, judging as you do that our reconciliation is most necessary, we seek it with a truly Christian charity, and pray and conjure you in the Name of God to grant it us. Nor let the blames and upbraidings which the Hereticks cast upon us any way hinder you. As for ambition, which they publish to be the cause of our taking up of Arms, it is in your power to see us within, and discover whether Religion be the cause, or pretence; leave you the Hereticks, (whom at the same time you both follow and detest:) If we lift up our hands to Heaven to give God thanks, if we be disposed and ready to follow all good counsels, to love you, to honour you, to yield you that respect and service that shall be due to you; then praise us as honest men, who have had the courage to despise all dangers for the preservation of Religion, nor have wanted integrity and moderation to forbear the thought of any thing that is against honour and reason: but if the contrary happen, then accuse our dissimulation, and condemn us as wicked persons; by so doing you will set both Heaven and Earth against us, and make our Arms fall out of our hands as conquered, or leave us so weak, that the Victory over us will be without danger, and without glory. In the mean time, blame the mischief of Heresie which is known to you, and rather fear that canker that devours us, and every day gets ground, than a vain imaginary Ambition, when there is no such thing; or, if there be, it will be left alone and poorly attended, when it shall be deprived of the cloak of Religion. It is likewise a calumny to accuse us that we bring Strangers into the Kingdom: it is necessary either to lose Religion, with our Honours, Lives and Estates, or else to oppose the force of the Heretick, whom nothing can please but our ruine; and therefore we are constrained to make use of them, since your Arms are against us. They are the most holy Fathers, and the most holy See that have sent us relief; and though many have been called to that supreme Dignity since these last troubles, yet have there not been one of them who hath changed his affection towards us, a most certain testimony that our cause is just. It is the Catholick King, a Prince allied and confederate to this Crown, only powerful now adays to maintain and defend Religion, who hath likewise helped us with his forces and powers, yet without any other reward or recompence, but the glory which so good a work hath justly acquired him. Our Kings against the Rebellion of Hereticks, and in the like necessity have had recourse to them; we have followed their example, without entering
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into any Treaty prejudicial to the State, or to our reputation, though our necessity hath been much greater than theirs. Rather set before your eyes, that the English, who assist you to establish Heresie, are the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, who yet bear the title of that usurpation, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who have constantly suffered death for the service of God and the Church. Cease likewise to hold us guilty of High Treason, because we will not obey an Heretick Prince, whom you call our natural King; and have a care, that bending your eyes to the Earth to look upon humane Laws, you forget not the divine Law that came from Heaven. It is not Nature, nor the right of Nations that teacheth us to acknowledge our Kings, but the Law of God, the Law of his Church, and that of the Kingdom, which require from the Prince that is to command us, not only proximity of blood, which you stand upon, but also the profession of the Catholick Religion; and this quality hath given name to that Law which we call the Fundamental Law of the State, always followed and observed by our Ancestors without any exception; though the other of proximity of blood hath been sometime altered, the Kingdom remaining nevertheless entire, and in its former dignity. To come therefore to so holy and necessary a reconciliation, we accept the Conference which you demand, provided it may be only between Catholicks, and to deliberate about the means of preserving Religion and the State. And because you desire it should be between *Paris* and *St. Denis*, we intreat you to like of *Mont-Martre*, *St. Meaux*, or *Chaillot* in the Queens Palace; and that you would be pleased to send those that shall be deputed by you, upon some day you shall think fit, before the end of this month, whereof we being advertised, will not fail to have ours there, and to proceed with sincere affection, free from all passion, praying to God that the event of it may be such, that we may find the preservation of Religion and of the State; and a good, secure durable peace, as we also pray him to conserve you, and give you his Spirit to know, and imbrace the most wholsom profitable counsel for the general safety.

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This answer being received and read in the Council of the King, who was not yet come back from his journey into *Poitou*, they that were there present determined to prosecute the Conference, but to defer the particulars thereof till they had the Kings consent to them, and the general votes of the Council. Thus by a Writing full of courteous expressions, they excused the delay, and finally, having received their approbation, and replied again with other Letters, they concluded to hold the Conference at *Sarrene* between *Paris* and *St. Denis*.

Sarrene is chosen for the place of conference.

There was great contention at *Paris* about the election of the persons that were to intervene at this Treaty; for the Legat and the Spanish Ambassadors strove to procure that one of them might be *Guillaume Rose* Bishop of *Sens*, a man of a sower nature, and sharp eloquence, which for many years he had profusely used against the Kings, and against their party; and on the other side, they that inclined to peace, desired the *Sieur de Villeroy* might be admitted, who by many was excluded as partial to the King; at last for the common satisfaction they were both left out, and those that were unanimously chosen were, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, *Pericard* Bishop of *Aurancie*, *Godefroy de Billy* Abbot of *St. Vincent de Laon*, the Admiral *Villars*; the Count *de Belin*, the Baron *de Talmay*, the *Sieurs de Montigny* and *Montaulin*, President *Jeannin*, and President *Majstre*, *Estienne Bernard* Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honoré de Laurens* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. They of the Kings side chose the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the *Sieurs de Chavigny*, and *Bellicourt*, the Count *de Schomberg*, President *de Thou*, *Nicholas* *Sieur de Rambouillet*, the *Sieur de Pontcarre*, and Secretary *Revol*. But at the first meeting, with the mutual consent of the Deputies, there were added the *Sieur de Vic* Governour of *St. Denis* on the Kings side, and for the League the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who the Duke of *Mayenne* desired by all means should assist in the Treaty, and in the progress of it the *Sieurs de Rosne* and *la Chastre* were likewise admitted.

The persons elected on both sides to intervene at the Conference.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Feria*, upon the second of *April*, had solemn publick audience of the States, at which in a Latin Oration, he proffered the Catholick Kings assistance and supplies to the Assembly, for the conservation of Religion, and the election of such a King, as the condition of the times required, and likewise presented Letters from King *Philip*, wherein after many courteous expressions, he referred himself to what the Duke of *Feria*, and the other Ambassadors should represent in his name, who

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who said, that they reserved themselves to do it, when the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Printes should be come unto the States, who were yet at the meeting at *Rheims* with the Duke of *Lorain*.

The Lords of the House of *Lorain* being met at *Rheims* to treat about the election of a King, differ in opinions, by reason of their own interests.

There their minds were no less disagreeing, nor the opinions less differing than in the States; for the Duke of *Lorain* seeing the rest were not inclined to yield to him as Head of the Family, and knowing the Spaniards were already engaged in the design of getting the Infanta elected, began to be weary of the War which he had sustained all those late years to the great damage of his people; and though the Spaniards sometimes scattered reports, that the Infanta being chosen Queen should take the Cardinal his Son to be her Husband, it seemed to him so absurd, that he was not at all inclined to believe it, and since he could attain to nothing else, would have been content with Peace, whereby the Cities of *Thoul* and *Verdun* should remain his. On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* desired he should persist in Arms, and favour the election of him and his Sons, thinking his pains and endeavours deserved that reward, and that no other body at that present was able to undergo that weight, but he rather gave signs of this intention than propounded it, and laboured dexterously to insinuate it into the rest; among which as the Dukes of *Annals* and *Elbeuf* adhered to him, so the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Guise* asserted not, both being intent to endeavour for themselves, and full of hopes that the Spaniards might at last concur to marry the Infanta to one of them. The Duke of *Mayenne* strove to withdraw them from that thought, by telling them set it was far from the intent of the Spaniards, who had no other design than to get the Crown into the power of the Infanta, and by her, either in her life-time, or after her death, to have it united and incorporated to that of *Spain*, to which it was very repugnant to give her a young French Husband, and such an one as might be able not only to govern her, but also the people, and sources of the Nobility and Kingdom.

Girolamo Gondi with the Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* consent, treats an Agreement with the Duke of *Lorain* in the Kings behalf, offering him the Princess *Catherine* in marriage for the Prince his Son; and the Count de *Schomberg* treats an agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, but with weak hope of success.

It was a remarkable thing, that though this was an Assembly of the House of *Lorain*, the King should yet have a very great party in it; for by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* consent, *Girolamo Gondi* had formerly begun, and now continued to treat with the Duke of *Lorain*, to induce him and the rest to think of agreeing with the King, proposing his Conversion, full caution and security for Religion, and to give his Sister in Marriage to the Prince of *Lorain*; with those Cities which the Duke desired and pretended to; and on the other side, by means of the Count of *Schomberg* he had begun to deal with the Duke of *Mayenne*, shewing him that they might with much more ease, agree privately between themselves, than if they should stay for the event of the conference, for he was ready to gratifie him, and give him that really in present, which the Spaniards promised but verbally to give in future. But the hopes of every one of these interested persons were still too fresh and lively, which dazzling their understanding and incumbering it with passion, would not suffer them yet to come to his determination; so that neither agreeing among themselves, nor in any third person, they parted at last without any conclusion; save that the Duke of *Lorain* gave Commission to the *Sieur de Bassompierre* his Ambassador to the States, to adhere in the Treaty to the Duke of *Mayenne's* will, in what concerned their interests and the affairs of the Spaniards, without declaring himself in the business of election. The Duke of *Mayenne* with his Nephew of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf*, went towards *Paris*, being yet uncertain of his own design; the Duke of *Lorain* more desirous of quiet than any thing else, returned into his own State, and the Duke of *Annals* went into *Flanders* to assist Count *Charles*, who laid about the confines with the forces of the Catholick King.

In the mean time the Conference at *Surenne* was begun, upon the Nine and twentieth of *April*, where after the first Meetings, and mutual Exhortations, to lay aside all affections and interests, and to apply themselves sincerely to the common good and safety; the Deputies shewed one another their Commissions and Authority; they gave Passports and Safe conducts on both sides, and a discourse was begun of making a Cessation of Arms in the neighbouring places, to the end that the Deputies themselves, and those of their retinue might stay freely, and treat without disquiet or suspicion; which Truce was afterwards established and published upon the Third of *May* for four Leagues about *Paris*, and as much about *Surenne*; which did so rejoice the Parisians, who had been so many years shut up and imprisoned within their walls, that every one might easily perceive how much joy and consolation the peace (if it should follow) would bring.

A Truce is concluded and published, for four Leagues about *Paris*, and as much about *Surenne* for the security of them that treated; the Parisians rejoice at it very much.

bring to all the people of *France*. Both parties agreed in this one point, that peace was necessary to raise up *France* from her present miseries and future ruine; every one praised it, and shewed himself ready to embrace it, but they disagreed absolutely in the means proper to attain it. For the Deputies for the League held, the foundation of all things to be Religion, and that no other agreement ought, or could be concluded, wherein the first and chiefest consideration was not about it; and therefore exhorted the Royallists to forsake the Heretick Prince whom they followed, and uniting themselves all to one end, unanimously to chuse a Catholick King, such a one as might be acceptable and approved by the Pope, by whose establishment, the roots of discord being extirpated, which sprang up from diversity of Religion, they might joyntly come to settle Policy, good Government, Peace, and the repose of the Kingdom. On the other side, the Deputies on the Kings part maintained, that the foundation of Peace, was the acknowledgement of, and obedience to a lawful Prince, truly French, and called by the Laws: Under whose shadow all of them reuniting themselves, troubles and dissensions might be made to cease; they said, Religion was a second consideration, for Christians anciently had obeyed and acknowledged many Princes that were not onely Hereticks and Schismatics, but also enemies and persecutors of the Church, and the most holy, most learned Fathers of Christendom, nay, even the Apostles themselves had taught and preached that obedience; and therefore they exhorted those of the League to reunite themselves in the acknowledgment of their King, to whom the Crown undoubtedly belonged, both by a right lineal descent, and by vertue of the Salique Law; for as he would give all kind of securities, the most full and ample that could be desired for the preservation of Religion; so, in time, he might also be reduced to embrace and follow the Catholick Doctrine, from which he did not shew himself absolutely averse.

The Archbishop of *Lyon*, and the rest of his fellow Deputies could not endure to hear this Doctrine, but abhorred and confuted it with detestation, though the Archbishop of *Bourges*, with great flourishes of Learning, Authorities, and Examples, laboured to maintain it; but they on the other side said freely, This was the way to make the Kingdom Schismatical, and alienate it from the Fellowship of the Catholick Church, and that they would rather chuse to lose their lives, than consent to so brutish, so pernicious a thing; and then again, the Archbishop of *Bourges* demonstrated, that to be so obstinate upon that point, was a subjecting of the Kingdom to the Dominion, not onely of Foreign Princes, but of its most bitter enemies, and that for their parts (since they knew they might live with Liberty of Conscience, and in the maintenance of their Religion) they would not by any means make themselves guilty of so great a crime. After long disputations, the Archbishop of *Bourges* proposed, that since they could not frame themselves to acknowledge a King, that was not publicly and certainly a Catholick, they would joyntly exhort King *Henry* to change his Religion, and come into the bosome of the Church; for if he should accept of the invitation, and resolve to do so, all doubts and occasions of dissenting from him would cease, and if he should refuse it, then every Catholick would forsake him, and all united together would chuse another Prince of the Blood, that were a Catholick, and one generally approved. The Confederates replied, they neither could nor ought to exhort, nor invite the King of *Navar*, who had not onely oftentimes shewed he regarded not, nay, rather despised those invitations, but also having promised them to turn Catholick, had deceived them and abused their credulity; Wherefore, if he had made no reckoning of his friends, much less was it to be believed, he would value his enemies, and that having by the Apostolick See been declared a relapsed Heretick, and excommunicated, they could not treat with him, nor meddle with any thing that appertained to his interest. The Royallists shewed, that now he seemed to be of another opinion, and that the invitations formerly made unto him, had been threatening ones, accompanied with force, and therefore he had rejected them, as unseemly to his reputation; but that now he took those exhortations in good part, which were made to him by way of extremity, and shewed a thousand signs that he would reconcile himself to the Church; that he had not kept his promise by reason of the hinderance of Arms and War, for it was fit his conversion should be with decency and honor, and without violence, and that they hoped to see him a Catholick very shortly: to which the others replied, that they should be very glad of his conversion (if it should come to pass) for his own souls sakes

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1593. but that these were politick artifices to deceive the simple, nor could they ground any resolution at all upon it.

May the 19, 1593, there is a private meeting in the Legats Palace, where the Lords of the House of Lorraine are present, and other Deputies representing the three Orders.

The Duke of Feria in the meeting proposeth the election of the Infanta to be Queen; being Daughter to Philip the Second King of Spain, by Elizabeth eldest sister to Henry the Third, King of France

Divers Sittings were spent in these disputes, without coming to a conclusion; so that many judged (as they had prognosticated from the beginning) that the Conference would be dissolved without fruit. Hence the Spaniards taking courage (both because of the resolution which they of the League shewed, that they would never assent to acknowledge any other King than one that was sincerely a Catholick; and because of the perseverance they saw in the King and his Deputies, to set the point of Religion after the Salique Law and the politick Government of the Kingdom) resolved to make the utmost push for it, and to propose the election of the *Infanta* for the last engine of their attempt. Wherefore the Cardinal-Legate having caused many Processions and Prayers to be made, with no less pomp than devotion; to beg of God that he would inspire the States in the good choice of convenient means for the common safety: There met in his Palace upon the nineteenth of May, besides the Spanish Ambassadors, who were to make the Proposition, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guise*, *Aumale*, and *Elbans*, the Count de *Chaligny*, the Sieur de *Bassompierre* in the name of the Duke of *Lorain*, the Sieur de *la Pierre* for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for the Duke of *Mercœur*, Cardinal *Pelleve*, and the Count de *Belin* Governor of *Paris*; and in the name of the States six Deputies to treat with the Spanish Ministers, the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* and the Bishop of *Senlis* for the Clergy, the Sieurs de *la Chastre* and *Montolin* for the Nobility, the *Prevost des Marchands* of *Paris* and *Etienne Bernard* for the Commons. In this meeting, wherein all the spirits of the States, and the very soul of the League consisted, the Duke of *Feria* began to detest the Conference that was held with those of the Kings party; saying, that the Cardinal-Legate and he had assented to it onely, that they might not fail of any possible means to reduce those that were gone astray into the bosome of the holy Church, and to the end that the obstinacy of the *Politicks* being more clearly seen, who set Religion behind the consideration of temporal things, the World might be certified of their wickedness, and of the good intent of the Catholick King, whose principal object was Christian Charity, the safety of Religion; and (with these conditions) the peace and happiness of that most Christian Kingdom; but this trial also having been made, that nothing might be left undone, and to satisfy the curiosity of all men, it was now at last time to dissolve those Treacheries, which, without hope of any fruit, carried with them the danger of many mischiefs, and thenceforth apply themselves to the election of one, who, by common consent should possess the Crown; for which end they were met together with so much difficulty, and from so many several places: that as the Catholick King, who had spent so much gold, and poured out so much blood of his Subjects for the upholding of that cause, had never refused any overture of those remedies which he believed might conduce to the general good; so at last he was come to know, that there was no better nor more helpful resolution for all parts than one alone, wherein both justice and decency, profit and conveniency did joyntly concur; that this was the election of the *Infanta Clara Eugenia Isabella* Daughter to his most Catholick Majesty, to be Queen of *France*, to whom, as born of *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to *Henry* the Second, whose male-line was ended, the Crown justly and lawfully belonged, as by a thousand Authorities, and constitutions of Law and Reason it was easie to prove; that the King wished and desired the consent of the States should concur in that just election for the more general satisfaction, to the end, that the gratitude of the French, remembring how much he had done for their service, might agree with the justice of the cause, to establish the common peace and contentment. Here he enlarged himself fully in the *Infanta's* praises, shewing her prudence, worth, and magnanimity, qualities worthy to order so noble a Government; and finally concluded, there were already Eight thousand Foot and Two thousand Horse ready at the States least request to enter into the Confines, and that as many more should be ready within three months, all which Forces should be paid by the King till the Wars were ended; and that the Duke of *Mayenne* should have an Hundred thousand Crowns paid him every month to maintain Ten thousand French Foot, and Four thousand Horse; that if these were thought less than was requisite, the Catholick King would add so many more as should be sufficient; it being to be believed, that out of the infinite affection he bore his daughter, he should not fail to imploy all his force to make her a free peaceable possessor of the Kingdom; promising and assuring last of all, that the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* especially,

especially, and then all the other Lords and Gentlemen should be largely requited and contented, the Clergy brought to their first splendor, the Nobility satisfied, the People eased, and all the several Orders of *France* settled, not onely in full peace and tranquillity, but also in the ancient lustre and glory of their Nation.

The Duke of *Feria* having concluded his speech in this manner, the Bishop of *Senlis*, who, with impatience had expected the end of it, without giving time to any other body, whom it concerned, by order, to tell his opinion, stood up, and said scornfully; The *Politicks* were in the right, who had ever said, that interest of State was hid under the Cloak of Religion, which he, with those of his coat, having, with infinite labour, alwayes endeavoured to confute in their Pulpits, he was now sorry at heart to hear from the mouths, and by the confession of Ambassadors, that it was true, and that the Preachers deceiving themselves and others, had defended and protected a thing that was false; that from thenceforward he should believe the Spaniards were no less politick than the *Navarrois*, but he prayed them for their own honor, and the reputation of the *Holy Union*, to desist from that thought; For the Kingdom of *France* having, for the space of Twelve hundred years, been gloriously possessed by Men, according to the institution of the *Salique Law*, it was not fit now to transfer it upon Women, who, by the variety of their Marriages, might call in variety of Masters, and subject the French Nation to the dominion of Forreigners. This free, unexpected answer, made by one of the chief instruments of the League, and of the Kings sharpest enemies, did not onely disinay the Spanish Ambassadors, but many also of the Assembly, doubting that so free a reproof, made without any respect, might discompose all things, and put them in confusion. But the D. of *Mayenne* endeavoured with dexterity to excuse the Bishop of *Senlis* his words, ascribing them to excess of zeal, or too much fervour of mind, intimating, that sometimes he went beyond himself, and shewing, that when he was made sensible of reason, and what was fit, he would of himself correct that, which, being drawn by his first violence, he had so licentiously spoken unawares. The Ambassadors took heart again at the encouragement of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of Cardinal *Pellevé*, and some others; but truly it remained evident, that it was not out of ambition, or for any interests (as many would have had it thought,) but because his conscience so perswaded him, that the Bishop of *Senlis*, in all the course of those commotions, had so profusely favoured the party of the *Union*, and spoken so sharply, and with such continued Liberty against the person of the present King, and the memory of him that was dead. However it were, certain it is, his words helped to abate the credit of the Spaniards, and his example moved many of those who followed the League, not for their own interest, but in respect of Religion.

And yet the Spaniards not losing heart, by reason of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s dissimulation, and of the hopes they had in many of the Deputies, demanded publick audience in the assembly of the States, and having obtained it, upon the Six and twentieth day, *Juan Baptista Tassis* was the first that spoke, who, with a short, but very cunning speech, made the proposition of the *Infanta*, and after him *Inigo de Mendozza* with a long disputation divided into seven heads, explained the rights that she pretended to the succession of the Crown; both of them concluding, that it was not to put that in controversy, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the State, but to inform and satisfy them, that he alledged those reasons, to the end, that with prudent advice, the free disposal of the assembly might go along with right and conform it self to Justice; the *Infanta* being willing to acknowledge that from them by way of election, which duely belonged to her by rightful succession. This proposition was no less deeply resented by the major part of the Deputies, than it had been by the Bishop of *Senlis*; many disdain'd, that the dominion of Strangers should be proposed to them, as to men who were either slaves to the will of others, or ignorant of their own interests: others laught to see this proposition made without preparations of Arms, men, and moneys, as both need and the reputation of the business required: others condemned the Spaniards of little discretion, in having had the boldness to declare their design, without having prepossessed their minds and disposed them towards it, by the powerful preparative of private interest; and there wanted not of those who disputed also about the right; and said, that though women should be declared to have right to the inheritance of the Crown, it probably belonged not to her, but to the Kings of *England*, who were first descended from daughters of *France*, and with whom there had been so many, and so tedious Wars to reject that pretention, and

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The Bishop of *Senlis* though a bitter Enemy to the King, answers the Duke of *Feria* sharply, and opposes his proposition.

The Duke of *Mayenne* dextrously excuses what the Bishop of *Senlis* had too freely spoken.

Juan Baptista Tassis and *Inigo Mendozza* propose the Election of the *Infanta* in the publick Assembly of the States.

The Spanish proposition is ill relished by the Deputies, and esteemed unjust.

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to uphold the Salique Law, and the legitimate succession of the Males. But they that were most of all displeased at it (though secretly) were the Princes of the House of *Lorain*, who pretended to the election themselves, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he more cunningly dissembled it, shewing in appearance, that he would not dissent from the King of *Spain's* will, nor from what he had agreed upon with the Ambassadors at *Soissons*, yet he underhand stirred up the Deputies to reject that proposition, as dishonorable to the Nation, dangerous in point of servitude, hurtful to themselves, and to the liberty of those that should come after them, and not grounded upon any present security, but all vainly supported by the uncertainty of future promises.

The Spanish Ambassadors Answer concerning a Husband for the Infanta.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being assured, that none of his Sons should be named for the Infanta's Husband, prosecutes the Treaty with the Royallist.

There was no doubt but the Deputies would unanimously refuse that proposition, yet not to exasperate the Spaniards, and to give matters time to ripen, they answered, after many complements, that their desire should be taken into consideration, to the end an answer might be given as soon as was possible; which while it was expected, the Duke of *Mayenne*, to find out a way to exclude that business, began to treat with the Ambassadors, what Husband the *Infanta* should have when the States had elected her Queen, and urged them to declare what Commissions they had from the Catholick King concerning that. Their answer was altogether like the rest of the treaty, for they made no scruple to declare, that the King thought of matching her to *Ernest*, Archduke of *Austria*, the Emperors Brother, whom he had also appointed to succeed the Duke of *Parma* in his Country of *Flanders*. This answer was presently excluded; for all replied with joynt consent, That they would not have a King of a different Language and Nation, and that the Ears of Frenchmen could never endure to hear it; and though the Duke of *Mayenne*, for divers respects, feigned to approve of the Archduke, the rest notwithstanding declared freely they would none of him; which, as soon as the Spaniards knew, seeing the *Infanta's* election would go but in a desperate course, if some considerable prop were not added to uphold it, they said they had Commission in case the States approved not of the Archduke, to propose, that the Catholick King would marry the *Infanta* to a French Prince, who should be nominated and elected by him within six months. This Proposition displeased not all of them in general, because there were many pretenders, among which were the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*; but the Duke of *Mayenne* publicly commending the proposition, endeavored to sound, whether they inclined to any one of his Sons, and being sufficiently certified they were not like to consent unto it, because they would not put the Dominion of the Kingdom into his hands, being certain the *Infanta* should be barely a Wife, not a Mistress, he began to draw the contrary way, much more than he had done before, and applied himself to foment the Conference, which had never been intermitted at *Surenne* between the Catholicks of both parties.

Pretenders to the Infanta out of hope to attain the Crown.

The King, who had notice of all that was in agitation, sought every way, by means of the Conference, to hinder each resolution of the States; but his Deputies could not do much in it, by reason of the important opposition of Religion, nay, rather his own Catholicks were discontented themselves, that his Conversion so much desired, and so often promised, was deferred more and more every day. The Princes of the Blood threatned openly, and now thought in good earnest of taking some resolution, because they saw the election of a King of another Family was so closely treated of: And every one, even of himself, fell easily into an opinion, that by going over to the League, he might come to marry the Spanish *Infanta*, and have the protection of the Catholick Kings Forces for his establishment; whereupon, not onely the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was extraordinarily moved, but also the Count de *Soissons* newly disgusted, by being put beside the marriage of the Princess *Catherine*; the Prince of *Conti* reckoned not the insufficiency which was believed of him, to be to his disadvantage, but rather thought the Spaniards would like him the better, to the end that the *Infanta* remaining without issue, there might some hope continue of uniting the Crowns; and finally also, it was pretended to by the Duke of *Montpensier*, a Prince valiant in War, of a most ready Wit, handsome person, and graceful Behavior: So that the *Infanta's* election perchance was better thought on among the King's party, than among those of the League. But particular men, who had not these pretensions, and were onely moved by two respects, That of their own profit, and that of Religion, exclaimed openly. That the Kings stubbornness gave to the Spanish cunning and boldness opportunity of breaking out; that now at last all the Kings excuses and delays were come to an end; that even he himself had no longer the heart to alledge any reason, nor propose any excuse;

cuse; that it was evident he was bewitched with the subtilties of the Ministers, and fast tied to the Doctrine of his Arch-Hereticks; that it was fit now at last to think of their Souls, of their Religion, of the safety of themselves and their Children, and not be made instruments to send themselves, and all their posterity to the Devil; that they should even let him and his desperate Hugonots go to perdition alone, and not carry the whole Kingdom with him for company.

Next after respect of Religion, particular interests immediately succeeded; every one detested the toil and burden of War, every one had compassion upon himself, upon the sufferings of his own Family, the ruine of his domestick affairs, and the continued expences, that found no end; every one sighed, every one longed for the repose and quietness of Peace; and among all the rest, Monsieur d' O, weary of being Treasurer without Money, *Bellegarde, St. Luc, Termes, Sancy, Grillon*, and all the old Servants of Henry the Third, bewailed themselves, and their ill Fortune, which, in stead of a King of Gold, whom they were wont to have, had given them now a King of Iron; for the late King poured forth Gold plentifully to the benefit of his Servants, whereas the present King, in the narrowness of his Fortune, being no less thrifty in his mind and nature, propounded nothing for reward or recompence, but Wars, Sieges, Skirmishes, and Battels: They said, they could no longer sustain the intolerable toils of War, and to live incased between a Back and Brest of Iron, as Tortoises are in their shells; that they could not abide a King accustomed after the Hugonot fashion, to run up and down day and night, to live by rapine, upon what they could find in the miserable Cottages of poor Countrey people, to warm themselves at the flame of an house on fire, to have their Horses their Chamber-fellows when they slept, or the stinking Cattel of wretched Peasants; that War was ordinarily made for some time to attain peace and quietness: But now they served a Prince, who did not care to end the troubles of War, accounting volleys of shot, wounds, death, and battels, to be the only delights. These complaints sometimes accompanied with railings and curfings, sometimes spoken among Proverbs, and in *railleries*, after the French manner, were so publick, that they came to the Kings ears, which were continually filled by the serious advertisements of the Count *de Schomberg*, and the High-Chancellor, to whom was added *Jaques Davy* *Sieur du Perron*, who, while he negotiated the Cardinal of *Bourbons* affairs, had, by disputing, converted the Baron *de Salignac*, one of the Kings Bed-chamber, whom he long had favoured, and by his means had got himself in to converse with the King at idle-times in his most private Lodgings; where, sometimes with serious Learned Disputes, sometimes with Eloquent Discourses, sometimes with Elegant Poetry (in which he was very excellent) sometimes with witty, merry talking, had gotten so much favor, that from pleasing entertainments, he was begun to be admitted also to the handling of more weighty matters. This man seeing the way to his own greatness, was much more easie by the Kings Conversion, than in the Cardinal of *Bourbons*'s Exaltation, set himself to procure it by most vigilant means, and with all possible endeavors, making use of the present conjuncture, with admirable wisdom and discretion.

All these things (but particularly the necessity) which were very well known to the King, at last moved him so, that to begin with some security to declare himself, he gave order to the Count *de Schomberg*, and Secretary *Revol* (who were come to him, to know what they should finally propose in the Congregation at *Surenne*) that they should sound the mindes of the Catholicks of the League, to find how they were like to relish and receive his Conversion, if he should truly determine to return unto the Church; which business having been consulted of among his Deputies, they resolved to make overture of it, by demonstrating to them of the *Union*, that the King would observe his promises within a few dayes; wherefore, being met at their wonted Conference (in which they had till then contended with great difference, and without concluding any thing to the purpose) the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* told them, he brought them good news, and such as would rejoyce every true French heart, which was, that the King, touched by Gods inspiration, would, within a few dayes, comfort all his Subjects, by turning to the Catholick Faith, and reconciling himself to the Church, and that therefore, as they were certain this news would be acceptable to them all, so they prayed them to see what wayes might be taken to favour and promote that Conversion, or to guide it in such manner, that it might bring forth the general peace and quiet. All the Deputies of the League remain'd in suspense at this proposition; but the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, lest that doubtfulness of mind should be

The Royallists excluded from the hopes of reigning, and weary of their toils, make great complaints against the Kings obstinacy, saying, That whereas before they had a King of gold they had now, a King of iron.

The King persuaded by those he trusted in, and by necessity, causes a Proposition to be made in the Conference at *Surenne*, to find how his Conversion would be relished, if he should resolve to turn.

The Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* tells them in the Conference, that the King inspired by God would turn to the Catholick Religion.

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The Deputies
of the League
answer the
Archbishop of
Bouges his
proposition.

The Kings
Deputies pre-
sent a writing
to those of the
League, which
is accepted.

The Spaniards
fearing the
propositions
of the Royal-
ists, offer, that
their King
should give
the Infanta in
marriage to
one of the
Princes of the
House of Lo-
rain.

The Cardinal
Legat writes
to Cardinal
Pellevé, to
make prote-
station in his
name unto the
States, that
they can nei-
ther treat of
the Kings con-
version, peace,
nor anything
else, because
of the Decree
of the Ca-
nons, and
the Oath the
Deputies had
taken.

be discovered, answered readily, that he believed his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they rejoyced at the King of Navar's conversion, that they were very glad of it, and that they prayed to God it were true and real; and for the rest he demanded time to consult with them in private, which having done for many hours, because their opinions differed, they at last answered, that (as they had said before) they rejoyced at his conversion, which though it should come to pass, it belonged not to them to know and declare, whether it were good and sincere or no; that that was a business which concerned the Apostolick See, and the Popes judgment, wherefore they could not so much as think of anything depending upon that Conversion, the censure whereof was not under their power and authority; and though they persisted in this opinion, yet the Kings Deputies would needs present a Writing to them, which contained three points; One an offer of the Kings Conversion; another, that in the mean time while that came to pass, the means of securing Religion, and concluding Peace might be treated of; and the third, that while these things were doing, a general cessation of Arms might be concluded through the whole Kingdom. The Deputies could not refuse to accept this writing, which being by them brought to be discussed by the D. of Mayenne and the States, the debates were very long and various; for as the Royalists endeavoured to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they would not declare what they would do if the K. should publickly return unto the Church.

But this Proposition, made by the Kings party, wrought such a jealousy in the Spanish Ambassadors, that with their utmost spirits they pressed for a resolution to their desire, for the facilitating whereof, they were fain to offer, that the Catholick King should be content, the Infanta should marry one of the Princes of the House of Lorain; but this proposition also raised many doubts, because there was no certainty, the Infanta being once elected and declared, that either she, or the King her Father would observe that promise, to which any private man can hardly be obliged, much less a Queen or Princess; and again, because if that first Husband should dye, she might perhaps take another, either of the House of Austria, or a Spaniard, or of some other Nation; likewise, because she having no children by this marriage, the King of Spain would afterwards pretend right to the Crown; but much more than all the rest, because the Duke of Mayenne saw himself and his posterity excluded from that advantage, whereupon, not only this business was protracted, without coming to any resolution, but it was determined in the States, that there should be a very moderate answer made to the Writing presented by those of the Kings party in the Conference, without untying, or breaking off the thread of that Treaty; wherefore, both parties being met at *la Roquette*, a house in the field, without the *Porte S. Antoine*, the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* said, that as concerning the King's Conversion, they wished it might be real and unfained, but that not only they could not hope it was so, but on the contrary, they had great cause to believe it was not without dissimulation; for if it had proceeded from sincerity, so many delays and puttings off would not have been sought, and if he were touched with any inspiration, he would not remain in his Heresie, and in the publick exercise of it, he would not cherish and keep about him the principal Ministers that taught it, nor would he still leave the chief Offices of the Kingdom in their hands; and yet because it appertain'd not to them to approve or reprove that Conversion, they left the Judgment thereof unto the Pope, who alone had authority to determine it; as for the Treaty of Peace, and security of Religion, they could not treat thereof for the present, for many considerations, lest they should treat with the King of Navar who was without the Church, and lest they should give a beginning to the acknowledgment of him, or anticipate the Pope's judgment. Then for the point of Cessation, they would give answer to that when satisfaction was given to the two first Articles. Thus neither assenting, nor very much dissenting, they held the matter in suspence till the Duke of Mayenne saw whether the business begun with the Spaniards was like to end.

But the Cardinal-Legat being wonderfully solicitous, not only because the Spanish negotiation went on difficultly, but much more because he saw mens minds inclined to the Cessation, out of the hope they had conceived of the King's conversion, and the desire of quiet, used his utmost power to hinder it; and faining himself not well, wrote a Letter to Cardinal Pellevé upon the Thirteenth day of June, praying him to go to the States, and in his name to make them a grave Remonstrance of the danger and damage that depended upon the Conference of *Surenne*, and advertise them that not only

only they could not treat concerning the conversion of the *Navarrois*, but not so much as about Peace, a Cessation of Arms, or any other business with him, as well by reason of the Decrees of the sacred Canons, and the Declarations of the Apostolick See, as also of the Oath they had taken, never to assent to, or make an agreement with the Heretick: Which things were set forth in the Letter with great vehemence of words, protesting in the end, that if they should continue to treat of Peace, or a Cessation, he would depart from the City, and from the Kingdom, that he might neither assent to so great an evil, nor disobey the Commissions he had from the Pope. This Letter first read by the Cardinal in the States, and afterward published in print to the knowledge of every one, did something bridle mens minds, who were running on eagerly toward a cessation of Arms.

In the mean time the King knowing how much harm the want of reputation, and the weakness of their Forces did unto the Spaniards, and not being willing to run into the same error, resolved to set himself upon some notable enterprise not far off, with the noise and fame whereof he might increase his reputation, and foment those affairs that were transacting in favour of him: wherefore, having drawn his whole Army together, with great diligence he commanded out all the neighbouring Garrisons, and made plentiful provision of Cannon, Ammunition, Pioneers, and other things proper for a secure resolute design, upon the seventh of *June* he had laid siege to *Dreux*, a Town but sixteen leagues from *Paris*, which for its situation, fortification, and the quality of the defendents was accounted very strong. The Suburbs of the Town were valiantly taken the first day, they within who before thought to defend them, being beaten back in all places; but when they had lost all hope of making them good, they endeavoured to have burnt them down: The whole Army being quartered with great celerity, they began the next day to throw up four Trenches, which were hastened with so much diligence by the Baron *de Biron*, and the Sieur *de Montlouet*, one of the Field-Marshals, that upon the thirteenth day all four of them were brought into the Moat; nor with less diligence were four Batteries planted; one of four pieces of Cannon against the great Bulwark, toward the *Porte de Chastres*, another of six against the *Porte de Paris*, the third of three against the curtain toward the great Church, and the fourth of five Pieces in the *Fauxbourg St Jehan*, which battered a great Tower that stood on that side. The King hastened and encouraged the Works in all places with his presence, wherefore, scarce was the *Orillon* of the great Bulwark beaten down, when two Colonels drew near to view the place, which being by order taken by the Army for the beginning of the assault, all the several Nations ran furiously to it, striving in emulation who should be first to give the onset. Whereupon the besieged, over-matched by the number and resolution of the Assailants, forsook the *Orillon*, in which a Regiment of French lodged and fortified themselves the same evening. The next day all the Batteries continued playing upon the wall, and the breaches being already made, and the Army ready to fall on in four several places, the defendents took a resolution to quit the Town, and retire into the Castle, which while they were doing in disorder, they were overtaken by the Army, which at the same time entered furiously, and were constrained to fire some houses of the Town, that they might gain time enough to retire. But the fire having done very much harm, and burnt down many buildings on all sides, at last by the Kings command it was quenched by the Swissers, who remained last in the battalia near his Person. So upon the eighteenth day, the Town remained in the King's power: and with the same eagerness they began to besiege the Castle; within the Out-line whereof, without the circuit of the Walls, there being a great deal of Cattel, many of the Townsmen, and also many Country-men who were got in thither; the Baron *de Biron* caused a Petard to be fastened the same night unto the Gate, and with a great slaughter of the enemies, but not without the Blood of his Soldiers, whereof he lost above an hundred, made himself Master of that Out-line, with all the spoil. But the taking of the Castle, by reason of its situation and strength, proved very difficult, and a very great number of men were slain, till the Count *de Torigny* making them work, notwithstanding any danger whatsoever, had perfected a great Trench, under the favour whereof, the Batteries were planted; which, while the King, a despiser of all danger, was carefully overseeing, two Colonels were killed close by him, and the Duke of *Montpensier* sore hurt with a shot in the chin, which grazing upon his jaw, wounded him also in the shoulder. Over against the Kings Batteries there stood a Tower of an ancient form, and of so

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The King, to give reputation to his party, besiegeth *Dreux*.

The defendents quit the Town, and having fired many houses to gain time to save themselves, retire into the Castle.

perfect

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perfect a structure, that the Cannon-shot which were made at it did very little harm. Wherefore an English Engineer, considering the great waste of powder that was spent with very little or no fruit, took a resolution to try another means, and having under shelter of certain double Planks, lined with Plates of Iron got unto the foot of the Tower, he caused three great holes like Ovens to be digged under it, and putting a Barrel of Powder in each, gave fire to them; which though it wrought a much less effect than a Mine uses to do, yet it threw down part of the Tower, and made such a breach, that the Artillery did better service in battering the rest: Nevertheless, the besieged were not dismayed at it, but with valiant constancy continued for some dayes to make resistance. But so diligent and eager was the oppugnation without, that at last, after many experiments, and many assaults, the defendants, who, besides their not having any Commander of authority to govern them, saw also, notwithstanding the nearness of *Paris*, that no relief appeared from any place, resolved, out of extrem necessity, to yield themselves, and delivered up the Castle into the Kings hands upon the Eighth of July.

The Spanish Ambassadors promise in their Kings behalf, to give the Infanta in Marriage to the Duke of *Guise*, as soon as she should be chosen Queen; which troubles the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The Sieur de *Bassompierre*, Ambassador for the Duke of *Lorraine*, demands to have that Treaty suspended till his Master were advertised of it.

The Duke of *Mayenne* desirous to disturb the Proposition of the Spaniards, puts many difficulties into the Duke of *Guise*'s consideration.

The noise of the Kings victory dismayed the Deputies in *Paris*, who, in this interim had laboured no less in their Negotiations, than they at *Dreux* had done in matters of War; for the Spanish Ambassadors being resolved to make the utmost trial, met with the principal of them again in Council, and told them, that to take away all obstacles that might hinder the Infanta's Election, the Catholick King would be content, as soon as she was chosen, to marry her to the Duke of *Guise*, which, though it stung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, yet being taken unawares, and finding no other remedy, upon the sudden, answered, That he returned most humble thanks to his Catholick Majesty for the so great honor he vouchsafed to do his Nephew, but he desired to see the Ambassadors Commission, and to know whether that condition were expressed in it; for, by how much the greater and more desirable the favor was, so much much the more warily was it fit to proceed in believing and embracing it. The Duke of *Mayenne* thought verily, that the Ambassadors had not that power from the Catholick King, but that they propounded it of themselves, being drawn by the necessity of affairs: But he presently perceived the contrary; for, they taking their Commission, shewed an Article, wherein, by way of interchange, was contained the election of the Infanta, with express condition, that she should be married to the Duke of *Guise*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was astonished, not knowing any way to untie that knot, nor could he dissemble so well, but that they all perceived the alteration of his countenance: But the Sieur de *Bassompierre*, Ambassador for the Duke of *Lorraine*, relieved him, who said, that a thing of so great importance ought not to be concluded without making his Master acquainted with it, who, as he had been principally interested in the expences and troubles of the War, so was it fit nothing should be concluded without having first his opinion and consent; and here, to give the Duke of *Mayenne* leisure to think, he enlarged himself in a long discourse of what the Duke of *Lorraine* had done in favour of the League, and of the esteem that was fit to be had of his authority. The Spaniards, when he had made an end of speaking, answered, that they assented the Duke of *Lorraine* should be informed of all that passed, who they were certain would be well pleased with the honor done unto his Family. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having recollected himself, after he had again thanked the Catholick King, and the Ambassadors, said, That he accepted the offer; but, as it was not convenient for the Catholick Kings reputation, that the Infanta should be elected, without having first certain means to establish her: So neither was it fit to hazard the State of his Nephew, and of the whole Family, without those conditions, which being acceptable in general, and necessary for the present affairs, were sufficient to maintain and secure him for the future: For that end he demanded time to consult, and to propose those conditions, wherewith the design was to be effected. With this delay they parted, the Cardinal Legat and the Ambassadors remaining extremely contented, and as it were assured, that they had steered that Negotiation into the desired Haven.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, intent by all means to disturb it, began to work upon his Nephew, telling him, he doubted the Spaniards had propounded him, not to effect the business, but to deceive him; he not being able to persuade himself, that they should have

should have laboured and done so much to bring the Infanta to the Crown, and should after he consent to subject her to an Husband, who being a Frenchman, and encompassed with his own party, might govern her, and be King indeed, while she should only be Queen in title: That no profit nor advantage of any kind whatsoever would redound thereby to King Philip and his Kingdom; for if his desire were only to marry his Daughter to a King of France, he might easily compass that with whosoever should possess the Crown, whether he were Friend or Enemy; but if he aspired to unite the Crowns, this was not the way to do it, and therefore he could not see what advantage could thereby result unto the Spanish Monarchy; wherefore it was good to think and provide against the deceit that might lie hidden under it: That to elect the Infanta now, and reserve themselves afterward to marry her within a certain time, was to refer it to her choice, either to take or refuse him; and that it was necessary to find some conditions to secure the Match: But moreover, though the King of Spain should proceed sincerely in that business, it was good to consider (without letting ones self be deceived by passion) what means there were to establish themselves in the Kingdom. That there was no doubt, but the Duke of Lorraine, who had hoped to have the Kingdom for himself, or that the Infanta should marry the Cardinal his Son, would be disgusted at it, and withdraw his assistance; which, how much hurt it would do, might easily be comprehended, by reason of the opportuneness of his State, through which all the supplies passed that came out of Germany to both parties, that it might be doubted the Duke of Savoy would do the same, who had till now upheld the War in Provence and Dauphine; for being deprived of the hopes he had already conceived of obtaining the Kingdom, or at least some Province of it, he would no longer submit himself and his States to the dangers and calamities of War; that the Duke of Nemours was already almost wholly averse from them, and only the respect he bore to an elder Brother yet held him, which if it were taken away, he doubted not but he would do his own business himself; that the same was to be feared of the Duke of Mercœur, as soon as he should lose the hopes of obtaining Bretagne: Wherefore the Forces of the League being diminished in that manner, it was good to think how they should be able to oppose the Kings power, which they could hardly resist now they were all united; that the King of Spain had his hands full with the War of Flanders, and the commotions of Aragon; that his Kingdoms were exhausted, and that he was indebted Two Millions to the Genoueses; that he had no good Commander in Chief, and therefore it was to be doubted he could not perform all he promised; and in conclusion, that this was a * Rubicon which could never be sufficiently thought upon before it was past over.

To these considerations, the Duke of Guise answered moderately, making shew that he would not digress from his opinion, but in his mind he thought otherwise; whereof his treaties, and manner of proceeding, the concurrence of his adherents, the meetings that were made in his house and his Mothers, gave manifest conjecture; wherefore the Duke of Mayenne, not trusting absolutely to him, thought as a second means to propose such high conditions as might terrifie the Spaniards; which were, That the Duke of Guise should be elected King at the same time when the Infanta should be chosen Queen; that the election should be kept secret till the marriage were consummate; to which effect, the States should give authority to the Duke of Mayenne to declare it when it should be time, that in case the Infanta should die first, the Duke of Guise should remain King alone, and govern the Kingdom by himself; that if she were left a Widow, she should be obliged to take a Husband of the House of Lorraine, with the counsel of the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown; that if she had no issue, the eldest of the Duke of Guise's Brothers should succeed, and so the first-born of the Family successively from male to male; that only French-men should be admitted to Offices, Places, Dignities, Benefices, Governments of Provinces, Cities, Castles, and Fortresses of the Kingdom; that the command of the Militia, together with Authority of Lieutenant-General, should be left unto the Duke of Mayenne; that the Government of the Provinces of Bourgne, Champagne, and Brice, should be given to him and his Heirs for ever, with power to dispose of the Governments, Offices, and Benefices of them all; that Two hundred thousand Crowns should be paid to him in present, and Six hundred thousand more within a certain time, for which fit security should be given him; that the debts should be paid which he had run into upon occasion of the present War; that One hundred thousand Crowns should be assign'd to him for himself and his posterity, as also the principality of Jarrville, and the Cities of

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* Rubicon, the name of a River in Italy, which Julius Caesar passed in the beginning of his expedition against Pompey, whence, To pass the Rubicon, to become a pirate for to enter into a dangerous exploit.

The Duke of Guise, though inwardly of another mind, answers, that he will not digress from his Uncles Commands.

The Duke of Mayenne fain- ing to be glad, but desiring indeed to hinder the Duke of Guise's greatness, asks exorbitant conditions of the Spaniards.

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Vitry and St. Disier; and after many other lesser demands, that all the presentations and nominations he had made of Churches, Benefices, Governments, Donatives, Places and Favours bestowed by him as Lieutenant of the Crown should remain valid, as likewise all those he should make or grant, till the consummation of the Marriage, and the establishment of the King and Queen.

The Duke of Mayenne seeing himself excluded from the Crown, begins a Treaty to bring in the Cardinal of Bourbon.

But these conditions though they were high and difficult, did no way startle the Spaniards, who already were resolved to satisfy him, provided they might attain to the Infanta's election, being certain they should find a thousand occasions, and a thousand excuses afterwards, to observe only what they should think convenient, and being also willing that the Duke of Mayenne should be reasonably requited; but he seeing he was excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of giving the Kingdom to others, and not to him and his posterity, though the foundation of all things consisted in his person and endeavours, and finding that the conditions propounded were neither sufficient to divert the resolution of the Spaniards, nor the inclination, or rather the will and desire of his Nephew, resolved to set other engines awork, to interrupt the course of those proceedings; wherefore having still (though but luke-warmly) kept the Cardinal of Bourbon in good hopes, he now prosecuted that business with so much heat, that it was brought in a manner to a conclusion. He demonstrated to every one of the Deputies apart, how odious a thing it was to break the *Salique Law*; how difficult to exclude the House of Bourbon from the Crown, whose succession they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of Bourbon King, by the name of Charles the Tenth; how dissonant it would be to mens ears, and how displeasing to mens minds, to hear, Treaties were held to introduce the succession of Women; and the assumption of new Families to the Crown, while there were so many Princes in the Royal Family, among which one might be chosen to the general satisfaction; that though the King of Navarre was obstinate in Heresie, the Prince of Conty insufficient for Government, the Count de Soissons lost in the love of the Princess Catherine, who was no less an Hugonot than her Brother; yet was there the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had always with his own danger undauntedly opposed the increase of Heresie; that he was a Cardinal, and had ever been obedient to the Church, so that he could neither be excluded by the Pope, nor by the King of Spain; that he was in his manly age, so that he would be a King without a Guardian, and one able to uphold the Government of the Kingdom himself: that no great trust was to be had to the Spaniards, who had failed so much both in publick and in private; that the Ambassadors who promised such mountains of Gold, lived themselves very mechanically, and without that decency that befitted the Majesty of their King, and the greatness of those offers they made; that he himself had very great sums due to him, and yet could not get so much as a *denier* from them; that they had seen the gallant exploits Count Charles his Army had done; that they had so much to do in Flanders, they would have no leisure to mind other mens businesses; that on the other side the Cardinal of Bourbon's election would of it self destroy and conquer the King of Navarre; for there was no doubt but all the Catholicks of that party would follow the Cardinal, and the Navarrais would be left alone with the desperate dependence of the Hugonots, whereby the French Forces alone would be able to subdue Heresie, and establish a Catholick King, and a true French-man, without having further need of foreign Supplies; that it was needful to remember the Bishop of Senlis his words, and not confirm men in a belief, that whatsoever was past had been done out of interest and ambition, but that it was necessary to shew the world, that the sole respect of Religion had put Arms into their hands.

These reasons seconded by his authority, wrought a wonderful impression in the minds of the French, of themselves inclined to observe the *Salique Law*, and to reverence the Royal Family; wherefore the Duke seeing he had drawn the major part of the Deputies to his opinion, dispatched the Admiral de Villars with a Writing of Articles with his own hand, to confer with the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was at Gallion, a house of the Archbishop of Rouen's; but he was no sooner gone, when he sent one post after him, to give him order not to make too much haste; for President Jeannin, and the Archbishop of Lyons, together with Madam de Montpensier, had put him in mind of another sufficient means to divert the Spanish designs, without running so hastily to the election of one that was his Enemy, who also by the weakness of his understanding, and lightness of his nature, would not be very fit to govern in times of

of so great distraction, and that he endangered the dividing of his party; for it was very probable the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, upheld by the Spaniards, would not approve that election; in which case his third party would be the weakest of them all. The remedy they propounded was that of the Parliament, whose authority they thought sufficient to hinder the business in agitation: wherefore Madam de *Montpensier* having excited the first President *le Maître* to think of some means that the Crown might not fall into the hands of Strangers; he, as a man of good intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the Catholick Religion, set himself boldly to the enterprise, and after the managing of it many days, assembled all the *Chambers* of the Parliament, and with full consent of all caused a Decree to be made of this Tenor following:

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The Duke of *Mayenne* to hinder the Spanish design, gets the Parliament of *Paris* to make a Decree, that the Crown should not be transferred upon strangers, and to give order to him to hinder all such like Treaties.

UPON the Propositions already made to the Court of Parliament by the *Procureur General*, and the business taken into deliberation in the meeting of the Counsellours of all the several Courts, the said Parliament not having (as it never formerly had) any other intention than to maintain the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, and the State and Crown of *France* under the protection of a most Christian Catholick French King, hath ordered, and doth order, that this day after dinner President *le Maître*, accompanied by a good number of the Counsellours of this Parliament, shall make remonstrance to my Lord the Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of *France*, in presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who at this present are in this City, that no Treaty ought to be held for the transferring of the Crown into the hands of Foreign Princes or Princesses; that the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom ought to be observed, and the Decrees made by the Parliament about the declaring a Catholick and French King executed; that the said Duke of *Mayenne* ought to use the authority that hath been given him, to hinder the Crown from being (under pretence of Religion) transferred into the hands of Strangers, against the Laws of the Kingdom: Moreover, that he ought to provide as soon as may be for the repose of the people, by reason of the extreme necessity to which they are reduced, and in the mean time the said Parliament hath declared and doth declare, all Treaties held, or that shall be held for the future, about the establishment of any Foreign Prince or Princess whatsoever, invalid, and of no force or effect, as being in prejudice of the *Salique Law*, and the other Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

This Intimation or Remonstrance being made in publick by the President unto the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he made shew to resent it, and with grave words reprehended the boldness of the Parliament; yet it bridled the Spanish Treaty very much; for the Assembly of the States (which more than any other body ought to have resented this decree of Parliament as made in prejudice of their authority) shewed on the contrary that they were not displeased at it, and being possessed by the Duke of *Mayenne's* Agents, abhorred the attempt of the Spaniards, and inclined to a Truce, concerning which they treated now more hotly than ever in the Conference at *Sorene*. Much greater was the inclination of the Parisians, who tired out with their necessities, and seeing no nearer way to their redress than the conclusion of a Truce, the sweetness whereof they had begun to taste in that little Cessation of Arms that had been in those quarters, impatiently desired an accommodation, and raging, threatened the Princes and the Assembly, unless they took a speedy resolution; and being perswaded that the Spaniards would not suffer their Army to come and help the necessities of the City by opening the passes, only because their aim was to curb them, and keep them down, whensoever the Ambassadors went abroad in publick, they were followed with ill language and cries of derision.

The Spanish Ambassadors going through the streets of *Paris*, are mocked and abused with ill language.

The Kings seasonable resolution absolutely turned the scale of affairs; for he knowing all things that were in agitation, doubted with reason, that if the League should elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Catholicks that followed him, would all be like to forsake him, whereof there appeared such manifest signs, and such open murmurings were heard, that it was not at all to be doubted; for the things alledged by those of the *Union* in the Conference at *Sorene*, had made impression in mens minds; and not only the Princes and Lords, but generally all private men grieved and detested to spend their lives and fortunes for the establishment of Heresie, which formerly they were wont to fight against and persecute; and even in the Kings own lodgings there were

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heard continually the voices of them that cursed their own blindness, and exhorted one another mutually to change their resolutions, showing that since so many promises made to them had been broken, they were obliged to take a course for the maintenance of Religion and their common safety; that it was now no longer time to shed their blood for a Prince obstinate in Heresie, and who abusing their credulity so long, had fed them vainly with words; that it was high time to take notice how by fighting madly, Catholick against Catholick, they did nothing else but prepare the Kingdom, either for the Spaniards or the Hugonots, equally their Enemies; that there had been enough done to maintain the lawful Successor of the Crown, but he shewed himself ungrateful for so great services, and obstinate in his error; that he was no longer to be followed in his perdition; but it was fit (reuniting the Consciences of the Catholicks) to establish a King who should acknowledge the gift he received from the good will of his Subjects; that there were already so many Princes and Lords, so many Knights and Gentlemen, and so many valiant Souldiers slain in that cause, that the Kingdom was thereby all wounded, bloodless, and dying; and if some remedy were not applied, they were near sacrificing the very Carcass of France to the wickedness of the Hugonots, and to the pride of the Spaniards.

The Princes of the Blood after many Consultations, were much more resolute, and the Duke of *Montpensier* who lay in Bed by reason of his hurt, told the King when he came to visit him, that all the Princes were ready to forsake him, and that he himself in the condition he then was, though he did it with grief of heart, would not yet be the last to save his Soul, and satisfy his Conscience. Lastly, the Count of *Schomberg*, being advertised by Monsieur *de Villeroy*, told him, the Admiral *Villars* was already upon his way, carrying Articles to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that within a few days he should hear, he, and all the rest of the Princes would be at *Paris*; that God had given him the victory, and expected the fruit thereof; that having taken *Dreux* with so much honour in the very face of his Enemies, he might now turn unto God, and to the Church, and none could believe he did it perforce. The same did Secretary *Rozol* confirm, the same *Villeroy* himself wrote unto him from *Pontoise*, shewing him, that he could not avoid one of two things, either that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* being elected King, would deprive him of the adherence of his Catholicks; or that the Infanta being chosen with the Duke of *Guise*, all the strength of the King of *Spain* would be poured out, and come like a torrent upon him.

The King moved by these considerations, or else interpreting the so urgent conjuncture of affairs, to be as it were a Divine Inspiration, and thinking himself called by some heavenly and more than humane power, determined to turn Catholick, and sent Messengers with speed on all sides, to call Prelates and Divines to assist and instruct him in his Conversion. Among these, he invited some of the Preachers of *Paris*, whereof some refused to go, and some few, among which was the Curate of *St. Eustache*, (though the Legat advised and commanded otherwise) would yet be present at so solemn an action. All these being met together at *Mante*, the King having received sufficient instruction in matter of the Articles of Religion that were in controversy, seemed to clear up his mind, and visibly to apprehend the Hand of God, which recalling him from his Errors, brought him back into the Bosom of the Church, and made it be noised abroad, that upon the Five and twentieth of *July* he would go to Mass at *St. Denis*.

This news his Deputies brought to the Conference of *Surenne*, where the Archbishop of *Bourges* recapitulating all things past, concluded, That the King had caused the Marquis of *Pisany* to be sent to *Rome*, to find means that his Conversion might be authorised by the Pope; but since he had not been received, he would no longer defer nor put off his own Salvation, but would reconcile himself to the Church, that afterwards he might send to render due obedience to the Pope, by a solemn conspicuous Embassie; and that having consulted with the other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, That the King should make himself be absolved *ad futuram cautelam*, and go to Mass, that afterward he might demand the Popes Benediction; and that this for many reasons had been thought the nearest and most secure way, as well not to put the Crown in arbitrement to the discretion and declaration of Strangers, as to find a speedy remedy for the necessities of the Kingdom. The Archbishop of *Lyons* on the contrary disputed, that he could not be received without the Popes assent, nor absolved without his Declaration, and protested, that they would neither

The King sends for Prelates and Divines from several places, and being instructed at *Mante*, publishes, that he will go to Mass at *St. Denis*, upon the Five and twentieth of *July*.

The Archbishop of *Bourges* tells them in the Conference at *Surenne*, that the King is resolved to reconcile himself to the Church.

account

account him a Catholick, nor acknowledge him King without order from the Pope, to whom absolutely address was to be made, before coming to those Acts of Absolution.

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But the report of his Conversion being spread abroad among the people, there was no curb could bridle men from rejoycing, nor their tongues from divulging and arguing, that upon it depended the Pacification of the Kingdom; so that the Cardinal-Legat in great perplexity of mind, published a Writing to the Catholicks of *France* upon the Thirteenth of *July*, wherein he advertised them of the perverse Authority which some Prelates arrogated to themselves of absolving the King of *Navarre* from Censures, and exhorted them not to believe that false Conversion, and the perverse way that was taken about it: And lastly, forbad all men to go to those Conventicles, with danger of incurring the Censure of Excommunication, and of being deprived of those Ecclesiastical Benefices and Dignities they possessed. But it was all in vain; for all mens minds were in motion, and the obstacle of Religion being removed, every one enclined to acknowledge the lawful Successor, and by that means to pacifie the Kingdom. From this general inclination the Great Ones were not averse; who though they would not swerve from the Popes Judgment, and the Declaration of the Apostolick See, thought yet it was not fit to innovate any thing more, till they saw the effect of his Conversion, and the Popes intention; which opinion fomented by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and forced by the necessity of affairs, was imbraced even by the Duke of *Guise* himself, who in such a conjuncture, thought his election would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself; which he himself, being accompanied by the *Mareschals de la Chastre* and *St. Paul*, gave the Spanish Ministers to understand.

The Duke of *Guise* tells the Spaniards, that his Election to be King of *France* would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself.

In the mean time, half the City of *Paris* ran to the spectacle of this Conversion, even from the day before the Absolution, which was the Five and twentieth of *July*, being the Feast of the Apostle *St. James*; which day, the King cloathed all in white, but accompanied with the Princes, Lords, and the whole Court, with the Guards before them in Arms, went to the chief Church of *St. Denis*, the Gates whereof they found shut, at which the High Chancellor knocking, they were presently opened, and there appeared the Archbishop of *Bourges* sitting in his Chair in his Pontifical Habit, and invironed with a great number of Prelates. He asked the King, Who he was, and what he would have? The King answered, That he was *Henry*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, and that he demanded to be received into the Bosom of the Catholick Church. To which the Archbishop replying, asked, If he desired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented him of his former Errours? At which words the King protesting upon his knees, said, He was sorry for his former Errour, which he abjured and detested, and would live and die a Catholick in the Apostolick Roman Church, which he would protect and defend, even with the hazard and danger of his very life. After which words having with a loud voice repeated the Profession of Faith, which was presented to him in writing, he was with infinite acclamations of the people, and incessant volleys of shot brought into the Church, and kneeling down before the high Altar, he repeated the prayers that were dictated to him by the Archbishop, and thence having been admitted by him to secret Confession, he came to set under the *Dais*, or Cloth of State, and with a general gladness and rejoycing was present at the solemn Mass celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*; after which, thorow a wonderful throng of people, and resounding cries of *Vive le Roy*, which ascended to the Skies, He returned again to his Palace.

The Ceremonies used in the Act of the Kings Conversion upon *St. James* his day, *June* 1593. by the Archbishop of *Bourges* in the chief Church of *St. Denis*.

In this interim affairs having taken such a different impression, the States gave answer to the Duke of *Feria* and the other Spanish Ambassadors; who being brought into the Assembly, the Duke of *Mayenne* gravely gave thanks unto the Catholick Kings Majesty, as well for the assistance of his past, and the promise of his future Supplies, as for the honour done unto his Family, in offering the *Infanta* in marriage to his Nephew the Duke of *Guise*; and in the end told them, that the Assembly having well considered all things, did not think the time seasonable to make any Election, but that they prayed his Catholick Majesty to stay for the ripeness of opportunity, and in the mean time not to fail them of his wonted protection and promised Supplies.

The Duke of *Mayenne* tells the Spanish Ambassadors in the name of all the States, that they had determined to defer the election of their future King till another time.

After this resolution, which dashed all the Spaniards, it was determined in the States, that they should follow the conclusion of the Truce: and though the Legat opposed it strongly, and protested oftentimes that he would be gone; yet being pacified by the reasons that were represented to him, and with the offer of causing the Council of *Trent* to be received in the States, he let himself be perswaded to continue in the City, being also

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The Truce is concluded and published for three months: the States are dismissed, and invited to meet at the same place in *October* following; having first made a Decree for the receiving the Council of *Trent*.

also uncertain whether his departure would be well taken at *Rome*. So in the Conference at *Surrenne* a general Truce was established thorow the whole Kingdom for the three next months, *August*, *September*, and *October*, and it was published with infinite joy among the people in all places; after which the Duke of *Mayenne* being desirous to dismiss the Assembly honourably, first caused a Decree to be made for the receiving the Council of *Trent*, and then assembling the States upon the eighth of *August*, he made them all swear to persevere in the *Union*, and not to depart from it; and having given order that they should meet again in the same place in the month of *October* following, to deliberate upon the state of affairs with those Instructions they should have from *Rome*, he at last dismissed them all, and the Deputies willingly departing, returned to their own houses.

The End of the Thirteenth BOOK.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The FOURTEENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THis Book contains the means used by the King to make his Conversion more fruitful: the continuation of the Truce for the two other months, November and December, at the end of which Meaux first of all submits to his obedience: The Sieur de la Chastre follows with the City of Bourges, and the Admiral Villars with Havre de Grace and Rouen: the Count de Brissac Governour of Paris makes a composition, and the King being received into the City without tumult, drives out the Spanish Ambassadors and Garison; the Cardinal-Legat departed also, and goes out of the Kingdom. Many other Cities follow the Kings fortune; and finally the Duke of Nemours is imprisoned, and the City of Lyons surrenders it self: The Duke of Mayenne renews other conditions with the Spaniard to prosecute the War; he comes to parley with Ernest Archduke of Austria Governour of the Low-Countries, and at last goes into Picardy with Count Charles of Mansfelt and the Army. The King besieges Laon; the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it, there follow many encounters, at last they retire, and the place is yielded: The Sieur de Balagny goes over to the Kings obedience with the City of Cambray; he is likewise received into Amiens and other Towns in Piccardy. The Duke of Montpensier takes Honfleur. There happen divers encounters in Bretagne, Languedoc, Provence and Dauphine. The King being returned to Paris, is in his own Lodgings wounded in the Mouth by a young Merchant; he is taken, confesses the fact, and is executed for it, and the Jesuites are banished out of the Kingdom. The King publicly proclaims War against the King of Spain, and renews the Negotiation at Rome, to obtain Absolution from the Pope. The Marechal de Byron is declared Governour of Bourgogne. He begins the War prosperously in that Province, takes Autun, Auxerre, and at last Dijon, and besieges the Castles of it. The Sieur de Tremblecourt and d'Osnonville enter to infest the County of Bourgogne, (which is subject to the Crown of Spain) and takes some places there.

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The Constable of Castille Governour of Milan, goes to relieve that Province; the King goes likewise to re-inforce those that were besieging the Castle of Dijon. They meet, and fight with wonderful various fortune at Fountain Francoise. The Constable retires beyond the River Soane; the King follows him, passes the River, and they fight again, without any great effect. The King returns to the siege of the Castles, which surrender themselves; he concludes a Truce with the Duke of Mayenne that they might treat of an accommodation; and makes his entry into Lyons. The Pope resolves to give the King his Benediction; the Ceremony is solemnized with great joy at Rome; the news of it is brought to the Court, whither there likewise come good tidings from Dauphine and Languedoc.



THE Kings Conversion was certainly the most proper, and most powerful remedy that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the Kingdom; but the Truce so opportunely concluded, did also dispose the Matter, and gave due time for the working of so wholesome a Medicine; for the people on both sides, having begun to taste the liberty and benefits that resulted from concord, in a season, when Harvest and Vintage made them more sensible of the happiness, fell so in love with it, that it was afterward much more easie to draw them, without many scruples, or cautions, to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience of their lawful Prince. As soon as the Truce was begun, men presently fell to converse freely one with another, being not only of the same Nation, and same Blood, but many of them straitly conjoynd, either by friendship or kindred; in such sort, that discords and hatreds being driven away, or indeed those factions and interests that had kept them so long divided, every one rejoiced to reunite himself with his friends, and again to take up their former love, and interrupted familiarity; and with mutual helps and assistances to redress those necessities and calamities, which the length of War had produced. And there being frequent kind meetings among all persons, every one related his past sufferings, detested the occasions of such wicked discords, inveighed against the Authors of such pernicious evils, praising and magnifying the benefits that followed Peace and Concord; in which meetings and discourses, the Kings Cause being much more favourable, (by reason of the manifest rights he had to the succession of the Crown, and because scruple of Conscience was in great part taken away by his Conversion) those things that were spoken in his favour, began already to be popularly embraced, and mens minds enclined to yield themselves to his obedience, rather than continue so ruinous a Civil War, to satisfy the pretensions of the Duke of Mayenne, or the already manifest intentions of the Spaniards. They of the Kings party, talking and discoursing with those of the League, alledged the clemency and goodness of the Prince they served, the sincerity wherewith he had turned to the Catholick Faith, his familiarity, and affability to all his followers, his valour and courage in Arms, his prudence and sagacity in Government, his prosperous success in enterprises: And on the other side, asked those that were for the League, if they did not yet perceive the Ambition of the House of Lorain, and the subtilties of the Spaniards? Upbraided them, that they made War against the good true Frenchmen, in favour of the ancient Enemies of the Nation, and that with their own bloods they sought to establish the Spanish Monarchy upon the ruines and desolations of France; they deplored so great a blindness, and prayed them, that recovering their wonted charity towards their Country, and taking compassion of themselves, they would take shelter under the benignity of that Prince, who stood with his Arms open, ready to receive and content them.

These things made wonderful impressions in mens minds, quite tired with the War, and beaten down with the calamities they had continually endured; and the King behaving himself with his utmost industry, graciously received, and filled with very large hopes, all those that came to speak with him; and under pretence of going to see their Houses, and their Friends, cunningly made his most trusty Counsellors disperse themselves into several places, labouring with great art to draw men in all places to his devotion. And because the Duke of Mayenne still kept practices on foot, either to

to conclude the Peace, or prolong the Cessation; under this excuse the *Sieur de Saucy*, the Count of *Schomberg*, and *President de Thou* went to *Paris*, and staying there many days, endeavoured both by wary managing the business, and by force of eloquence, to gain the King the most adherents they could possibly. The Archbishop of *Bourges* went to that City, under colour of visiting his Diocese, to treat with the *Sieur de la Chastre*, whom they had already discovered to be much scandalized with the Spaniards manner of proceeding. The High Chancellor went into the Territories of *Orleans* under pretence of over-seeing his own affairs. The first President of the Parliament of *Rouen* went thither, to introduce some Treaty with the Admiral *Villars*, for which effect the King himself also hovered about those quarters. The *Sieur de Fleury* went to *Pontoyse* to treat with his Brother-in-law, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, and the Prelates that had had to do in the Kings Conversion, dispersed themselves into several places, to testify the sincerity of his repentance, and to imprint those reasons by which they argued in justification of that authority whereby they had given him absolution. In this manner the Kings businesses went on within the Kingdom, whilst *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, chosen Ambassador to *Rome*, set himself in order to go with a gallant Train, to yield obedience in the Kings Name unto the Pope, and at his feet to desire the confirmation of matters already done. The King resolved to send along with him *Claude d'Angenes* Bishop of *Mans*, a man for his learning and experience known in the Court of *Rome*, *Jaques Davys* *Sieur du Perron* elected Bishop of *Eureux*, *Loüis Seguiere* Dean of *Paris*, and *Claude Guëin* Dean of *Beauvais*, both famous Canonists: but because the Duke of *Nevers*, both by reason of the quality of his person, and in respect of his indispositions, could not make the journey with so much haste, the King dispatched the *Sieur de la Clieffe* poste before, with Letters to the Pope full of humility and submission, wherein he gave him account of his Conversion, and of the Embassie he had appointed to ask his Benediction, and render him due obedience. The King thought the Duke of *Nevers* very fit for that employment, not only as being a Prince exceedingly famed for wisdom, and a person full of honour and reputation; but also because, being an Italian, besides his readiness of language to be able to negotiate without Interpreters, he had many dependencies among the Princes of *Italy*, and much interest with many of the Cardinals: and he added those four Prelats, that with Canonical and Theological reasons they might be able to represent and maintain what they themselves had done in his Absolution: But he also thought good to send *la Clieffe* before, as well to demonstrate his impatient desire to gain the Popes favour, as because, being a crafty man, and of a deep reach, he hoped he might opportunely dispose the business before the Dukes arrival. Thus did the King set forward the course of Affairs.

But the ends were neither so certain, nor the means of handling them so resolute on the other side; for the interests of the Confederates being various, and often repugnant to one another, matters proceeded not in one and the same way. The Duke of *Mayenne* had given notice to the Kings party, that he had embraced the Truce, to expect what should be resolved on at *Rome*, interposing no other difficulty but the Popes assent about the conclusion of the Peace: And therefore he continued to treat by the means of *Villeroy*, and *President Jeannin*, to whom he afterward added the *Sieur de Bassompier*, to shew, That in all things the Duke of *Lorain* was united with him, and by means of these, who eagerly negotiated the conditions of agreement, he promised he would send the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, and the Baron de *Senecy* to *Rome* to intercede to the Pope, that approving the Kings Conversion, he would be contented that by acknowledging him, an end might be put to the Civil War; and setting this as a prime foundation, he treated nevertheless of securing the Catholick Religion, and of establishing the affairs of his own Family: But inwardly his thought was very different; for his hopes of attaining the Crown not being yet quite extinct, and attributing all sinister events to the malignity of the Spanish Ministers, and not to the intention of the Catholick King, he speedily dispatched his Wives Son the *Sieur de Mompesat*, with *Bellifaire*, one of his confiding Ministers, unto the Court of *Spain* to sound the mind of the King, and of his Council, and to labour to remove the jealousies which the false relations of the Duke of *Feris*, and *Diego d'Ivarra* had begot, and to desire that the Infanta being chosen Queen, might marry his eldest Son, and if the King consented to it, they should settle the conditions, and require such supplies as were necessary to bring the enterprise to a conclusion. For this end he had embraced the

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Truce,

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Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of *Nevers* is chosen Ambassador of obedience to the Pope from the King after his Conversion, and four Prelates are appointed to accompany him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* sends the *Sieur de Mompesat* into *Spain*, to treat with the Catholick King, that the Infanta being chosen Queen of *France*, might be given in marriage to his eldest Son.

1593. Truce, and desired it should continue to give time for the negotiating of this affair, and for those preparations that should be made in *Spain*.

On the other side, the Spanish Ministers were more than ever fixt in their resolution, not to assent to his advancement; being certain, that when he should have attained his intention, he would be most ungrateful for the benefit received, and a most bitter Enemy to their Monarchy: Whereupon they not only continued to honour and favour the Duke of *Guise*, and to promise him the marriage of the Infanta; but the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra*, plotted how to transfer the Duke of *Mayenne's* power upon him, and to suppress his Uncle by his means; and they went on so far, (being drawn by hatred and disdain) that sometimes they thought of taking away his life; but that was contradicted not only by *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Inigo de Mendoza*, men of more moderate minds, and who measured things more by reason than passion: but even the Duke of *Guise* himself was not inclined unto it, being a youth of a solid nature, and right intention; who on the one side abhorred to plot against his Uncle; and on the other, knew himself too weak both in reputation and forces to overcome the mature prudence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the well-grounded authority he had settled in his party. They that helped to keep the Duke of *Guise's* youthful thoughts in the right way, were the Mareschals *de la Chastre*, *Rosne*, and *St. Paul*, who had been long ago bred up by his Father; and both because they had been exalted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and because they knew the arts of the Spaniards, dissuaded him from setting himself upon that precipice, offering to his consideration, that he had neither Men, Moneys, Cities, nor Commanders that depended upon him; that the Spaniards were reduced to extream necessity for want of Money, Count *Charles* his Army destroyed, the affairs of *Flanders* in an ill condition, and without a Head that was able to order matters of so great weight; that on the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* held all the Cities and Fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he had a long settled Authority among the people, was highly esteemed for valour and prudence, that all the French Forces depended upon him, that the Duke of *Lorain* was joined with him, that the Dukes of *Anmale* and *Elbans* depended on his will, and the Parliament was united with him; so that to let himself be ingaged by the persuasions of Strangers, was nothing else but to expose his own fortune to a most certain ruine, to please two malignant Ministers, who sowed fire and flames, to satiate that hatred which without much reason they had conceived; which considerations added to the weakness and ill carriage of the Spaniards, made such an impression in the Duke of *Guise*, that he began to be disgusted with them, accounting himself mocked in the marriage of the Infanta, and being incensed that they should go about to use his youth as an instrument to ruine his Family.

Among these, the Cardinal-Legat, as he did not totally assent to what the Spanish Ministers plotted against the Duke of *Mayenne*; so was he displeased with him for having crossed the election of the Infanta, and of the Duke of *Guise*; in the invention whereof, he thought he had (to the exceeding great glory of his wisdom) found means absolutely to gain unto himself the good will of the Catholick King, with the securing of Religion, and the exclusion and suppression of the King of *Navarre*; which were the three principal points of his designs, and that he had also found a person of the Nation who was liked of by the people, which was the point whereupon he pressed the Popes Commissions; and now seeing that thought frustrated, and the Truce purposely concluded with the contrary party, he was extreamly vexed at it; wherefore still persisting and continuing to perswade the Confederates not to make any reflection upon the imaginary Conversion of the *Navarrois*, (so did he yet call him in contempt) he laboured to make an agreement amongst them, to the end that the States coming to meet again, they might perfect the establishment of the Royalty; for so they called the joint election of the Infanta and Duke of *Guise* to be King and Queen of *France*.

He strove likewise to imprint these opinions at *Rome* by frequent Letters, penn'd according to his desire; but the Pope, a man of mature prudence, suffered not himself to be absolutely perswaded by the Legats intelligence; but being advertised of every particular by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, neither approved the Infanta's election, nor her marriage with the Duke of *Guise*; but seeing the business of it self very difficult, and crossed by so many impediments, he judged it vain, and no way feasible, and therefore cared not to declare himself, seeming only to give his consent, that

The Pope neither approves of the Infanta's election nor marriage, as things not feasible; but only seems to consent unto them not to disgust the Spaniards.

that he might not alienate the King of *Spain* from him, with whom he saw it necessary to hold a good correspondence, lest he should precipitate the affairs of Religion and the Church into some dangerous troubles. He could have been contented from the beginning, that one of the Princes of the House of *Bourbon*, that was truly a Catholic, should have been thought fit to be married to the *Infanta*, because by the election of a Prince of the Blood, all the Catholics of *France* would have been elected; and had by many ways given his Ministers notice of his intentions; and to such a Prince he could have been reunited in one body, and by the alliance with the Catholic King, his assistance would have been assured; so that neither the temporal state of the Kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of Strangers, nor the spiritual of being oppressed by the Hugonots. For these very reasons he approved not the Duke of *Guise's* election, believing the Catholics of the Kings party would never be brought to acknowledge and obey him, whereby the War would become perpetual; and he was likewise of opinion, that King *Philip* would never give his Daughter to a weak, poor, and ill-grounded Prince, with almost a certain danger, that she should never be Queen, more than in name; besides, he perceived, this hated election would gain the King of *Navarre* many adherents, and by this means turn more Cities to favour him in one day, than he would be able to take by force in his whole life time. One thing only kept him doubtful in this thought, which was the unfitness of those Princes that were nearest in Blood; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was but a weak man, and very unhealthful; the Prince of *Conty*, by reason of his natural defects, unable to govern, and also (as it was said) to get children; the Count *de Soissons*, though of a good wit, and noble courage, was so drowned in the love of the Princess *Catherine*, (the Kings Sister, an obstinate Hugonot) that the Catholics durst not confide in him; and the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of exceeding great worth, was more remote in the degrees of Royal Consanguinity; wherefore as soon as he knew that the King was disposed to return to the obedience of the Catholic Church, he began to incline towards him, thinking it the shortest way to settle the commotions, and remove the dangers of the Kingdom. But it was a business not to be resolved on without great deliberation, as well to be assured that his Conversion was sincere, and that the heart of a Lyon lay not hid under the skin of a Lamb, as because it was not known which way the French would receive that alteration; wherefore there was much to be thought on, both to be by all means possible made certain, that the King was a true sincere Catholic, and that the people would willingly submit themselves to his devotion; for if the King should but feign that Conversion for Interest of State, Religion would be thereby left in manifest danger; and if the people should not accept him, the Popes own reputation would be in no less danger, for having run to approve the Conversion of a relapsed Heretick, more hastily than the common people; besides, the respect which by all means was to be born to the King of *Spain*, (already possessed of the Title of *Defender of the Catholic Faith, and Protector of the See of Rome*;) who very clearly shewed he had spent so much Gold, and poured out so much Blood of his Armies to preserve Religion in the Kingdom of *France*, counselled that in a matter of high importance he should proceed with great dexterity, length of time, and with well weighed, and perfect maturity; being certain that King *Philip's* supplies had hindered the King from getting the total Victory, whilst he was obstinately an Hugonot, and therefore to them was the reward and gratitude due for the Confirmation of the *Gallique Church*, and great heed was to be taken not to establish a fierce and powerful Enemy, who might afterward disturb him very much in the possession of his Kingdom.

By these reasons the Pope was persuaded not to yield, nor assent at the very first, but to let himself be counselled by the event of things; and yet to begin his principal intention, he thought good to give some glimpse of hope to those who negotiated secretly at *Rome* for the King, whom they called King of *Navarre*. The Pope favoured a principal servant of the Family of Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, named *Giacopo Sannesio*, a man obscurely born in a Castle of the Marches of *Ancona*, who had long served the Cardinals Father (as they said) for a Companion of his Studies, whilst he was employed in causes in the *Rota Romana*, and because he was exceeding faithful, and not of too searching a nature, and therefore a man of very few words, the care of all his Domestick affairs lay upon him. This man was acquainted and sometimes held discourse with *Armand d'Offset*, a man born at *Auch* in *Gascogne*, of mean parentage, but of a most excellent wit, and most regular course of life, who having been brought to

1595

Pope *Clement* could have wished that some Catholic Prince of the House of *Bourbon* might be elected to the Crown, and that he should marry the *Infanta*; but when he heard the Kings intention to turn Catholic, he began to incline to him.

Giacopo Sannesio a Servant to the Family of *Aldobrandino*, favoured by *Clement*; the Bishop, was afterward enriched, and elected Cardinal.

Armand d'Offset Agent at *Rome* for the Queen Dowager of *Henry the Third*.

1593.

Giacopo Sannesio, a Friend of *d'Offat*, hath order from the Pope to treat with him (but as of himself) about the affairs of the King of France and the Kingdom.

Monfignore Serafino Olivario having received Letters from the King, brought by *Monfieur de la Cielie*, shews them to the Pope.

The *Sieur de la Cielie* is brought secretly to the Pope, leaves the Kings letters, and departs with no very good answer.

Cardinal Toledo treats often with *la Cielie*, but resolves that the Pope cannot admit the Kings desires, he being a relapsed Heretick.

D'Offat gives order to *la Cielie* to persuade the King to go on in shewing himself a Catholic.

Rome by *Monfieur de Faux* Ambassador from *France*, staid afterward behind in the Family of *Cardinal d'Este*, and besides his singular learning and eloquence, was by many years experience, exceeding well versed in the Court of *Rome*. He being a private man, and long time accustomed to be seen in the Court, was not observed by any body, and managing Spiritual businesses for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the Third, as the erecting of Monasteries, granting of Indulgences, and other such like things, might without shew of any business of importance, negotiate with *Sannesio* in a corner of the Antichamber, seeming only to talk of ordinary things; wherefore, the Pope who avoided open proceedings, and desired to draw the thread of the business secretly, gave order to *Sannesio*, that as a Friend to this French-man, (who was well known to him to be a man of worth) he should begin as of himself, to treat of the Kings affairs, which Treaty being begun thus under-hand, proceeded so far, that when *Monfieur de la Cielie* arrived, there had already past many overtures on both sides.

The *Sieur de la Cielie* was come to *Rome*, with Letters from the King to *Monfignore Serafino Olivario*, Auditor of the *Rota Romana*, a Prelat, who because he was descended of French Ancestors, had ever been faithful to the Crown, and desired to serve the Kings cause, but saw the passage very difficult, not only to introduce the *Sieur de la Cielie* to have audience of the Pope, as he required, but also to treat in any kind of way, concerning that business: yet being a man of a sweet pleasing nature, both very dextrous, and affable in his discourse, and therefore acceptable to the whole Court, and even to the Pope himself; coming to have audience, under pretence of other businesses, he at last brought in that; and in the end would needs shew the Pope the Letter which the King had written to him. The Pope, either taken at unaware by *Serafino*, or intending to persevere constantly in his dissimulation, or being troubled to be in a manner constrained to impart his designs to other than those he had determined, shewed himself highly displeased, and would have broke off the discourse of that business, if the Auditor talking sometimes seriously, sometimes in jest, had not appeased him, concluding finally, That one ought to lend an ear even to the Devil himself, if one could believe it possible for him to be converted. The Pope likewise turning the business into mirth, jested a great while with *Serafino*, who pressing him still for an answer, and urging him to hear *la Cielie* not as the Kings Agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perchance to his satisfaction he might learn many secret particulars: the Pope told him he would think upon it. The same evening by the means of *Sannesio* he gave *d'Offat* directions to go talk with the Gentleman that was come from *France*, and to give him good hopes of his negotiation, and advertising him (but as from himself) that he should not be dismayed for any difficulty whatsoever he should meet withal.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani* the Popes Chamberlain went to *Serafino's* House, and taking only the *Sieur de la Cielie* into his Coach, brought him by a private way into the Popes Chamber, where he having told him that the King of *France* had sent him to his Holiness Feet to present those Letters to him, (which he had in his hand) the Pope without staying till he had made an end, brake forth into angry words, complaining that he had been deceived, and that he had thought he should have received a private Gentleman, and not an Agent of a relapsed, excommunicated Heretick, and commanded him to depart out of his presence. *La Cielie* not at all dismayed, (according to the advertisement that had been given him) added many words of humility and submission, and said that being able to do no more, he would leave the King his Masters Letters, and the Copy of his Commission, which he had brought in Writing; and though the Pope angerly bade him carry them away, yet he left them upon the Table, and having kiss'd his Foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up.

The day following he had order to confer with *Cardinal Toledo*, with whom having had very long discourses three several times, still it was concluded that the Pope could not admit the Kings desires, because he had formerly sent to the Apostolick See, and yet had returned to the vomit of Heresie, and the Cardinal having taken particular information of the Kings businesses, and of the condition of the affairs of *France*, left the matter so undecided. But the night before *la Cielie* departed from *Rome*, his answer was with great secrecy given him by the means of *d'Offat*, that the King should go forward in shewing himself truly converted, and should give signs of being sincerely a Catholic; for the Pope was resolved to reject the Duke of *Nevers* to satisfy his

own

own Conscience, and to try the Kings constancy, yet with the opportunities of times, he should at last obtain his intent.

With this conclusion *la Cliche* went toward *France*, without having so much as conferred with *Monsignore Serafino*, (which had been given him in charge) the Pope desiring that every one should believe him most averse from approving the Kings Conversion, which the greater part of the Court of *Rome* thought to have passed with some dis-reputation to the Pope, and that a few Prelats had licentiously arrogated that power to themselves which belonged only to the Apostolick See; whereupon there wanted not those who wrote, and printed divers Treatises, wherein they argued that a relapsed Heretick, and one declared to be excommunicate, could not be admitted to a Catholick Kingdom, and that the determination of the French Prelats to give him Absolution was Schismatical, and to be censured by the *Tribunal* of the *Holy Office*, for so they call the judgment of the Inquisition. *Arnand d'Offat* wrote against these Treatises, maintaining with many reasons taken out of the Sacred Canons, and from the Doctors of the Holy Church, and with many pious Christian Considerations, that the Pope not only might, but also that he absolutely ought to approve the Kings Conversion, and admit him to the obedience of the Catholick Church; but though in that discourse there was never any thing found, that was not manifestly Catholick, and though he wrote with exquisite modesty, yet could he not get leave to print it; and all he could do, was to shew some Copies of it to discreet persons, which was not only not reprov'd, but secretly approved even by the Pope, who was not displeased that mens ears should by little and little be made acquainted with this Doctrine.

1593.
Divers Treatises are printed against the Absolution of *Henry* the IV. given him by the French Prelates.

D'Offat answers them, but cannot get leave to print his discourse.

But the Legat being wholly of another opinion, and more than over-desirous of the proposed Spanish Election, was busie in managing all the Engins that were proper to bring that design to perfection; and therefore besides many exceeding long Letters, and many distinct informations sent to the Pope and to some Cardinals, he at last also dispatched *Pier Francesco Montorio*, to give more exact advertisements, and to cross the Kings Embassy; but a politick device which he subtilly made use of, redounded to the exceeding disadvantage of his design; for *Montorio* falling sick at *Lyons*, took a resolution to dispatch his instructions poste to *Rome*, to the end they might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*: in which the Legat having written that he thought it convenient, by some means which should seem fit, to hold the Duke of *Nevers* in hand, and prolong the business, till it could be known whether, when the Truce was ended, the Spaniards were like to attain to the Election, and to have sufficient Forces in readines to establish it, keeping the King of *Navarre* also doubtful in the mean time, to the end he might not apply his wonted spirit to make preparations for War. This Item served the Pope afterwards for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who having in this interim passed *Langres*, was gone toward *Italy*, through *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Grisons*; but being arrived at *Peschia* a Town in the *Valteline*, he was met by Father *Antonio Possentino* a Jesuite, who was sent to him by the Pope, to let him know, that as he rejoiced in the report of the King of *Navarre's* Conversion, so could he not admit an Embassy, in the name of a King, whom he acknowledged not for such as he stil'd himself, and that therefore he might spare the pains of coming. The Duke not losing heart, though much troubled, went forward, but not the straight way to *Rome*, and being come to *Mantua*, he sent *Possentino* back unto the Pope, endeavouring by many reasons written to him, and the Cardinals his Nephews, to obtain permission to execute his Embassy, and the Marquis *de Pisani*, Cardinal *Gondi*, and the Monsieur *de Metz* Leiger Ambassador for the King at *Venice* being come unto him, they with a common consent wrote, and treated many things, which were promoted at *Rome* by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors: Cardinal *Toledo* also carrying himself very favourably in the business.

The Pope sends *Antonio Possentino* a Jesuite to tell the Duke of *Nevers*, that he should not come to *Rome* to execute his Embassy, because the King was not yet acknowledged a Catholick: thereupon the King goes to *Mantua*.

The Pope making use of the advertisement the Legat had given him, to colour his secret intention, shewed that Article of *Montorio's* instructions to the Duke of *Sessa* Ambassador for the King of *Spain*, and to many Cardinals depending upon that party, and feigned to let himself be drawn by that respect, and that to that end he would not totally exclude the Duke of *Nevers*; and though both the Duke of *Sessa*, and the Spanish Cardinals stily opposed it, affirming, that at the end of the Truce, the Catholick King would certainly have such forces in a readines, as should, to the general satisfaction

1593.

The Pope sends *Possentino* again to the Duke of Nemours to bid him come on to Rome, where he should be received as a Catholick Italian Prince, though not as an Ambassador.

An insurrection in the City of Lyons against the Duke of Nemours, who being Governor, plotted to make himself absolute Lord, but being discovered, he is imprisoned, and the Government given to the Archbishop of the City.

faction of the Confederates, be able to establish the proposed election; yet the Pope took a middle way, which was to admit and hearken to the Duke, not as an Ambassador from the King of France, but as a Catholick Prince, and as an Italian, and therefore he sent back *Possentino* to him again to *Mantua*, to let him know that his intention, and last determination, and to advertise him that he should come without state, and with but a small retinue, to the end he might not be held, and acknowledged in the degree of an Ambassador, but of a private person; which though the Duke thought very hard, and from so difficult a beginning, guessed he should compass no prosperous end of his Embassy, yet he resolved to go forward, as well because he would not digress from the Council of the Venetian Senate, and the other Princes who were the Kings Friends, as also to make the uttermost tryal in a business of so mighty importance.

But in France, there happened at this time (besides the ordinary distords) a new misfortune to the League: for the City of Lyons unexpectedly took Arms against the Duke of Nemours, who was Governor thereof, and proceeded so far that they made him prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre Aussy*. The Duke of Nemours, a Prince of great courage, but of a haughty imperious nature, being departed full of pride by reason of his prosperous defence of Paris, and come unto his Government of Lyons, had begun to nourish a design within himself, to reduce it into a free Signiory; together with *Beaulieu* and *Forez*, (which were three Prieccincts jointly under his command) and to add unto them as many other places and towns as he could; and his Brother the Marquis of St. Sarlin having the Government of *Dauphine*, he designed to unite that Province also unto himself, and by that means joining his State to that of the Duke of Savoy, (from whose House his Family descended) to be assisted, and fomented by him; but because he knew that neither the Nobility, nor people would ever consent willingly to separate themselves from the Crown of France, and submit themselves unto his tyranny, he had by long contrivance been raising all those means, which might serve to obtain his intent by force: For this purpose he had under several pretences, driven many of the chief Citizens out of the City; and exposing the Nobility to manifest dangers, was glad to see many of them perish, who were able to oppose his design; nor that sufficing him, he had upon several occasions caus'd a great many Forts, and Citadels to be built, which incompass'd the City of Lyons with a Circle, having begun at *Toissy*, *Belleville*, and *Tisy*, and then continued at *Charlien*, *St. Bonnet*, *Mombriçon*, *Nirieu*, *Cointrin*, *Vienné*, *Pépet*, and lastly to perfect that circumference, he treated with the *Sieur de St. Julien*, that for Fifty thousand Crowns he should let him have *Quirien* to raise another Fort there likewise, and passing from the Circumference unto the Center, he meant to rebuild the ruined Citadel of Lyons, and designs and platforms were already drawn for that purpose. In these strong places he kept Garisons of Horse and Foot, that depended upon his pleasure, and not having enough to maintain them of his own, sed them with extorting from the people, and with a pernicious licence of plundering and spoiling the Country. To these actions were added outward shews not unlike them; for he kept about him a great retinue of Strangers, undervalued and abused the Nobility of the Country, and in his publick writings no longer used the Title of Governour, but barely of Duke of Nemours, as an absolute Lord. In this interim the time of holding the States at Paris being come, he, though invited, would neither go, nor send thither, still speaking dishonourably of the authority and actions of the Duke of Mayenne, his Brother by the Mothers side, and when the Truce was concluded, though he declared that he accepted it for as much as concerned the Kings party; yet nevertheless would he not dismiss the least part of his Souldiery, but rather entertaining and raising new every day, kept the Country more oppressed in the time of the Cessation than it was before in the heat of War. The principal men and the people of Lyons moved by all these things, resolved to complain of it to the Duke of Mayenne, who for the safety of the City, and the maintaining of his own reputation, thought it good to withstand his Brothers ambitious designs, and therefore under colour of desiring that the Archbishop of Lyons should go to Rome with Cardinal Joyeuse, he caus'd him to go unto that City, giving him Commission to maintain the peoples liberty, and to give him notice of every particular, to the end he might seasonably provide against danger. This Remedy hastened the breaking out of the mischief; for the Duke of Nemours having no good correspondence with the Archbishop, and seeing the Citizens ran popularly after him, thought to draw some Companies of Souldiers into the Town, either for his own

own security or to bridle the people, who were already half in an uproar! But this news being come amongst the Citizens, increased by the wonted additions of the report, they no longer delayed to rise, and having taken Arms, barricaded up the City, and shut the Duke into a corner of the Town, who having in this necessity desired to speak with the Archbishop, whom before he had not cared to see, the event proved different from his designs for the Archbishop making then no account either of his words or complements, (which he knew proceeded but from necessity) continued to exhort the people to defend their own liberty; and told them which way they should manage their business; so that, finally the barricades being made up close, and a greater number of men being in Arms, they of the Council went armed unto him, and told him that for the security of his person, the people being in a mutiny, and for the safety of the City that was in danger to be sacked, they intended he should retire into the Castle of *Pierre Aulse*, which not being able to contradict, he was at last brought thither, and with more severe Guards diligently looked to; and the chief men having assembled the Council, made a Decree whereby they deprived him of the Government, and likewise the Marquis his Brother, (though from him they confessed they had never received any injury at all) and gave the Authority of Governing the City unto the Archbishop, which was afterward confirmed upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

By a Decree of the chief heads of the City of Lyons, the Duke of *Nemours* is put out of the Government, and the Marquis of *St. Sulin* out of that of *Dauphine*.

But this news being come to *Paris*, many were exceedingly troubled at it, the Spanish Ministers grieving that they had lost one of the chief Instruments of their power; but *Madam de Nemours* being afflicted much more for the danger and ruine of her Son; and many there were who perswaded themselves that all the mischief proceeded from the Duke of *Mayenne*, who not only had desired to abate the arrogance of his Brother, but had also done it to get *Lyons* into his power, and join it to his Government of *Bourgogne*, that he might remain Master thereof, whatsoever the event of things should be: it being known to every one, that in the Treaties he held with the King, and also with the Spanish Ministers, he had demanded that *Lyons* and *Bourgogne* should jointly be granted to him; wherefore though he laboured to seem discontented and angry at the accident that had happened unto his Brother, there was not any body that believed him, seeing he not only omitted to treat of freeing him indeed, though he talked much of it; but also that he had confirmed the authority of Government upon the Archbishop, which those Citizens had conferred upon him.

This new dissention opened a passage to new troubles, which at that time were like to have steered a more prosperous course; for the Duke of *Mayenne* had at last reunited himself, and composed matters with the Duke of *Guise*, their common Friends having made them perceive that their discord would in the end be the ruine of them both; whereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, to free himself from the aspersions of crossing his Nephews advancement; and the Duke of *Guise*, not to shew himself regardless of his Uncle's labour in upholding the party, were mutually agreed that if the Duke of *Mayenne* found means to attain the Crown for himself, the Duke of *Guise* should be obliged to keep united with him, and assist him with all his Forces; and in case the Duke of *Mayenne* could not obtain the Kingdom for himself, or for one of his Sons, he should likewise be obliged to help the Duke of *Guise* to attain it either by the marriage of the *Infanta*, or some other way.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and *Guise* united themselves in affection, and agree jointly to favour each other in the election to be King.

This accommodation did infinitely displease the Duke of *Feria*, and *Disgo d' Ivarra*, who saw themselves deprived of the proper instrument to keep the Duke of *Mayenne* in jealousy, and to be able when occasion should require by that means to keep down and suppress his greatness; and yet *Juan Baptista Tassis* being returned from *Flanders*, who had been there to confer with *Don Pedro Enriquez* of *Toledo*, *Condé de Fuentes*, who held the Government of the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Archduke *Ernest*, began to treat of piecing up again with the Duke of *Mayenne*, such being the opinion and desire of that principal Minister, who perceiving well that without his help and consent, all other attempts would prove fruitless; and though the Spanish Ministers at *Paris* thought themselves deceived, and ill dealt withal by him, yet the *Condé* did not judge it a fit time to take revenge, but to manage things with patience and dissimulation, since they had seen by experience, that the principal Deputies of the States depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*. At *Tassis* his arrival they began to treat, the Legat also interposing, though he was much more inclined to the Duke of *Guise*, but not being willing to digress from the King of *Spain's* resolutions;

Tassis being returned from *Flanders*, treats with respect and confidence with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

not

1593. not only by reason of his ancient inclination, but also because in that State of affairs there was no breaking friendship and good correspondence with him, without indangering Religion.

The King of Spain, provided the Infanta might be elected, resolved to give her any husband.

Tassers began with letting him know the good will the *Condé de Fuentes* bore him; then he went on himself condemning the perverse carriage of his Collegues; and in the end intimated and implied; but did not affirmatively declare, That the Catholick King would be content to give the *Infanta* to one of his Sons, provided they could but agree in other matters. After this conference the other Spanish Ministers began to change their manner of proceeding, and to bear more respect to the Dukes person and authority, and the Cardinal-Legat himself to do the same; so that it was easie for him to believe there were new orders come from Spain in favour of him; as it was true, King Philip being finally resolved to procure the *Infanta's* election with any Husband whatsoever, and having conceived an opinion, that the Duke of Mayenne standing fixt in his design of attaining the Crown for his posterity, would consent to most profitable conditions for his Kingdom.

But that which made the business difficult was the present weakness of the Kings condition; for his Treasures being wonderfully exhausted, he could not make those great preparations that were necessary to uphold so great an enterprise, and he was brought so low that the Merchants could no longer accept his Bills of Exchange; and the Genoueses, to whom he was indebted many Millions, refused to make new payments: this weakness was with all possible care concealed by his Ministers, and they continued to affirm that against the end of the Truce, twelve thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse should be in a readines to enter into *Picardy*, and one hundred thousand Crowns should be paid to the Duke of Mayenne every month to maintain as many French Forces; and, to gain the greater belief, they strained themselves to pay him twenty thousand in present, and give him Bills for sixty thousand more upon their credits, striving in all things to win, and still to increase new hopes in him every day more and more.

This piecing up with the Spaniards, besides the accommodation with the Duke of Guise, was the cause of interrupting the Treaty of Peace which had been continued many days with the Kings Deputies, in which though not only Monsieur de Villeroy, but also President Jannin had laboured very much, yet was there not any conclusion agreed upon; for the King was grown jealous, that the Duke of Mayenne treated but feignedly, without any desire to conclude; and this suspicion grew from some of the Legat's Letters to the Pope, which were intercepted, wherein though he spoke very ill of the Duke of Mayenne, and imputed it to his ambition, and malignity that the *Infanta* and the Duke of Guise were not elected; yet he affirmed he had tyed him up in such a manner, that he should never conclude an agreement with the King of Navarre, and that he had taken a secret Oath to that purpose in a Writing signed by him, the Dukes of Aumale and Elbeuf, the Count of Brissac, the Marshalls of Rosne, and St. Paul, and many others of the principal men, a Copy of which Writing was inclosed in the same Letters, wherefore Villeroy going to the King to treat on still about the Peace, he would do nothing else but shew him the Letters, and the Writings, whereof he also gave him a Copy to shew the Duke of Mayenne, who not being able to deny, but that the Oath was true, excused himself yet for it with saying, that he had always intended to conclude the Peace with a reservation of the Popes consent; and if he should approve it, he was then immediately loosened from the obligation of that Oath; nor did the sight of the evil which the Legat wrote concerning him, at all withdraw him from his resolution; for he interpreted those to be old opinions, and that the new orders from Spain, had varied all things; wherefore applying himself to join close with the Spanish Ministers, from the Treaty of Peace, he came to negotiate the prolonging of the Truce, to give things time to ripen; nor was it hard to obtain the lengthening of it, for the other two months, November and December, because the King also desired, before he moved any farther, to know the event of the Duke of Nevers Embassy, and the Popes resolution.

The Truce is prolonged for two months more.

But this accommodation made up betwixt the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards, made the Pope more wayward to the Kings entreaties, not being willing to admit his reconciliation, whilst he doubted the French of the League would not follow his judgment, but continue the War, being united with Spain; it being fit for the reputation of the Apostolick See, for the security of Religion, and for the satisfaction of the World, that

that he should be the most wary, the most constant, and the last man that should approve the King's conversion; lest those mischiefs which might proceed from the establishment of a King not yet well settled in his Religion should be imputed to his lightness and credulity; wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* being come near to *Rome*, he sent *Possessino* to him again, to let him know, he intended not he should stay above ten dayes in the City; and that he had forbidden all the Cardinals, either to see him, or treat with him; which things, though they seemed wonderful hard to the Duke, yet being resolved to prosecute the business to the utmost, and believing all these were but shews to set a higher price upon his favour, he went on and entered privately into *Rome*, at *Porta del Borgo* upon the twentieth day of *November*.

He went the same evening privately to kiss the Pope's feet, and at the first audience desired only that his time might be prolonged, the term of ten dayes being too short to treat of a matter of so great moment, and that he might have leave to visit the Cardinals, and to deliver the Letters he had to them from the King, offering to treat of that business in the presence of the King of Spain's Ambassadors, and of the Duke of *Meyenne's* Agents, and to shew them that a King of *France* could not but be received, who humbly suing, and being converted, desired to return unto the obedience of the Church. He had no other answer from the Pope, but that he would consult with the Cardinals, and with their Council would resolve; but in his following audiences the Duke endeavoured, with many reasons, and great eloquence, to persuade the Pope, first of all, that as being Pope, and the Vicar of Christ, he could not reject one who being converted return'd into the bosome of the Church; and then, that as a prudent experienced Prince, he ought not to refuse the obedience of the stronger, and more powerful party; and finally, that as a Protector of the Common liberty, he ought not to permit, that the Kingdom of *France*, by the continuance of a ruinous desperate War, should run the hazard of being divided and dismembred, with manifest danger of the liberty of all Christian Princes, and particularly of the See of *Rome*. He enlarged himself upon the first point with proofs of Scripture; and with many examples, and authorities of the Primitive Church, and the Fathers; but knowing the difficulty did not consist in that, he enlarged himself much more in the other two; and thinking the Pope persisted to be so obdurate, particularly because he doubted of the King's Forces, and that the Catholics of the League, united with the King of *Spain*, were strong enough to suppress him, he took much pains to shew, that the major part of the Parliaments of *France*, all the Princes (except those of the House of *Lorraine*,) the flower of the Nobility, and two thirds of the Kingdom followed his party, that his adversaries were few and of mean quality, disagreeing among themselves, and full of desperation; so that to the King's perfect establishment, and the total quiet of the Kingdom, there wanted nothing but the consent of the Apostolick See, and the benediction of his Holiness. He reckoned up all the King's Victories, which did indeed proceed from his valour, but also from the power and strength of the Nobility and people that followed him; he exaggerated the weakness of the Spaniards, who might well keep the Civil dissensions alive by art and industry, but could not sustain them by force of Arms. He strove to shew the articles and artifices they used, and that their aim was to usurp the Kingdom, as they had lately discovered their secret in the proposition of the *Infante*: he excited the piety and justice of the Pope, not to make himself author of violating the *Salique-Law* and the other fundamental ones of the Kingdom; not to assist those who laboured to dispoile the lawful blood of the Crown; and finally not to permit, that discords should be sowed under his name to the utter ruine of the foundations of a most Christian Kingdom, and first-born of the Holy Church. Last of all he concluded, that he brought along with him some of those Prelates who had given the King absolution, and who desired to present themselves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, their mindes giving them, that they should make him clearly see, they had not swerved from the obedience of the Apostolick See, nor from the rites and customes of it, and that what they had done was conformable to the Sacred Canons, and the mind of the Holy Church.

The Pope was constant in his determination, and though the Duke's reasons moved him, yet being resolved howsoever not to be too hasty; and so much the rather because the Duke seemed to urge, that the Absolution given to the King in *France*, might be confirmed and approved, but not to propose the submitting of the King to the censure and judgment of the Apostolick See, he said, he would think upon an answer, and

1523

The Pope sends the Duke of *Nevers* word, he intends not he shall stay at *Rome* above ten dayes.

The Duke of *Nevers* being entered privately into *Rome*, goes the same evening to kiss the Pope's feet.

1593.

The Duke lets the Duke of Nevers know, that he cannot prolong the term of ten dayes, and that he could not admit the Prelates who came along with him to his presence, unless they submitted themselves to the Penitentie of *Maggiore*, who is the chief Officer that hath power to absolve a Penitent. The Duke of Nevers falling upon his knees beseeches the Pope at least to give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientie*, and it is denied.

The Duke of Nevers goes away discontented from Rome. The Duke comes to Venice, where the French Prelates print a Book of the reasons that moved them to absolve the King.

two dayes after, not having the heart to talk any more with the Duke, and to answer his reasons, he let him know by *Silvio Antoniani*, that he could not prorogue the term of ten dayes, lest he should discontent those Catholicks, who, being obedient to the Church, had ever, and did yet uphold Religion, and that that time was sufficient, having nothing else to treat of; that it was not fit he should speak unto the Cardinals, having been admitted as a private man, not as an Ambassador; and that as concerning the Prelats that came along with him, he could not admit them to his presence, unless first they submitted themselves to Cardinal *Santa Severina* the chief penitentiary, to be examined by him.

This was the Popes last resolution: for, though the Duke obtained another audience, yet could he not alter his determination, but he sent Cardinal *Toledo* to let him know the same things, with whom, having had many long discourses, the substance of the business varied not; and though the Duke, very much troubled with a Catarrhe, was of necessity faine to stay beyond the time of ten dayes, yet could he not prevail any thing at all; and finally, being brought to his last audience in the Popes presence, after having at large repeated all his reasons, he fell upon his knees, and beseech'd him, that at least he would give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientie*: but neither could he obtain this, and departed exceeding ill satisfied, having finally, with more liberty and spirit than he was wont, aggravated the wrongs that were done unto the King, and the injuries that were put upon his own person, who, forgetting his want of health, his age, and quality, had taken the pains to come that journey, for the safety and quiet of Christians.

After he was gone from his audience, Cardinal *Toledo* came to him again, and told him, that if the Prelats did so much abhor the face of Cardinal *Santa Severina*, they should be heard by the Cardinal of *Aragon*, Chief of the Congregation of the *Holy Office*; but the Duke answered, that they being come as Ambassadors in company with him, he did not mean they should be used as Criminals, but that the Pope should admit them to his presence; for, to him, as Head of the Church, they would give a good account of their actions: but the Cardinal replied, that it was not decent for them to contend and dispute with the Pope; the Duke added, that he would be content, if the Pope would but admit them to kiss his feet, and that then they should render an account to Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his Nephew.

But neither would the Pope accept of this condition; whereupon the Duke of Nevers having distinctly set down in writing all that he had done, departed from Rome, taking the Prelates with him, and went to the City of Venice, where the Bishop of *Mans* published a little book in Print, wherein he set forth the reasons that had moved the Prelates to absolve the King; one of which was, that the Canons permit the Ordinary, whom it concerns, to absolve from excommunication, and every other case when the penitent is hindered by a lawful cause from going to the Popes feet himself; and another, that in the point and danger of death the penitent might be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, being every day exposed in the encounters of War, to the peril of his enemies; and besides that, conspired against a thousand ways by their wicked treacheries, to which reasons, adding many others, he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad suam Cautelam*, reserving his obedience and acknowledgment to the Pope, which he at that time fully rendered him.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope having assembled the Cardinals in the Consistory, declared; That he had not been willing to receive the King of Navar's excuses and obedience; because his conscience would not suffer him to lend his faith so easily to one that had formerly violated it; that to admit one to so potent a Kingdom, without great regard, and due caution, would have been a very great lightness; and being certain, that others would have believ'd, and follow'd his judgment, it was not fit, proceeding blindly, to make himself a guide to the blind, and to lead the good French Catholicks to the ruinous precipice of damnation; and that therefore they should be assured he would continue constant, and would not accept of false dissimulations, and politick tricks in a matter of so great consequence. Thus the Spaniards remained satisfied, and the Catholicks of the League contented; yet was not the King moved with all this, or turned aside from his first intention, the *Sieur de la Chelle's* relation having applyed an antidote to that so bitter potion.

The King at this time was at *Melun*, in which Town one *Pierre Barriere* was taken

taken and put in Prison, who had conspired to kill him; but by whom he was instigated is not well known: he was born obscurely in the City of *Orleans*, and followed the profession of a Waterman in those Boats that are wont to go upon the *Loyre*; but being known for a man of a brutish cruel nature, he had been made use of in the acting of many villanies: from which, and the dissoluteness of his carriage, being grown to a vagabond kind of life, he was at last fallen upon a thought of this fact, which having imparted to two Fryers, the one a *Capuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, he was (as he said) earnestly persuaded to it by them; but being yet doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he would needs reveal his Secret also to *Seraphino Banthi*, a Dominican Frier, born in *Florence*, but living in *Lyon*. This man struck with horror, to hear the boldness, and wicked intent of this Fellow, dissembled nevertheless, and told him, It was a thing to be well considered, and not to be so soon resolved on, and had him come again the next day for his answer, which he would think upon, and study to know how he should determine the question; in the mean time, thinking how the King might be warily advertised of it, he intreated the *Sieur de Brancaloon*, a Servant of the Queen Dowagers, who was then in the City, to come to him the same day and hour he had appointed, and they being both of them some at the same time, he made them stay, and talk a great while together, to the end that *Brancaloon* might know *Barriere* perfectly: then having told him he could not yet resolve what counsel he should give him, because the question was very full of difficult doubts, he dismissed him, and discovered the whole business to *Brancaloon*, to the end, that giving the King notice of it, the mischief might be prevented. *Barriere* going from *Lyon*, and coming not many dayes after to *Paris*, conferred about it, first with the Curate of *St. Andre*, and then with his father *Vadere* Rector of the Jesuits, who (as he affirmed) persuaded him to do the deed: wherefore he departed resolved to attempt the execution of it, and being come to *St. Denis*, lingered after the King, to find an opportunity to effect his design. But being come with the King to *Melun*, *Brancaloon* also came thither, by whom being known and pointed out, he was put in prison by the Archers of the *Grand Trench*, and being examined and brought face to face with *Brancaloon*, he confessed that he was once minded to have killed the King, and that he had conferred about it with the Dominican Fryer at *Lyon*; but that afterward having heard of his conversion, he was resolved not to do it; and that he was going towards *Orleans*, in which City he was born, being determined to put himself into a Monastery of *Capuchins*; but these things he spoke with so much insolency, and contempt, as plainly showed him to be guilty, having also a great two-edged knife about him, which gave proof of his intention to commit the fact; whereupon, having been many times examined, and tortured, he was by the appointed Judges condemned to die; which sentence being told him, with persuasions to a sincere confession of his crime, he confessed the whole business, and related all the particulars distinctly: thence being brought to the place of execution, and having ratified all he had said before, he suffered the usual punishments, as a reward for his audacious rashness.

1593.
Pie. re Barriere,
a Vagabond
fellow, ha-
ving conferred
with two Fry-
ers, resolves
to kill the
King, but be-
ing discover-
ed, he is taken,
tortured, and
put to death.

In the mean time the term of the Cessation was almost expired; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, intent to gain the most time he could possibly, had again dispatch'd the *Sieur de Villeroi* to the King, to get it prolonged; but he not having been able to obtain any thing, he after him dispatched the Count *de Belin*, who was persuaded he should compass it; but the King was utterly averse from that intension, knowing certainly that they desired to gain time, not to expect the resolutions from *Rome*, but indeed the supplies and preparations from *Spain*; and therefore he was determined to lose no more time, but since his adherents had held many practices through the whole Kingdom, he made haste to let the War break out, that he might see whether those Mines that were prepared, would take effect. Wherefore, though the Duke of *Mayenne*, besides others, used also *Sebastiano Zambetti* (who of a Merchant of *Piedmont*, was become a man of great business in Court) and though the President *de Thou*, and the Count *de Schomberg* met with him at *Paris*, yet was it not possible by any conditions, how large soever, to persuade the King to prolong the Cessation, no not for a few dayes.

But, no sooner was the term of the Cessation expired, when the effects of the Kings conversion, and of the practices his Ministers had opportunely set on foot, began to show themselves; for Monsieur *de Vinty* Governor of *Meaux*, who being deep in arrears, had, in the time of the Truce, been with the *Coadjutor* to get them paid,

1593.

* No Money, no
Vitty.

Monsieur de
Vitty, Govern-
nor of Meaux,
goes over to
the King's
Party, and
causes the
Townsmen to
send Deputies
to the King, to
deliver the
place into his
hands.

and having not onely failed of that which he thought it most reasonable to demand, but also waited many dayes before he could be admitted to tell his business, a thing absolutely intolerable to the French impatience; he came back full of spite and discontent, often repeating those words, which are almost grown a Proverbe, * *Point d'argent, point de Vitty*; wherefore, taking occasion from his inability to pay the Soldiers himself, he called the people of the Town to a Parly, and told them, he had constantly followed the party of the League as long as the business was matter of Religion; but now the King was turned Catholick he would not deny him due obedience, nor follow them, who, for ambition and interest, would prosecute the War, and therefore delivered up the keys of the Town into their hands, and leaving them at liberty to dispose of themselves, went straight to put himself on that side which he manifestly saw was in the right; and putting on a white Scarfe, and making all his Soldiers wear the same colour, was going to march out of the Town; but the people, excited by those few words, and the example of their Governor, cryed out unanimously, *For the King, for the King*; and presently chose four Deputies to go and deliver the Town into his power.

This place was exceeding opportune, as well by reason of its nearness to *Paris*, as because it shut up the passage of the River *Marne*; but, the example of it to all the other Towns of the League, was of much greater consequence; for being the first that submitted itself to the King's obedience, it was likely to open a way to a novelty of such importance, that the sum of affairs consisted in it; wherefore, the King deliberating (as his custom was) in his Council what course was to be held, and what conditions should be granted to it, was in a little suspence, because the opinions of his Counsellors were different among themselves; some of a more fiery nature (who could not so easily forget the past insolencies of the Common people, and the inveterate enmity of the factions) with the adherents of the Hugonots, (for yet some of them came to Council) would have had them that returned unto their obedience, bridled with severe conditions, and that they should redeem their former faults, and offences by sharp repentance, being desirous to wreak their long settled hatred, and proudly to triumph upon the enemies which they already accounted conquered. But the more wise and moderate men considered, that these return'd unto their obedience, neither through the necessity of a Siege, nor for fear of force, but out of the instinct of their own will, and that it was therefore fit, the example should be such as might invite and allure other places of greater importance to follow it, that this beginning was to serve for a rule to other Compositions, and Agreements; wherefore, since the King used all possible endeavours to win the People to acknowledge him, it would have been a cross Counsel, now to reject, and fright them with sharpness, and severity; that it was necessary to help this first motion to bring forth a happy obedience; to accommodate ones self to the imperfections of the subjects, and with the baite of good usage to promote those wavering thoughts: they called to mind how pernicious the pardon granted to the Flemmings by the Duke of *Alva* had been by reason of his strictness, exceptions, ambiguities, and want of sincerity in the conditions, whence it came to pass; that that strictness and doubtfulness of pardon alienated more Cities and more People from the Catholick King, than so many punishments, so much blood, and so many violences had done before; therefore, they exhorted the King to grow wary at his Neighbours cost, and not to run into those errors which they heard the Spaniards reproached with every day.

The Duke of
Alva, by
granting a
strict ambigu-
ous pardon to
the Flem-
mings, alie-
nates more
Cities from
the Catholick
King, than his
former pu-
nishments and
rigours had
done.

The Deputies
of Meaux are
graciously re-
ceived by the
King, who
grants them
many Privi-
leges, and
confirms the
Government
upon Mon-
sieur de Vitty,
and his Son.

This opinion being without doubt the best and most fruitful, suited wonderfully with the King's nature inclined to gentleness and clemency, and with the necessity of his affairs; and the knowing that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet suppressed, and utterly ruined, induced him to consent unto it, and to resolve to open that so large gate, that all others might run willingly to pass in at it; wherefore, having received the Deputies with kind demonstrations, he graciously granted the Citizens of Meaux all conditions they knew how to ask, among which, that the exercise of the Catholick Religion alone should be allowed in their Town; he granted them also exemption from many impositions, the confirmation of the offices and benefices granted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the continuation of the immunities and ancient Privileges of the Place; he confirmed the Government upon Monsieur de Vitty, and after him upon his eldest Son, and gave him a certain sum of money to pay his debts, and also paid the Soldiery that followed him, and entertained them in his service.

This

This blaze of liberality, and clemency, spread a wonderful lustre through all parts of France, so that upon the fame thereof, many others resolved to follow the example, and to try if they could find more quiet in the King's goodness, than in the troubles of the War, and so much the rather when they saw the King's Edict published upon the fourth of January, 1594. Wherein, with a great and specious flourish of words, he confirmed the foresaid Conditions; which Edict was also received without any kind of delay, and approved of in the Parliament.

About the same time the *Sieur d'Estremel*, Brother in law to Monsieur de *S. Luc*, and Governor of *Peronne*, *Mondidier* & *Roye* made agreement for himself, and those three principal Towns of *Piccardy*, to put themselves under the King's obedience; but to make his revolt more specious, he would first make a Truce for many months, whereby those afore said Towns remained neutral. The same did the *Sieur d'Alincourt* and Monsieur de *Villeroy* with *Pontoyse*; for the King was content they should remain neutral by a particular Truce, that he might make use of *Villeroy* in drawing on the treaty of Peace, which was yet kept alive with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

But Monsieur de *la Chastre*, one of the principal men of the League, declared himself for the King freely, and without any pretence in the beginning of February; for having in vain demanded supplies of men and money from the Spanish Ministers, being incensed at the repulse, and weary of the discords, which he saw in his party, he agreed with the King, by means of the Archbishop of *Bourges*, for himself and the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, obtained for them the same conditions that had been granted to *Meaux*, and for himself the confirmation of the degree of Marshal of France, conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of the Governments he had in possession, which after him were to come to his Son the Baron de *la Maison*.

In the same month happened the composition with the City of *Lyons*; for the people of that place having expected that the Duke of *Mayenne* should either come thither in Person, or send a man of great authority to accommodate the business with the Duke of *Nemours*, and to remove him from that government, by giving him a convenient recompence, he not being able to leave *Paris* in the condition it was in, and not having an equivalent recompence to offer, (for the Government of *Guienne* which the Duke of *Nemours* would have accepted, was already promised to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquis of *Villars* who commanded there, would not hear of submitting himself to any other body,) he could neither remedy the popular Commotion, nor oppose the force of the Marquis de *S. Sorlin*, who, to recover his Brother, molested the whole Country of *Lyons* with exceeding great plunderings, and also straitned the City; wherefore, after the people had in vain expected many months, not knowing what resolution to take, they at last called Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, who was near that place with a good number of men, and having brought him into the City, publicly set up the Royal Standard, having thrown and beaten down all the Arms and Monuments of the League every where.

A while before the City of *Aix* in *Provence* being straitly besieged by the Duke of *Espermon*, and seeing they could receive no relief, neither from the Duke of *Savoy*, nor from any other part, the Count de *Carisy* being in it, who had married a daughter in law of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and was Commander in Chief of the forces of that Province, took a resolution, since the King was turn'd Catholic, to submit himself to his obedience; but upon condition that the Duke of *Espermon* should not come into the Town, to whom both the Citizens, and the Count himself professed a particular enmity, in which point they were satisfied by means of Monsieur *Les-diguieres*, and of Colonel *Alfonso Corso*.

In this so violent a motion of the principal Heads and Cities of the Union, part whereof had already agreed to obey the King, and part talked of agreeing, the Cardinal's Legat was in great fear and trouble, for he having promised at *Rome* that there should follow no alteration upon the King's conversion, was now in great perplexity, for fear the Pope should account him, either a light, or a negligent man, and having persuaded and urged, that the King's Embassy might not be received by the Apostolick See, he doubted not that all sinister events would be imputed to his evil Counsel, and was extremely vexed that so much labour, and so great endeavours used by him to bring the affairs of the League to the end he pretended, should now prove vain and unprofitable, and that all the engines of his contrivance should be overturn'd in a moment; wherefore, being fallen into a profound consideration, he,

1593

1594

The *Sieur de Estremel* and Monsieur de *la Chastre*, compound with the King for themselves and their Government.

The City of *Lyons* declares for the Kings Party.

The City of *Aix* in *Provence* besieged by the Duke of *Espermon*, being not relieved, submits to the Kings obedience.

1594.

The substance
of a Writing
set forth by
the Cardinal
Legate, to keep
the Catholick
League on
foot.

he, after long consultation, resolved to set forth a Writing, wherein he informed and assured the people of *France*, that the Pope, judging the King of *Navar's* conversion to be feign'd, and counterfeit, had neither approved it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambassador, but as an Italian Prince, and a private person. He protested moreover, that the Pope would never approve of that conversion, nor admit the King into the bosome of the Church: upon which ground he exhorted all Catholicks not to swerve from the judgment and union of the *Apostolick See*, nor from the obedience of the Pope. With this Writing he thought he might stop the motion of mens minds, that inclined to submit themselves to the King, and judged, that the scruple of Conscience would be stronger to withhold them, than the consideration of temporal Laws to spur them on; but this Counsel produced a contrary effect; for most men were incensed, that so great a Prince should be refused to be received to repentance, whereas the Church is wont, with so much pains, to endeavour, and with so much tenderness to embrace the conversion of every meanest sinner; and the people being persuaded, by a desire of Peace, and rest, and abhorring civil discords, which had produced so many mischiefs, both in publick and in private, were much the more ready to take a resolution, and shelter themselves under the Kings obedience; and yet the Legate, either persevering in his old opinions, or his heart not suffering him to unsay what he had writ and advised at *Rome*, continued firmly to uphold the League, as well with the Pope, as among the French Lords themselves, with whom he was every day at close consultations.

Equal to his was the trouble and terror of the King of Spains Ministers, who seeing some of them were fallen off, whom they accounted the most confiding men; and though pieced up, yet not totally trusting to the intelligence they held with the Duke of *Mayenne*, not seeing that the Duke of *Guise* himself was very well satisfied, they knew that all their hopes would vanish, if the present need were not speedily succoured, which was very difficult, as well by reason of the want of money, as the ill conditions of the affairs of *Flanders*; and though they bestirred themselves with all their power, they could neither find any that would pay their bills of exchange, nor that would have to do with them; and to be fain to stay for those provisions that came slowly out of *Spain*, was a remedy too late, and too far off; they resolved therefore to make use of the nearest assistance, which was that of *Flanders*, and dispatched many messengers to hasten the advance of the Army, and at last *Juan Baptista Tassis* went thither himself: but besides that, there was no way to pay their Forces; for want whereof, some Spanish *Tercios*, and a great many Italian Horse had mutined. Count *Charles of Mansfeld* also, who was to command the Army (desiring, for his own interests, not to stir from *Flanders*, either because he inclined not to obey the Duke of *Mayenne*, or else not thinking, that with so few men, and no money, he could come off with honour,) interposed many delays, and many hinderances, so that the Spanish Camp, small in number, ill provided, and disagreeing, durst not advance from their own confines.

The Duke of
Mayenne was
verging in so
many adverti-
cies, that he
to make his
peace with the
King.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was more afflicted and troubled than all the rest. He saw the Count de *Canby*, and the Marechal de *la Chastre* lost, in whom he was formerly wont to confide more than in any others; the City of *Lyons* gone, to which place he had resolved, what ever happened, to reduce the reliques of his fortune; his Brother the Duke of *Nevers* no longer Prisoner to the City, but to the King himself; *Meaux* and *Fontenoy* in the Kings hands, which Towns so nearly beidled the City of *Paris*, the people whereof, allured on the one side by the benefits of Peace and Plenty, and on the other spurred on by their ancient inclination, and respect of Conscience, wavered in their resolutions, and it was uncertain to which Party they would at last incline. For all these causes he was many times thinking to make his peace with the King, because he was forsaken of all, so which the *Sieur de Villeroi* persuaded him with frequent Letters, proposing to him honourable and advantageous Conditions; which he shewed him, that when he was brought lower, he could not be able to obtain; but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head of the *Union*, nor as Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but as a particular Prince, and private person; but on the other side, he knew not how to quit his old hopes, in which the Spaniards did all they possibly could to confirm him; besides that, to make his Peace without the Popes consent, to whose judgement he had referred himself, seemed to him so undecent a thing, and so contrary to his reputation, that he could not accommodate his mind unto it, and whatsoever the event of business should be, he was resolved rather to perish, than shew

shew that the past War had been embraced by him, out of an ambitious end, and not for the maintenance of Religion; and he made less reckoning of his own ruine, and the destruction of his Family, than of the loss of his honour and reputation, which he thought he should lose, if he digressed it never so small a matter from the will and determination of the Pope, and the Apostolick See; for which reasons he depended wholly upon those informations that were expected from Rome, and from the Court of Spain, and in the mean time had sent Monsieur de Rosne into Flanders, not onely to hasten that Army, but also that by him he might be sincerely advertised of the quality of those Supplies which he might certainly hope for from thence.

In this interim, Cardinal Joyeuse, and the Baron de Senecey, sent last of all by him to the Pope, and the Abbot of Orbais sent by the Duke of Guise, were come to Rome upon the Two and twentieth of January, and being brought to have audience of the Pope, after the narration of all things that had past (the sinister course of which they imputed to the evil Counsel, and the too evident covetousness of the Spaniards,) they beseeched him that he would be Mediator, to know King Philip's last resolution, and firm determination; and that he himself would be pleased with men and money to succor the danger of Religion, and the urgent necessity of the League, as his Predecessors had done; to which Propositions, the Pope, after having related what had past with the Duke of Nevers, answered, That as concerning the Catholick King's determination, he would endeavour to know what it was, and to confirm him in the good intention of defending the Faith, and upholding the League; but as for his assisting with men and money, he began to excuse himself from that, by the emergent occasion of the War with the Turk in Hungary, in which he was necessitated for the universal safety of Christians, to imploy the sinews of his strength; and yet he said, That in as much as he was able he would not fail to lend his assistance also to the affairs of France. It was not very difficult for the Ambassadors, and particularly for the Baron de Senecey, a man of a quick understanding to apprehend the Popes meaning, he being very backward to spend money, and not well satisfied in the affairs of the Union; wherefore they wrote unto the Duke of Mayenne, that he must think to furnish himself by other means; for from the Pope there was nothing to be hoped for, nor was he to depend upon him for the obtaining of any considerable Supplies.

In the like course also went the negotiation in Spain; for the Sieur de Montpezat having, after many delays, treated with the King himself, and besought him, that without referring himself to his Ministers that were in France, he would declare his pleasure, as well in matter of the election and marriage of the Infanta, as of the supplies of men and monies, for the establishment of the Princes that should be elected, and also of the Conditions he would grant the Duke of Mayenne, he could never draw any other conclusion from him, save that he would write to Rome, and to the Arch-Duke Ernest, to settle what should be resolved on, and done, and that it was necessary to expect the informations and answers from both places, which coldness and irresoluteness openly shewed, that the King, either through weariness, or weakness, was little inclined to go on with the War; but, on the other side, Don Bernardino Mendoxza, by his long abode there, well versed in the affairs of France, having before this written to the Sieur de Rombouillet, that if any body were sent to the Court of Spain, to treat in the name of the House of Bourbon, it was very probable that the Catholick King would agree to Peace, the King not passing by that occasion had caused the Sieur de la Varenne (a Gentleman of great understanding, and deep reach, and one whom he trusted) under pretence of going to see that Court, and travelling through several parts of the World (as the French use to do) to joyn himself even with the company of Montpezat, and to go to the Court of Spain along with him, where, having conferred oftentimes with Mendoxza, and others of the Council of State, he brought back word at his return, that the Spaniards would certainly conclude a Peace, if means could be found that it might be propounded and negotiated with their reputation; which, though it was attributed to the arts of that Counsel, to make use of the same engines against the Duke of Mayenne that he used against them, yet being come to his knowledge, either purposely, or by chance, it confirmed him in the suspicion he was fallen into, by reason of the doubtful answers which his Ambassador had received from the Kings own mouth.

But whilst at Rome they refer the resolution of Affairs unto the Court of Spain, and in Spain they are referred to the Advertisements from Rome and Flanders, the humour of the French which was not capable of so much patience, wrought so effectually in

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The Pope being sued to by the Duke of Mayenne's Ambassador, for supplies of men and money, excuses himself by the War of Hungary against the Turk.

The King of Spain shows the same coldness in assisting the League, to the Sieur de Montpezat.

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The Parisians murmur by reason of their sufferings, which they begin again to feel, and so much the more, because the point of Religion being taken away, they every day hear of the Kings good usage of the Catholics.

in favour of the King, that all things were in great commotions, and the *Union* of the Confederates dissolved of it self in all places. The people of *Paris* murmured, and kept a noise, being reduced to exceeding scarcity, and the benefit they had felt a while before, during the Truce, made their present sufferings more troublesome, more intollerable, the dearth grew every day more necessitous, and the interruption of commerce, and the decay of trading had brought the common people to extreme misery for want of victual, insomuch, as that powerful incentive failing, wherewith the Chief among them were wont to keep them to the League, which was the danger of Religion, since that by many signes the Kings conversion was seen to be real and unfeigned; every one inclined to free himself from trouble, and by peace to make an end of the continued sufferings of so many years. They saw, that in those places that submitted themselves to the Kings obedience, the Catholick Religion was maintained, the Clergy-mens goods restored to them, Garrisons taken away from those places that belonged to Churches, the exercise of the Hugonot Religion excluded, the Corporations maintained in their privileges, the Catholics had their Offices confirmed upon them, the Governments put again into the hands of the same Commanders, and that there appeared no innovation nor danger of any kind whatsoever. The fame of the Kings devotion flew abroad, and his inclination to the benefit of the Catholick Religion, that his Council was composed of all Prelats, and persons bred up in the same Faith; his clemency and benignity were exalted; his mind far from revenge commended, and besides all this, the plenty and quiet they of his party enjoyed, were envied by those of the League in the extremity of their sufferings. The covetousness of the Spaniards, and the ways they had gone in, had filled every one with discontent, the discords that rained among the heads of the Faction, put every understanding man in despair of expecting any prosperous end after so long toyls, and labours; wherefore the people began to make many Conventicles and Meetings, and the *Politicks* failed not to represent fitting considerations to all degrees and qualities of Persons; nor did the Count *de Belin*, who, as Governor, had the charge to hinder the progress of this inclination, seem to take any care of it: either because he was indeed unsatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Spaniards; or because he thought it impossible longer to withhold the City from revolting, and therefore agreed to get the Kings favour, that he might by him be confirmed in that Government.

The Count *de Belin* is removed from the Government of *Paris*, and the Count *de Brissac* elected in his place.

But the Duke being present, it was not hard for him to find out what way the Governor went, and being instigated by the importunities of the Legate, and Spanish Ambassadors, he resolved to remove him from the Government, which when it was known, the Parliament opposed it stiffly, but in vain, because the Duke of *Mayenne*, after having severely reprehended the Counsellors of Parliament, would by all means have the Count *de Brissac* accepted; whom he desired to satisfy by that means, his wonted Government of *Poitiers* having been violently taken from him a while before by the Duke of *Elbans*, in which change the Duke was very much deceived; for *Brissac* (though he depended upon, and had been antiently bred up in his family, yet) having spent all his own, to follow the Duke's fortunes, he had also lately been deprived of that Government which he only loved; whereupon he was full of secret discontent, and was not likely to omit those occasions that should represent themselves to set his fortune right again; nor was the Government of *Paris* proposed to make him amends; for besides the expence which the splendor of that charge carried along with it, which was very unproportionable to his present ability, he was also certain that he should not continue in it; for there was a Treaty already of giving the Government of the Isle of *France* to the Marquis of *S. Seurin*, and though they talk'd that it should be given him excluding the City of *Paris*, yet was it very probable, that by the importunities of his Mother he at last would obtain it.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being resolved to lie no longer idle, to the lessening of the reputation of his Party, goes from *Paris*.

But the Duke after he had settled *Brissac* in the Government, confiding absolutely in him, resolved to go from *Paris* to *Soissons*, and from thence to the Army, believing (as it was true) that his lying idle lessen'd his reputation, and gave the people greater conveniency to revolt; and yet at his departure many things crossed him, and he was put in a suspicion of the new Governors fidelity, and of the intelligence which the *Preost des Marchands* held with many *Politicks* that were affected to the Kings party. The Legate, and the Spanish Ambassadors exhorted him likewise not to go, but their words were not taken in good part, he thinking they desired his abode in the City, that they might confer the charge of the Army and of managing the war upon

upon the Duke of *Guise*; indeed he was something moved by the persuasions of his Mother *Madam de Nemours*, she telling him that the sum of all things consisted now in the conservation of *Paris*, and that she had discovered some practises that past between the *Politicks* of the City and the new Governor; but neither was that able to dissuade him from his departure; for it diminished his reputation, and prejudiced the course of affairs too much to stand with his hands at his girdle, and let himself be straightned to the last necessities without seeking any remedy; and he considered, that if the King being Master of *Pontoise* and *Meaux*, and by consequence also Master of the Rivers, and having *Dreux*, *Orleans* and *Chartres* in his power, should have a mind to besiege *Paris*, he should be locked up in the City, and not be able to do any thing to relieve it; and having notice that the King had made a Levy of Six thousand Switzers which were ready to enter into the Kingdom, and knowing that the Queen of *England* was sending new supplies of Men and Ammunition, he thought it necessary to draw the Forces of the Confederates together, to make opposition in the Spring-time, if the King should take the Field with a great Army, which could not be done unless he himself in person were active in the business, not judging the Duke of *Guise*, or the Duke of *Aumale* either for authority or experience sufficient to raise, or command the Army, in which charge the secret intentions of men, now more suspected by him than ever, would not suffer him to trust any other person. Moved by these reasons, and not being able to persuade himself that the Count *de Brissac* would forsake him, and change that Faith which he, his Father, and his Grandfather had ever constantly kept, he at last departed and took his Lady, and his Son with him, leaving his Mother, his Sister, the Cardinal-Legat, and the Spanish Ambassadors at *Paris*.

But he was no sooner gone, when the Governour finding himself alone, and little valuing all the rest that were in the City, thought that occasion for the raising of his fortune again, was not to be lost; wherefore having drawn *Jehan Viller*, the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the two chief *Eschevins*, which were *Guillaume du Ver*, *Sieur de Nerret*, and *Martin l'Anglois*, *Sieur de Beuripaure* unto his party, he went on to deal with the first President, and the other Counsellors of the Parliament. These were displeased with the Duke of *Mayenne*, because in many occasions, and particularly in the last of changing the Governour, he had (as they said) used them sharply and ingratfully, and openly derided and abused them, and much more were they disgusted at the Spaniards, by reason of the Proposition of the Infanta, against whose election they had shewed themselves openly; but that which imported most of all, was, That the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, (as men distrusted and disaffected) were ill used by the Catholick Kings Ambassadors, and by the Garison of Italians, Walloons, and Spaniards, which depended on them so, that they not only heard proud threats, and opprobrious speeches against themselves to their very faces, with often mentioning the name of *Brissac*, but their Servants and Caterers were abused in the Markets by the Souldiers, even to the violent taking away from them whatsoever they bought; for which they having often complained to the Duke of *Mayenne*, had not gotten any remedy, but only persuasions to be patient; but at last from this long sufferance, they turned to fury, which wakening mens minds, (as it was wont) had made them see how near they were to the hated servitude of strangers; and how much better it was to secure their own fortune with the stronger party, and free themselves at last from anguish and trouble; wherefore it was not hard to draw them to the opinion of the rest, and bring them to consent to submit the City to the Kings obedience.

Things being thus settled within, and the Governour thinking himself to be in such a condition as to dispose of the people his own way, began to treat with the King by means of the Count *de la Rochepot*, with whom he had an exceeding near affinity and friendship, and being come from the beginnings of a Treaty, to agree upon the conditions, the Count *de Sebonberg*, *Montieur de Belieure*, and the President *de Thou*, were employed in the business, who within a few days concluded what was to be done as well to satisfy the Count *de Brissac*, as to gain the City without tumult, or bloodshed, and finally the Count himself having conferred in the Field with the *Sieur de St. Luc*, who had married one of his Sisters, under pretence of treating about her Portion, about which they had been long in suit, it was jointly agreed upon, That in the City of *Paris*, the *Fauxbourgs* thereof, and ten mile round about, there should be no publick exercise permitted, save of the Roman Catholick Religion, according to all the Edicts of former Kings: That the King should give a general pardon to all of what state

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The Count *de Brissac* presently begins to deal with the chief men of the City, to persuade them to submit to the Kings obedience.

Conditions of agreement concluded between the King and the Governour of *Paris*.

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1594. or condition soever, that had in word or deed upheld and fomented the League, stirr'd up the people to sedition, spoken evil of his person, written or printed against him, thrown down or despised his Royal Arms, or the Arms of the Kings his Predecessors, or that were guilty in any kind whatsoever of the past seditions, excepting those that had traiterously conspired against his Person, or that were accessory to the murder of the late King: That the goods and persons of the Citizens, should be free from violence and plunder, all the Privileges, Prerogatives, and Immunities confirmed, and kept in the same degree they were wont to be in the times of former Kings: That all Places, Offices, and Benefices into which the Duke of *Mayenne* had put men when they were vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, should be confirmed unto the same persons, but with an obligation to take new Patents from the King: That all the present Magistrates of the City should be confirmed if they would submit themselves to the Kings obedience: That every Citizen that would not stay in the City, might have free liberty to depart, and without further leave carry away his goods: That the Cardinal-Legat, Cardinal *Pelleu*, and all the Prelats with their Servants, might with their goods and furniture freely stay, or go, how, and when they thought it seasonable: That the Princeesses and Ladies that were in the City, might stay, or go in like manner with full liberty and security: That the Spanish Ambassadors with their attendants, goods, and families, might also have Pass-ports and Safe-conducts, from the King, to go securely whither they pleased: That the Souldiers of the Garison, French and strangers of any Nation soever, might march out of the City armed in rank and file, their Drums beating, Colours flying, and light Match, to go whither they thought good: That two hundred thousand Crowns should be paid to the Count de *Brissac* in recompence of his expences, and losses, and that he should have twenty thousand Franks of an annual pension, the Charge of Marshal of *France* conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne* should be confirmed, and the perpetual Government of *Corbie* and *Mante* granted to him; which things with many other of less moment being agreed upon, both sides applyed themselves to the execution of them.

Particular conditions concluded in the favour of the Count de *Brissac*.

The King desires to be crowned; some object that it cannot be done but at *Reims* where the *Sacred Ampoule* or holy Vial is kept which (they say) was brought from Heaven by an Angel to anoint King *Clouis*.

The King at this time was at *Chartres*, where he had caused himself to be Crowned, and Anointed, or (as they call it) *Sacré*; about which there had been many difficulties, which nevertheless by the authority of the Council were seasonably removed; for he, that he might take away the doubts of scrupulous minds, desiring to his Conversion to add this Ceremony, which is wont to be used to all Kings, some objected that the Consecration by an ancient custom could not be but at the City of *Reims*, nor by the hands of any other than the Archbishop of that Church; but having diligently over-looked the History of former times, the learned found that many Kings had been Consecrated in other places; and since that City was not in the Kings power, reason consented not that he should therefore remain without that due Ceremony which they thought necessary for his perfect Establishment. This difficulty being removed, there succeeded another, how the King could be Anointed without the Oyl of *St. Ampoule*, which was kept in the Cathedral of that City, and which (as fame reports) was brought down by an Angel from Heaven, purposely for the Consecration of King *Clouis*, and the other Kings of *France* his Successors; but neither of this was there any other necessity save bare tradition: whereupon it was determined that neither the City, nor the Oyl being in the Kings power, the Oyl should be brought that is kept in the City of *Tours*, in the Monastery of the Friars of *St. Martin*, of which there is a report (confirmed by the authority of many Writers) that it was likewise brought from Heaven to anoint that *Saint*, when, falling from the top of a Ladder, all his bones were broken, and shattered in pieces; wherefore Monsieur de *Souray* Governour of *Tours*, having caused that Vial to be brought out in Procession, by those Monks that had it in keeping, and having placed it under a rich Canopy of State, set round pompously with lights, in the top of a Chariot made expressly for that purpose, and guarded by four Troops of Horse, he himself going before it all the journey, brought it along with him to the City of *Chartres*; and with that Oyl they Anointed the King at his Consecration, causing it afterward to be carried back to its place, with the same Ceremony and Veneration.

There arose also a Competition among the Prelates, Which of them should perform the Act of Consecration; for the Archbishop of *Bourges* pretended, that Function belonged unto him, as Primate; and on the other side, *Nicholas de Thou*, Bishop of *Chartres*, alledged, That the Ceremony being to be Celebrated in his Church,

Church, it could not be taken away from him. The Council sentenced in favour of the Bishop of the Diocese; and so upon the Twenty seventh of February the King was consecrated with great Solemnity and Pomp, both Ecclesiastical and Military, the twelve Peers of France being present at the Ceremony; six Ecclesiastical, and six Secular, which were, the Bishop of Chartres, Nantes, * Mans, Maillezais, Orleans, and Angiers, representing those of Reims, Langres, Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, and Chalons; and for the Secular Peers, the Prince of Conty for the Duke of Bourgogne, the Duke of Soissons for the Duke of Guienne, the Duke of Montpensier for the Duke of Normandy, the Duke of Luxemburg in stead of the Earl of Flanders, the Duke of Retz in stead of the Count de Toulouse, and the Duke of Vantadour in stead of the Count de Champagne; the Archbishop of Bourges did the Office of Grand Aumônier, the Marechal de Matignon of High Constable, the Duke of Longueville that of High Chamberlain, the Count de St. Paul that of Grand Maître, and the High Chancellor Chiverny holding the Seals in his Right Hand, sat on one side of the Cloth of State.

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* The French say Dinan,

The King, according to the custom of the Kings of France, upon the day of this Solemnity, received the Communion in both kinds, took the Oath which all the Kings of France are wont to take, to maintain the Catholick Faith, and the authority of the Holy Church, and at his coming out of the Church, touched those that had the Kings Evil, to the number of three hundred; from the Church he went unto the Feast, where, according to the custom, sat the twelve Peers that had been present at the Ceremony, the Princess Katherine, Sister to the King, with the other great Ladies that were at Court, and the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and the Republick of Venice. After Dinner the King went to Vespers, where he received the Order of the St. Esprit, renewing his Oath for the conservation of the Faith, and the persecution of Heresie; which Ceremonies as they filled the hearts of his own party with great joy and gladness; so did they the more move the inclination of the others to acknowledge and obey him.

The obligation of France upon the day of their consecration.

In the mean time the Treaties in Paris were ripening for the reducing of that City, being managed with great dexterity and secrecy by the Governour, the Prevost des Marchands, and President le Maître; but thwarted more than ever by the violent persuasions of the Preachers, who ceased not to cry from their Pulpits, that the Kings Conversion was feigned and dissembled, and no body could acknowledge him with a good Conscience. The business was likewise crossed by the practices and boldness of the Sixteen, who since the accident of President Brisson, having remained with small credit, and less power, being now fomented by the Legat and the Spaniards, and no less by the Dutchesses of Nemours and Montpensier, (who had turned their Sails according to the Wind) they began to rise again, meeting frequently, often stirring up commotions, and proceeding audaciously against those that were suspected to be of the Kings party; but the Governour making use of his authority, and also of the Duke of Mayenne's Name, laboured to dissipate and suppress them, under colour that he would have no Conventicles, nor armed insurrections in a time of so great suspicion: and finally, having accorded with the Parliament, they caused publick Proclamation to be made, That upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should go to any Meeting, except in the Town-House, and in the presence of above five Magistrates. Upon the foundation of this Decree, the Governour sharply using force, did within a few days destroy and take away the opposition of the Sixteen, insomuch, that being at last in such a condition, that he was able to dispose of the City, he resolved that he would receive the King upon the Twenty second of March in the Morning; and to this end, having spread a report that the Duke of Mayenne was sending Men and Ammunition from Soissons to re-inforce the City, and that it was necessary to send to meet them, he caused Colonel Giasco Argentini to go forth the day before with his French Regiment, in which he confided not, sending them toward Beauvais, by which way he said those Supplies were coming; Martin l'Anglois had already dealt with, and by the promise of a great sum of money, drawn St. Quintin over to his party, who commanded the Tertia of Walloons that was in the Town: But the suspicion of it being come to the Duke of Ferris, he caused him to be laid hold on upon the One and twentieth day, and removed that whole Tertia, as likewise that other of Spaniards into the quarters near his own house, which being about the Rue St. Antoine, in the remotest place from that part where it was intended the King should be brought in, it proved

By an artifice of the Governour of Paris a Proclamation is made that upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should assemble but in the Town-house.

The Count de Brisson having agreed to receive the King into Paris, sends forth the Forces he distrusts, feigning that the Duke of Mayenne was sending Supplies, and that it was necessary to meet them.

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very much to the purpose, that the strongest Forces were quartered at so great a distance. The Neapolitan Tertia commanded by *Alessandro de Monti* was sent by the Governour into that part of the City which lies beyond the River, saying, He would keep them there in a readiness to receive a great quantity of Victual which was to be brought in on that side the next day. Only the Germans were retained toward the quarters of *St. Honore* and *St. Denis* as being more easie, either to be perswaded, or defeated; the Governour not being willing by emptying that quarter utterly, to increase the suspicion that already began to spread hotly in all places.

The Evening being come, the Governour having at his house assembled the *Prevost des Marchands*, and those Heads and Magistrates of the People, which he hoped would consent, laid open to them his intention, the Articles of Agreement made with the King, and the necessity they were seduced to of freeing themselves by peace from those sufferings and dangers which had no other remedy; and having found them all unanimously disposed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely, and with a good heart, and to provide, that the alteration of things, and the introducing the King might be effected without stir or tumult; to which every one there present being ready, they, about Nine of the Clock at night, dispatched Tickets subscribed by the *Prevost des Marchands*, to the greater part of the Masters of the several Wards, whom they had changed and chosen their own way, advertising them that the Peace was made, and that the Accommodation being to insue the next morning, they should take care there were no uproar, but that every one imbracing Peace, which was so necessary, and so long desired, should raise no tumult, the safety and goods of the Citizens being certainly secure.

This order being given, (which past with infinite secrecy, and was willingly executed by all) the Governour went to *Porte Neufve* about midnight, and having brought the Germans thither, set them in order with their Arms, and in a short time caused the Earth to be taken away wherewith that Gate had been dammed up long before. The like did the *Prevost des Marchands* at the *Porte St. Denis*, where having left *Martin P. Anglois* to guard it, he went to meet with the Governour at *Porte Neufve*. The night had been exceeding rainy, and with thunder and lightning very stormy and dark; wherefore the King having marched with his Army from *Senlis* to *St. Denis* the night before, was two hours after the time appointed before he appeared; and in the interim the whole City being in a commotion, the noise was heard by the Spanish Ambassadors, of which the Duke of *Feris* presently drew the Infantry that lay about him into arms, and *Diego d' Ivarra* riding hastily on horseback to *Porte Neufve*, asked in his wonted haughty manner, What was doing there? But the Count *de Brissac* no less haughtily answered him, That he was not obliged to give him an account what was done: But in courtesie he would tell him, that the Men and Ammunition which were coming from the Duke of *Mayenne* were to be received there; for that to avoid falling into the Kings hands, they were come a by-way on that side, and therefore he might be quiet, and go take his rest. *Diego* either believing this, or knowing there could not be any opposition, went also to the quarter of the Spaniards.

It was already Four of the Clock in the morning, when Monsieur *de St. Luc* arrived with the first Troops of the Army at the *Tuilleries* without the Gate, and having given the sign by three Rockets that were fired in the Air, as they had agreed, the Count *de Brissac* advanced to see if it were he, and to speak with him; and being come back to the place where the *Prevost des Marchands* staid, they presently caused the Gate to be set wide open, at which Monsieur *de St. Luc* entered first of all, marching on foot with his Pistol in his hand, and placed Captain *Ferus* with an hundred armed men in two rows to guard the same Port, and he himself with the *Sieur de Vie*, and Four hundred Souldiers of the Garison of *St. Denis* possessed the *Rue St. Thomas*; then followed Monsieur *d'Almonies* and the Count *de Belin*, (who was already gone over to serve the King out of anger for being put out of his Government) and Captain *Raulet* all on Foot with their Arms ready, and advancing with Eight hundred men, made themselves Masters of the *Port St. Michel*. Thirdly, entered Monsieur *d'O*, Governour of the Isle of *France*, and destined to be Governour of *Paris*, who with the Baron *de Salignac*, and Four hundred Souldiers marching along the Wall, went to possess the *Porte St. Honore*; the Marschal *de Matignon* who led the Switzers, having at his entrance seen the German Foot in Arms, cried out to them aloud to throw down their Arms, which they refusing to do, he having commanded those that followed him to charge their

The manner
used by the
Governour to
bring the King
into the City
of Paris.

The manner
how the King
and his Forces
entered into
Paris.

After eight
years space
(for so long it
was since King
Henry the III.
fled from
thence) the
City of Paris
returns into
obedience,
and Henry the
Fourth enters
into it.

their Pikes, caused about twenty of them to be slain, and as many cast into the River; whereupon the rest throwing down their Arms, were taken and brought by him to St. Thomas Church; from whence he spread himself with his Switzers as far as the *Croix de Tiroir* in the midst of the *Rue St. Honore*. After him entred the *Sieur de Bellegarde*, and then the Count *de St. Paul* with two other Squadrons, who made a stand before the *Louvre*, spreading themselves as far as St. *Germain's* Church. After these marched the King himself on foot likewise, compleatly armed at the head of Four hundred Gentlemen, and inclosed between two rows of the Archers of his Guard; and having found the Count *de Brissac* at the entry of the Bridge, he presently took off his own white Scarf he wore, and having put it over the Counts shoulder, embraced him closely; and at the same time the Governour crying out aloud, *Vive le Roy*, the word was taken up first by the *Prevost des Marchands* who stood behind him, and then from one to another was doubled thorow all the Wards of the City; and even they themselves that were not privy to the business, joyfully reiterated the same cry. The King passing on in the midst of a Lane made by his own men, commanded that none upon pain of death should do injury to any body, and with the same attendance went strait to the Church of *Nosre-Dame*, where he was received by the Priests with no less applause than he had been in other places. The last that came in, was the *Mareschal de Retz*, who advancing in excellent order to the utmost parts of the City, to secure those quarters, met *Diego d' Ibarra*, who with two Companies of Spaniards was coming towards the tumult; but the Kings Forces coming in so much a greater number, they retired where the rest of them were, and the *Mareschal* possessed the *Rue St. Martin*; that of St. *Denis* being already possessed by *Monsieur Vitry*, and the *Sieur de la Noüe*, who entred at that Gate. At the Kings coming out of the Church, the people already certain of what was come to pass, and assured of their own safety, took up the cry of *Vive le Roy* again, more joyfully than before, and began with very great emulation of one another to put on White Ribbands, and Crosses of the same colour in their Hats, striving with joy and gladness who should be the first to open their Shops; so that within two hours the City was as quiet, as if there had been no innovation at all.

The Count *de Brissac* cries *Vive le Roy*, and the same cry runs thorow the whole City.

The people strive who shall mark themselves first with white Ribbands and white Crosses in their Hats, and open their Shops, the City being quiet within two hours.

Before the King went to the *Louvre*, he sent *Monsieur du Perron* (a while before returned from *Rome*) unto the Cardinal-Legat: Letting him know, that it was in his own liberty either to go or stay; but that he prayed him to find out some means that they might confer together, since the Pope had refused to admit Ambassadors; to which he answered, that since he was at liberty, he would not only go out of the City, but quite out of the Kingdom, which though the King endeavoured to dissuade, yet was it not possible to hinder him, as well because he would not be constrained to treat any thing with a Prince that was not acknowledged by the Pope, as because of his old Inclination; which even when all things were in desperation (perhaps to shew himself constant) he could not dissemble; and yet being used with great respect, he staid six days in the City, and thence being accompanied by the same *du Perron* as far as *Montargis*, he continued in his way to go straight out of the Kingdom.

The Cardinal-Legat goes out of the Kingdom.

At the same time the King entred, Cardinal *Pellout* was drawing his last breath, who having heard the resolution of businesses, said angrily, that he hoped yet the Arms of the Spaniards and good Catholics, would drive that Hugonot out of *Paris*; and as soon as he said those words, he departed out of this life.

The Count *de Brissac* went to the Spanish Ambassadors, and gave them charge from the King to set St. *Quentin* at liberty, which they refused not to obey; and having recalled *Alessandro de Monti* to join with the Spanish Forces, they resolved to be gone the same day; wherefore in the afternoon being accompanied by *Monsieur de St. Luc*, and the Baron *de Salignas*, they came in the midst of their Forces, which marched in order toward the *Porte St. Martin*, at the entrance whereof the King stayed on horse-back to see them depart. They bowed down exceeding low, and were courteously saluted by him again; so without more words they went forth of the City, and being convoyed by the Kings Forces as far as *Bouquet*, they took the way toward *Soissons*, and so travelled to the Frontiers.

The King with the same affability sent the High Chancellor, and *Monsieur de Bellicre* to visit the Dutchesse, and to make his excuse if that day he had not time to visit them in person, who having accommodated their affairs, departed, being very civilly

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civilly used, and honourably accompanied; the King with his courtesie exceeding the obligation of his promises.

Many out of
jealousie de-
part with the
Cardinal-Legat,
and with the
Spanish
Ambassador.

The Bishop of *Senlis*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Varade* a Jesuite, *Christophe Andre* Curate of *St. Andre*, *Pelletier* the Curate of *St. Jacques*, *Jacques Culli* Curate of *St. Germaines*, *John Hamilton* Curate of *St. Cosme*, *Father Guerin* a Franciscan, and divers others of the Preachers, and *Eschevins* of the City went away, some with the Legat, and some with the Spanish Ministers, all the rest of the people, and many of those that had been the Kings bitter Enemies remaining, against whom (according to his promise given) he suffered not any commotion at all to be made.

The Bastile af-
ter five days
resistance is
surrendered to
the King by
the Sieur du
Bourg.

The *Bastile* remained in the Enemies hands, governed by the Sieur du *Bourg*, who for the first and second day was so far from making any shew of yielding, that on the contrary with many Cannon-shot he laboured to infect the Town; but after that a Battery was raised against him, and that he found he wanted Victual and Ammunition, he surrendered it the fifth day, and having left it in the Kings power, followed the journey of the rest.

Thus without tumult, without difficulty, and without blood, the City of *Paris* was recovered absolutely to the Kings obedience, who having caused a general pardon to be published, sent his Army forth of the Town, to quarter; recall'd the Parliament, open'd the ways for provisions, to the publick comfort of men of all qualities; and within a few days settled the City again in its former populousness and ancient splendour.

Monsieur de
Villars Govern-
mor of *Rouen*
submits him-
self to the
Kings obedi-
ence.

The Example of *Paris* was followed by Monsieur de *Villars* Governour of *Rouen*, who having treated and concluded by the means of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur de *Rosny*, agreed about the same time to acknowledge the King, bringing with him the free navigation of *Seine*, *Honfleur*, *Havre de Grace*, and all the Coast of upper *Normandy*. The Treaty of his Agreement had been something difficult; for *Villars* demanded the confirmation of the degree of High Admiral, which Office he executed in the party of the League, and the Baron de *Byron*, who a while before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to let it go; but in the end it being clear that those who returned to the Kings obedience, were to be allured by the Confirmation of the Offices, and Governments whereof they were in possession, the Baron was fain to quit it, receiving in stead thereof the degree of Marshal, which his Father had held very long; and yet was it not without his exceeding great discontent, though the King made him a gift of Twenty thousand Crowns, and promised him many Governments, he pretending his merit to be the chief in all the Kings Victories, and that it was not fit to deprive him of his honour and revenues to give them to Enemies; which though he with his wonted freedom of speech exaggerated oftentimes, saying he would give his Office of Marshal for a Nag of Fifty Crowns, yet could he not divert the Kings determination, whereupon he conceived so great disdain, as in after-times brought forth wonderful great inconveniences. But *Villars* having got the charge of Admiral, the confirmation of his Governments, entertainment for the Provencal Souldiers that followed him, and the Government of *Havre de Grace* in reversion for his Brother the Chevalier d' *Oyse*, declared himself in the end of *March*, and put those places under the Kings obedience, which obtained all things fit, as well for the maintenance of Religion, as their particular interests.

Thus the whole Province of *Normandy* being come into the Kings power, there remained only *Honfleur* in the lower Province which held for the party of the League. That Town stands in a corner which like a *Peninsula* thrusts it self forwards and advances into the Ocean Sea, over against *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other side just in the place where the River *Seine* falls into the Sea, so that between the two Fortresses there is nothing but the current of the River which receiving the flux of the Sea, and largely overflowing, is two great French Leagues in breadth. The Commander of this place was *Commendatory Grillon*, who as being a Provencal had got thither a great Garison of that same Country, and there being with him in it one of the Sons of the Sieur de *Fontaine Martel*, a principal man in the Country of *Caux*, Captain *la Tour*, a valiant and expert Warrior, Captain *Glaise* Nephew to the Governour of *Caen*, one *Truville* a Curate, who from a Priest was become a famous Commander, and many other Souldiers and Gentlemen who followed the same faction, they had made it a principal retreat, and over-running and pillaging the Country, and taking any prisoners without

without regard, imposing taxes upon rich men, and with a good number of barks well manned, making prize of those vessels that past at the mouth of the River, had filled the place not only with store of Souldiers, and all preparations for War, but also with abundance of riches: wherefore the Duke of *Montpensier*, desiring to take away that obstacle, that stood in the midst of his Government, and to free the neighbouring people from those sufferings, resolved to besiege it in the beginning of *April*; wherefore he summoned in the Gentry of all the Province; and with two thousand English Foot that were newly landed to go into *Bretagne*, eight hundred Germans who had served in those parts a great while, four French Regiments drawn together out of the Garisons of that Province, which amounted to the number of three thousand, three hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back, and eight hundred Gentlemen marched from *Lisieux* upon the tenth of *April*, and appeared before the Town upon the eleventh in the morning.

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The Duke of *Montpensier* lays siege to *Honfleur*, which was the only place that held for the League in lower *Normandy*.

The Town on the land-side, is encompassed with a Moat of forty paces broad, through which the Sea ebbs and flows, and over it stands a spacious Bridge, upon Pillars of Stone, but covered above with planks, and timber which the Duke had designed to possess himself of, at his first arrival; wherefore while the Army drew near with an easie march, Colonel *la Liferne* advanced with his Regiment towards the Bridge, being seconded by Monsieur *de Fervagues* with two hundred and fifty Horse, but they of the Town foreseeing the design, had placed two Falconets upon the Bridge, and had given the charge of making it good upon *Truville* the Curate with one hundred Foot; whereupon at the arrival of the Kings Infantry, they began a fierce skirmish; to which Captain *la Tour* coming on the Towns side with another hundred of the stoutest Souldiers, *la Liferne* Foot began to retire, when the Sieur *de Fervagues* (perchance with more courage than discretion) ran full speed to beat back the Enemy, who already was advanced into a large place without the narrowness of the Bridge; but *Truville* and *la Tour*, when they saw him so far engaged, that he was come within shot of their Falconets, made so seasonable use of them, that being laden with **Tarling*, they killed above twenty of his men at a clap, and wounded twenty more, among which *Henrico Davila* who wrote this History having his Horse killed under him, was in very great danger of being slain; but *Fervagues* wheeling off, the English came up to the skirmish, which (being reinforced sometimes by the French Foot, sometimes by the Harquebussiers on horse-back, sometimes by *Fervagues* with his Horse again) lasted that whole day, without being able to beat the Defendents from the Bridge.

* *Tarling* is small pieces of Iron, for which kind of Charge, the narrow bore of Falconets is not very proper, and therefore it rather hurts they were *Perviers*, which are commonly used for that purpose.

Monsieur *de Surrenne* one of the Field Mareschals, caused a Fort to be cast up that night, over against the Bridge; which though the Artillery from within annoyed it very much, was yet made defensible the next day, and having planted four pieces of Cannon in it, they played so hot upon the Enemies, that *Truville* the Curate being killed with a Culverin Bullet, they were forced to forsake the Bridge; but they shewed so firm resolution, that they would not leave it to retire into the Town till they had seen all the wood-work burnt, or thrown into the water. The three days following, the Artillery were planted, which to the number of fourteen Pieces battered from the Gate to the Sea-shore on the West-side; but they were so much despised by the besieged for some few days at first, that Captain *la Tour* feared not between shot and shot to appear upon the Wall, nor, for all the Cannoniers could do, (who interpreted that action to be in scorn of them) was it possible either to hit him or daunt him; and yet within five days they had made so great a breach with their Artillery, that upon the two and twentieth day, the Foot advanced to give the assault.

The Moat had been very ill discovered, (a thing more pernicious than all others in matter of assault) and the Commanders believed it had been full of Sand, brought up by the flowing of the Sea, that might have been able to bear the weight of those that should fall on; so that watching the opportunity of the Tyde, the English and the French, when the Water was at the lowest, gave on in several places of the Moat; but though they found firm Sand at the first, and so went on; yet being come into the middle, they sunk in so deep, that many of them stuck fast, without being able to get out, and so like wild Beasts caught in a Net, were with cries and hissings pelted to death with small shot by the Enemies that were upon the Wall. Captain *Gasconet* was slain there with eighty French; and of the English above 150, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

The Kings Forces going on to the Assault without having well discovered the Moat, are killed in it with showers of Musket-Bullets.

But

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But the Duke vext at this so great mischance, would needs after that be present himself in all businesses, and with very great art, and no less diligence caused certain Bridges to be made of a middling length, which reached from the edge of the Moat as far as the Mud, each having in the Front of it a little Gabion filled with Earth, under favour whereof, casting great brush Faggots, Stones, and other rubbish into the hollow of the Moat, they laboured to fill it up by little and little, though it was done with evident danger, and the loss of a great many of the best Souldiers, by reason of the continual showring of Musket-shot, Stones, Fire-works, and other inventions, with which the Defendents used incessantly to offend them. But the work being finished in four days, they found the Enemy had cast up a great Trench within, wherewith they had made up and covered all that space of the Wall that was battered: Whereupon the place being viewed, it was judged very difficult, and in a manner impossible to enter it. Wherefore the Duke making all their endeavours to be employed that same night at the Bridge which was broken down, caused it to be so pieced up with new Beams and Planks, that it might be passed over, though with some difficulty, and but few in Front, which was effected beyond every ones belief; for the night was short, and they wrought in the dark, except only the light the Defendents made by throwing great store of Fire-works to discover what was doing. The same night five pieces of Cannon were drawn thither from the next Battery, and they began furiously to give fire by break of day, in such manner, that they beat down the Tower of the Gate, and a great part of it before the besieged had time to make any Retrenchments. Scarce was the breach so wide, that two or three might enter abreast, when the *Sieur de Pompiere* and the *Baron d'Ally*, with two valiant Squadrons ran furiously to the Assault; but finding a no less valiant resistance from the besieged, there began a short, but furious conflict, wherein they of the Town prevailing, by reason both the Commanders that made the Assault were sorely wounded, the Infantry within half an hour drew off from the Wall; which that it might not be repaired, the Artillery began to play again without intermission; so that toward the evening Colonel *la Liferne*, and Colonel *Colombiere*, two Brothers, renewed the Assault in the same place, which though constantly sustained by those within, yet the stoutest Provincials being slain, Captain *Glaise* wounded, *Fontaine Martel* lamed, their Fire-works spent, and four of the best Pieces they had broken, Commendatory *Grillon* began to think of surrendering; so that news coming thither opportunely by Sea, that the Admiral *Villars*, and the City of *Rouen*, *Monti-villier*, *Honfleur*, and *Havre de Grace*, standing on the other side of the River, had imbraced the Kings party; being by that means deprived of all hope of being relieved, he bent his mind to think of saving the abundance of riches they had there gotten together: For which purpose it was necessary to make composition, and not stay till they were brought to the utmost weakness. Wherefore having sent to parley with the *Sieurs de Fervaques* and *Surene*, he at last concluded to surrender upon condition to go forth, their goods and persons safe, laying down Twelve thousand Crowns for the payment of the Army, and to march on the other side of the River, to those Towns that held yet for the League. Thus the Town being put into the hand of the *Sieur d'Aleret*, Governour of *Tuques*, a Servant of the Duke of *Montpensier's*, the whole Province of *Normandy* remained in the Kings obedience; for *la Fontaine Martel*, who was Governour of *Nenf-Chastel* in the County of *Caux*, submitted himself in like manner about the same time.

* Or Cuttings
off.

Honfleur is delivered up to the Duke of *Montpensier*.

Places that yield themselves to the Kings obedience.

But already the people, and the Governours being weary of the troubles of War, and allured by the Kings clemency, and the liberal conditions he gave, who with full satisfaction contented the desires of all those that came over to his Party, made haste in all places to acknowledge him; and the Court was full of those that negotiated the Peace, either of their Friends and Dependents, or of the Cities and Towns that came into the Kings obedience. *Abbeville* and *Montreuil* followed this counsel in the Province of *Picardy*; *Troy*, a great City, and well-peopled, in the Province of *Champagne*; *Sens*, a City and Archbishoprick, in the confines of *Brie* and *Bourgonne*; *Agen*, *Ville-neufue*, and *Marmande*, in the confines of *Guaſcogne*; and finally, the City of *Poitiers* was reduced to the Kings devotion by *Seevole de St. Marthe*, Treasurer of France, a man no less adorned with excellent Learning, and sweetness of Eloquence, than with Experience and Civil Prudence.

Charles

Charles de Lorain, Duke of *Elbauf*, compounded also by means of the same *St. Marthe*, to come over to the Kings Party, with promise, that the Government of that Town should be reserved for him, and that he should have Thirty thousand Franks in Pension: But he desired the Agreement might for some time be kept secret, hoping that even the Duke of *Mayenne* also would come in within a while, and desiring, if it were possible, not to separate himself from him.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was quite of another mind; for being still intangled in his long-settled hopes, or thinking it so befitted his reputation, he was resolved to look Fortune in the face, and not to come by any means to terms of Agreement, unless the Popes judgment and consent preceded. Wherefore after he went from *Paris*, going straight to *Soissons*, he began with infinite diligence to reunite his Forces, and set them again in order, and had sent to the Duke of *Lorain*, that together with the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, he would come and confer with him in some convenient place, to take some resolution about their common affairs; judging, that if they would keep united with him, they might gather so many Forces again together, as being assisted with Supplies from *Spain*, they might easily, either set their own Fortune on foot again, or advantage themselves in a beneficial and honourable Accommodation, in case the Pope should resolve to approve the Kings Conversion.

The Duke of *Lorain* came to *Bar-le-Duc*, in the confines of his State, and there were the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*; but the Duke of *Guise* could not be at the meeting, because the Province of *Champagne* was all in a tumult, not only by reason that the City of *Trois* had driven out his Brother the Prince of *Juinville*, and declared for the King, but because the Count *de St. Paul*, anciently bred up in, and depending on his Family, was suspected to plot new designs: Wherefore not to leave those places that yet acknowledged him, he was fain to stay in the Province, and to send *Pellicart* his Fathers old Secretary in his name unto the Meeting. There the opinions disagreed; for the Duke of *Lorain*, weary of the War, to the end, that he might not see his State more destroyed by the continual passing of Foreign Forces, inclined wholly to Peace. But on the contrary, the Duke of *Aumale*, a man of a fierce obstinate nature, was more than ever inflamed to follow the War, and had determined rather to put himself and the place he held in his hands, under the Dominion of the Spaniards, than submit himself to the discretion and obedience of the King. The Duke of *Guise* kept his opinion the more secret by not being present, and his Secretary with excuse of giving him information of the things in Treaty, and of expecting his Orders thereupon, held his sentence ambiguous and unresolved. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, in whom the sum of the business consisted, and who was able to turn the rest to his opinion, as he was firmly resolved not to make Composition without the Popes consent, so thinking that might without much difficulty be obtained, if it were but endeavoured, was in that case uncertain what he should demand; and whether it were better counsel to follow the hopes of the War, or accommodate himself to the security of Peace: But because he saw the Duke of *Lorain*, and thought he found the Duke of *Guise* more inclined to Peace, he took a middle Resolution; and permitting the Duke of *Lorain* to manage a Treaty of Agreement in the name of them all, he caused them all jointly to determine that their Forces should draw together, and that Supplies from *Flanders* should be earnestly laboured for, that they might have means to expect what end the Popes judgment would have, and that by the reputation of their strength, and by force, they might extort more advantageous conditions of Agreement. Wherefore the Duke of *Lorain* presently dispatched Monsieur *de Bassompier* into *France*, to treat with the Count *de Schomberg* and *Villeroy* of an Agreement, and at the same time gave order that two hundred Lanciers, and three hundred Harquebusiers on horseback should go to *Laon*, to join with the forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having till then, by the means of Monsieur *de Rosne*, treated with the Archduke *Ernest*, who was newly come to Govern the Low-Countries, going now to *la Fere*, he sent the *Vice-Senechal de Montlimar*, and his Secretary *Des Portes* to him.

The opinions of the Spanish Ministers were no less entangled, yet very different from what he believed; for Count *Charles of Mansfelt*, and Count *Peter Ernest* his Father, a man of long experience, and much reputation, President *Riccardotto*, and the major part of the Flemish Councillors, were of opinion, that at last, giving over the vain and ruinous hopes of *France*, and agreeing with the King in some advantageous resolution, they should apply their utmost forces to their own interests in the

1594.
The Duke of *Elbauf* is the first of the House of *Lorain* that makes his peace with the King.

The Lords of the House of *Lorain* meet at *Bar*, to treat of their common interests.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, seeing the Lords of his Family were inclined to peace, permits the Duke of *Lorain* to treat of it in all their names, and in the mean time endeavours to reinforce himself, that being armed, he might obtain the better Conditions.

1594. Low-Countries, where the united Provinces with the opportunity of the Armies being diverted, and of the Commanders being far off, had in a few years made exceeding great progresses, so that the Catholick King, according to the common saying, lost his own State by attempting to get another's; but on the contrary the *Condé de Fuentes*, and the other Spanish Counsellors, wrong informed of the affairs of *France* by the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra*, persisted still in the thoughts of getting the *Infanta* elected, or at least to make themselves Masters of many places, and get firm footing in *Picardy* and *Bourgogne*, Provinces confining upon *Flanders*, which in the end should either remain to the Crown of *Spain*, or if the King of *France* got them by composition, he should be necessitated to lay down money in exchange, and to piece up the vast expences which the Catholick King had profusely been at for the space of so many years. While the minds of the Counsellors were in this doubtfulness, came the news of the loss of *Paris*, which made the Archduke resolve upon this last Counsel of the Spaniards; for now all hopes failing that the League should be longer able to subsist, having lost the City of *Paris* its first *Basis* and principal Foundation; and on the other side, not judging that the Catholick King, either could very easily obtain, or for his reputation ought to demand Peace, he thought it a very prudent Counsel (disintangling themselves from the ingagement and impediment of the League in which it was necessary to spend without measure, to maintain many who at last proved either faithless, or almost fruitless) to make war in King *Philip's* own name, to imploy all their forces in one place and spend for their own interests, and since to talk longer of the *Infanta's* election would be but ridiculous, to endeavour at least with the present opportunities to get possession of the places of *Picardy* and *Bourgogne* that they might be a limit to the affairs of *Flanders*, and serve partly to make amends for their past expences.

The Archduke *Ernest* at the news of the loss of *Paris* resolves to think no longer of the *Infanta's* election, but to seize upon some places in the Provinces, confining upon *Flanders* to make amends for the past expences.

The *Vice-Seneſchal* for money put a Spanish Garison into *la Fere*. The Duke of *Aumale* for 40000 Crowns Pension revolts unto the Spaniard with the places under his Government.

With this resolution he presently dealt with *Monſieur de Roſne*, who agreed to serve the Catholick King for eighteen thousand Crowns of annual pension, and without much difficulty compounded also with the *Vice-Seneſchal de Montelimar*, that for the recompence of thirty thousand Crowns, and retaining the title of the Government for himself, he should bring a Spanish Garison into *la Fere*, the principal Fortrefs of all *Picardy*. They treated at the same time with the Duke of *Aumale*, who was inclined more than any other to follow them, and with the establishment of forty thousand Crowns Pension they brought him over with the Towns he possessed, and with an hundred Curassiers, and two hundred Light-horse; nor did they fail to work with the other Governours in both Provinces, and to give warmth unto those practises; the Archduke gave charge to Count *Mansfelt*, that drawing the Army together without delay, he should advance, and make War resolutely upon the Confines of *Picardy*.

The Archduke *Ernest* informs them in *Spain* of the state of affairs, and lets them know his determinations.

The Archduke wrote all this distinctly to the Court of *Spain*, shewing that this was the most profitable and most expedient resolution; but offering to consideration at the same time, that it was necessary to reinforce the provisions both of men and money, to maintain it; that till then they had spent unprofitably to feed the instability of the French, who as long as they had been able to suck their milk, had made themselves fat at the expences of others, and now they saw the breast dry, revolted another way, and returned to their own nature; that their natural enmity with the Spanish Nation and their own lightness, could never consent they should think of any thing either profitable, or honourable for the Crown of *Spain*; that the proposition of the *Infanta*, though born of a Daughter of *France*, and gotten by that King who had emptied his Kingdoms to succour their necessities, seemed to them as strange and monstrous, as if the Dominion of a *Scythian*, or an *Indian* had been propounded; that when to mitigate it, they propounded that she should marry a French-man, to shew clearly there was no design of subjecting them to the Spanish Empire, the discords and ambition that reigned amongst them had not suffered them to consent; but they had rather thoughts of making peace with their common Enemy, than to yield to one another; that the little resistance which had been made in not satisfying their devouring greediness profusely with Spanish Gold, had in a moment not only disgusted them, but put them in an uproar; for their natural impatience had brought so many Cities, and so many great Lords to submit themselves without regard to the faith and discretion of their Enemy, that already the principal Foundations of the League were fallen away; the Cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Bourges*, and *Lyons* revolted; the Admiral *Villars*, the Count de *Brissac*, the Mareſchal de la *Chastre*, and the Sieur de *Viry*, principal

principal Heads of the Union, and who had sustained the weight of the late War, were gone over to the Kings obedience, and already the Duke of *Elbans* of the very House of *Lorain*, notwithstanding his sharp inveterate enmity to the House of *Bourbon*, either treated or had concluded an Agreement; that therefore it was no longer time to refer the Infanta's rights to the arbitrement of the French, but to uphold them by force of Arms, and prosecute the enterprize under his own name, and with his own hopes; that already in *Bretagne* (a member apart, in which the *Salique Law* had nothing to do) the forces of the Spaniards were vigorous and powerful, which (if they were assisted, and by help of the Sea opportunely recruited) would be able to maintain that Province; that in *Picardy* they held many places gained by means of the Duke of *Anmale*, *Montelimar*, and *Rosne*; that endeavours should be used to draw the Duke of *Mayenne* to serve in the same manner, not as Head of the League, but as a Commander for the King of *Spain*; and by his means the attaining of many places in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne* should be attempted; that the same should be done with the Duke of *Guise* for the places of *Champagne*, and with the Marquis *de St. Sorlin* for those of *Dauphiné*; that the *Sieur de Montpezat* might be treated with in *Spain* to obtain some places, to get footing in *Provence*; that Count *Charles* was already advanced with the Army to the Confines of *Picardy*, in which Province they might make very great progress before the King could draw an Army together sufficient to oppose them; but that it was necessary to cut off delays, to hasten the raising of moneys, to make Leavies in *Italy* and *Germany* to increase the Army, and to labour now in good earnest to do themselves service, and no longer to uphold the pretensions and interests of others; that by possessing themselves of many places, especially upon the Confines; where they might be relieved and maintained, a War would be prepared for the King of *France*, who would be fain to spend many years in the regaining of his own, and by keeping him busie at home, that might hinder him from having time to think of the affairs of the Low-Countries, and of the recovery of the Kingdom of *Navarre*: and finally, if it should be convenient for the Crown of *Spain* to desire peace, the King by having that pawn in hand, might make himself be partly satisfied for his expences and losses; so that the profit and reputation which would ensue from that Counsel being present and manifest, the Expedition likewise ought to be present, and the Supplies quick and resolute.

These Letters, very conformable to the humour and designs of the Spaniards, prevailed to cause a resolution in the Court of prosecuting the enterprize according to this determination: Wherefore, though the *Sieur de Montpezat* strove to get a favourable return to the Duke of *Mayenne's* demands, he was answered much more resolutely than before; that Orders were given to the Archduke, and that determinations were to be sealed there, at which the Duke of *Mayenne* being near might be present himself: And King *Philip* was so pleased with this Counsel, that applying his whole mind unto it, and with a more than ordinary brevity dispatching the execution of business, in which he was wont to be very slow, he gave fitting Commissions in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and to his own Council, concerning what should presently be done.

But this design which (by many conjectures) was found out by the Duke of *Mayenne*, made him more solicitous than before, seeing himself reduced between two extremes, to the hard necessity, either of agreeing with the King, without expecting the Popes determination, or else to put his own liberty and the places that depended upon him into the hands of the Spaniards, contrary to what from the beginning he had firmly resolved. On the other side, it afflicted him that the Duke of *Elbans* had made his peace with the King; on the other, that the Duke of *Anmale* had made a Composition with the Spaniards, and in this doubtfulness sometimes he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorain's* counsel, and conclude *Bassompier's* Treaty; sometimes to meet with the Archduke, who had invited him to come to *Mons*, and there jointly to treat of their common Affairs; but before he determined to make peace with the King, he thought best to stay for new informations from the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, and the Baron of *Senecy*; and before he treated with the Archduke, he desired to see a new dispatch from *Montpezat*, that might certify him what was resolved on in *Spain*; and amidst these ambiguities he was well pleased that *Madam de Guise* should treat for her Son with her Sister the Dutchess of *Nevers*, to the end, that she might interpose to make his peace with the Kings and he was glad to hear that the Queen Dowager was gone into *Bretagne*, to treat an Agreement with her Brother the Duke of *Mercœur*; nor did it displease him,

1594

The Archdukes resolutions are approved and embraced in Spain.

The Duke of Mayenne seeing the threat of his hopes broken, and knowing himself to be constrained to one of two Resolutions, waveth in determining and interposes obstacles to gain time.

1594

The Pope permits Cardinal Gondi (who had stayed some time in Florence) to come to Rome, but with a command, not to speak a word about the Affairs of France.

Count Charles of Mansfeld enters into France with his Army, and besieges La Cappelie.

that his Mother *Madam de Nemours*, and his Sister *Madam de Montpensier*, being departed from *Paris*, where they had often discoursed with the King about the present affairs, were come to him to propound Conditions of Peace: But in all these things, he not only interposed delays, but secret obstacles and impediments, to the end, that businesses might be drawn out at length, and that between Peace and War, the Progress of Arms, and the Resolutions of the Towns that remained of his Party cooling, might allow him the benefit of time, to which, being by nature a Friend, he now thought it the only remedy for the safety of the present conjuncture. But that which kept him most of all from inclining absolutely to an Agreement with the King, was, the obstinateness of the Pope, who though (after the Duke of *Nevers* his departure, lest he should utterly break off the Treaty of the Kings Absolution) he had given way that Cardinal *Gondi* might come to *Rome*, yet had he done it with express command, that he should not open his mouth concerning the Affairs of *France*, whereby the Popes secret intention being hid, it was in appearance manifest, that he continued in the thought of rejecting the Kings earnest desires: And on the other side, that which withdrew him from agreeing with the Spaniards, was the obstinate persecution of him by the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d'Averra*; who after their departure from *Paris*, had discoursed with him at *Lyon*, and attributing all things that had come to pass amiss to his fault, used him scurvily, and openly threatened him, which he not enduring, but imputing the ill success of things to their impudence, despised and abused them no less both in words and actions.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*'s doubts were removed, and he necessitated to take some resolution by Count *Mansfeld*'s entry into *Picardy* with Ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and a convenient Train of Artillery; and though the Duke of *Angoulême* counselled him to advance into the Province, and besiege *Corbie*, yet he resolved to fall upon *La Cappelie*, a place near the Frontiers of the Dutchy of *Terrache*, accounted reasonably strong, but at that time (as they had intelligence) in as great want of Ammunition, as it was full of abundant store of Victual; so that they hoped, the taking of it on the one side would prove very easie, and on the other very profitable for the future sustenance of the Army.

La Cappelie, situate in a spacious Plain, is of a Quadrangular form, of no great circuit, and flanked in the Angles with four Bulwarks: It hath a deep Moat, and full of Water, which coming rather from a Rivulet than a River, that runs through the Field, is swelled and raised by a Bank or Dam, placed upon the edge of the Moat: It was likewise encompassed with a covered way, and a Counterscarp after the Modern Fashion; so that if to the strength of the place, there had been store of Ammunition, and constancy in the Defendents; it would have held the Spanish Army long in play. But the coming of the Enemies having been altogether unexpected, (for first, it was not believed they would come into *France* without the Duke of *Mayenne*, and then it was thought they would sit down before *Corbie*) the Defendents had so little Courage, or so little Conduct, that at the very first arrival, *Agostino Messias* Tertius of Spaniards, and the Marquiss of *Treviotes* Tertius of Italians, made themselves Masters of the Counterscarp without dispute, and yet not having lodged themselves in the place where the dam of the Water was, they fought two days with very great loss of men, before they could possess themselves of it; for the besieged having placed their greatest hopes in the defence thereof, strove with store of Cannon-shot, Fire-works, and an incessant Hail of Musket-bullets, to keep the Enemy far from thence. But the third day Colonel *la Berlotte* advancing suddenly with his Walloons in another place, came at last to the dam, and having broken the Engines that stopt the Water, and by the help of Pioneers made a descent to drain the Moat, it remained quite empty within a little time; wherefore the two following days, the Trenches were made, and perfected; and with a Platform which it was easie to raise in respect of the softness of the Earth, they planted Fourteen pieces of Artillery, Ten that battered right upon the Wall, and two at each Flank, that cleared and took away their defences. The Artillery plaid twelve hours together, and the breach having been viewed, *la Berlotte* with his Walloons advanced to fall on; but they within having thrown down a certain old Tower, and made the ruines of it fall into the Moat, the Water was thereby stopt in such manner, that rising in an instant, it drowned above seventy of the assailants, and the rest had much ado to save themselves, being plaid upon in their retreat with three Falconets laden with Tarding, which the Defendents had turned toward the breach. The next day

day they laboured to make a new passage for the Water to run out, which though it was effected more easily than before, yet there were slain seven Captains, and above one hundred Souldiers; but the defence of the Water being utterly taken away, and a very great space of the Wall being beaten down, the Sieur de Mailleraye, Governour of the place, not staying for the utmost force of the Army, resolved to surrender, and marching out with his Garison, their Goods and Persons frée, delivered up the place into Count Charles his hand.

In the interim the King laboured with infinite diligence to set the affairs of Paris again in order, for the establishment whereof to the general satisfaction, it was necessary to increase the number of the Parliament, and of the other Magistrates; he not being willing to break his word, or pay them with ingratitude; who having been nominated by the Duke of Mayenne, held the degree of Presidents or Counsellors, and who had lent their effectual endeavours, as well in excluding the Election of the Infanta, as in reducing the City to his obedience: And on the other side, not thinking it fit to put out them who in the worst times had kept the Parliament in the City of Tours. Wherefore President de Maistre who had held the first place, yielding to President Hurley and his other Seniors, took the seventh place; and Jehan Hudier, *Prevost des Marchands*, was created President of the *Chambre des Comptes*; as Martin l'Anglois Sieur de Beaupreire, and Guillaume du Ver Sieur de Nivet, obtained the degree of Masters of the Requests of the Palace Royal. The Parliament being settled, and reformed, and the High Chancellor with the Officers of the Crown sitting in it, it was solemnly decreed, That obedience ought to be yielded to King Henry the Fourth, as lawful Successor of the Kingdom, declaring all those to be Rebels, who should deny to acknowledge and obey him; and with another Decree they deprived the Duke of Mayenne of the Office and Title of Lieutenant General of the Crown. The like Decree was made by the Colledge of Divines of Sorbonne, who to the number of Seventy, declared the Absolution that was given the King to be good, and valid; and that, without mortal sin, none could deny him the obedience that was wont to be yielded to the other most Christian Kings of France; and going to the *Louvre* with the same company, they did him solemn homage, Jacques d'Amboise, Rector of the University, speaking for them all; which Ceremony was the more welcome to the King, because they were the Men that had even oppugned the lawful Title of his Succession.

But the affairs of Paris being settled, he received news that Count Charles had besieged la Cappelie, and having presently dispatched the Mareschals of Byron and Matignon to draw the Army together, he himself with Monsieur de Guiry, Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred Light-Horse went towards Picardy the same day that he was advertised of it. But, being come to Chauny, word came to him that the place was lost; so make amends for which, he began to think of setting himself upon some enterprize.

If the news of the Siege and taking of la Cappelie was very sad and displeasing to the King, it was not much more welcome to the Duke of Mayenne, who apprehended clearly, that since the Spaniards had not made any application to him, they were resolved for the future to manage the War of themselves: which thing grieving him extremely, because it not only deprived him of the remainder of his hopes, but also took away from him both his reputation and force, by means whereof he thought to better his condition for the accommodation, which he might have occasion to make with the King, and judging that all proceeded from the sinister relations of the Duke of Feria and Diego d'Ivorra, he resolved at last, laying all respects aside, to have an interview with the Archduke, and try to set his affairs right again with the Spaniards.

The Archduke likewise desired this interview, not for the same end the Duke of Mayenne had, but to see if he could induce him to put himself under the Catholick King, as the Duke of Anmale had done, and to deliver up into his hands those Towns and Fortresses, which yet depended on him: and therefore with courteous friendly Letters, and with messages full of trust and confidence, invited him to come to Bruxelles, which not being longer to be deferred, the Duke leaving his second Son the Count de Sammarive at Laon, with part of the Forces commanded by Colonel de Bourg, (he that came out of the *Bastille*) went with the remainder as far as Guise, where having left all his Souldiery, he passed on with a Train of only three score Horse to meet

1594

The Sieur de Mailleraye, Governour of la Cappelie, surrenders to Count Mansfeld.

* The Court of Accounts or Exchequer; there is one of them in every Parliament.

The Parliament of Paris decrees, That the King ought to be obeyed as lawful Prince, declares them Rebels that disobey; and takes away the Duke of Mayenne's Office of Lieutenant General.

The Colledge of Sorbonne declares the Kings Absolution valid, and the Doctors thereof come to do him solemn homage at the Louvre.

The Duke of Mayenne goes to Bruxelles to meet with the Archduke.

1594.

The Spanish
Ministers ad-
vise to keep
the Duke of
Mayenne pri-
soner in Flan-
ders.

meet the Archduke, who having received him with all the most exquisite demonstra-
tions of Honour, in other matters shewing himself very averse from the beginning, to
the demands which he made. The Duke thought that the same Spanish Ministers,
who had crossed him in *France*, did so likewise in his present Treaty; and therefore
being in private with *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and President *Riccardotto*; he began at large,
with the narration of all particulars, to shew that the adverseness of businesses had
proceeded wholly from the imprudence, and perverse managery of those Ministers; to
whom is not being obscure what was imputed to them by the Duke, (for they were
provoked to clear themselves of many things) they went on so far in anger, that they
began to counsel the Archduke to keep the Duke of *Mayenne* prisoner, and trust the
managing of affairs of *France* unto the Duke of *Guise*, accusing the Duke of *Mayenne*
of perfidiousness, and too crafty and dissembling a nature, and that only minding the
object of his ambition, he was much a greater Enemy to the Catholick King, than to
the King of *Navarre*. But the Archduke not only thought that a counsel too unwor-
thy, and such an one, as he believed, would gain him the general hatred of all men;
but also judged that in many things the Duke had reason on his side, and that those
Ministers had indiscreetly abused him beyond measure; nor did it seem strange to him,
since the Spanish Ministers had treated of making any other man King of *France*,
without consenting to his person; that he on the other side paying them in their own
coyn, should think of any other resolution, rather than to content and satisfy the
Spaniards; and as he was a Prince of great virtue, had a Friend to what was just and
fit, he counted it too great a fault, to deny the principal recompenses and honours to
so principal a Head, and one that had done so much for the common benefit. Be-
sides, he was of opinion that those Ministers counselled very crossly, to take away the
management of affairs from a man of so great reputation, and such experienced wis-
dom, to put it into the hand of the Duke of *Guise*, a young man, and though of a
high spirit; yet by reason of his youth, and want of experience, little able to rule so
great a weight. To all this he added the continual treating of the Dutchess of *Guise*,
to make her Sons peace with the King, which besides that it was known in the Arch-
dukes Court, was likewise dexterously mentioned by the Duke of *Mayenne* at con-
venient times; for which reasons, there having been many meetings between the
Princes, the business in hand began to change its form, the Archduke knowing that
the Duke of *Mayenne* was not in so weak a condition, as that he would easily submit
himself to the Spanish yoke: and on the other side, that he abated much of his former
pretensions by reason of the urgent necessity which pressed him at that present; so that
both of them reserving themselves for the opportunity of after-times, determined that
the Duke of *Mayenne* should go with his forces to join with Count *Mansfelt*, and that
jointly with a common consent they should manage the War, to oppose the Kings
proceedings, deferring till another time, both the establishing of conditions, and the
manner how they should order matters for the future.

It is resolved
at Brussels,
that the Duke
of Mayenne
shall join
with Count
Mansfelt to
oppose the
King together

The King (to whom the Duke of *Nevers* (lately returned out of *Italy*) and the
Duke of *Bouillon*, were joined) was already marched from *Chauny* with twelve thou-
sand Foot, and two thousand Horse, with intention to besiege *Laon*; where besides
the Duke of *Mayenne's* young Son, there was also the greatest part of his Personal
Estate; but to come upon it the more unexpectedly, and catch the Defendants unpro-
vided, he marched with the Army before, and by the way of *St. Quintin* and *Cressy*,
came near to *la Chappelle*, making shew as if he would assault the Spanish Camp; but
while standing near and facing the Enemy, they were skirmishing with one another,
he gave order that the Reer led by the Mareschal *de Byron* should march off, and go
back to besiege *Laon*, whither not many hours after, having first sent away the *Sieur*
de St. Luc, and then the Baron *de Salignac*, he with the Duke of *Nevers* departed the
next morning, and came last of all before the Town.

The King be-
sieged Laon, in
which the
Duke of May-
enne's Son
was, with
much of the
Dukes wealth

In it with Colonel *du Bourg*, and the Count *de Sommerive*, there were many Com-
manders of note, six hundred French Foot, two hundred Germans, three hundred
Neapolitans, sixty Cuirassiers, and two hundred Light-Horse; and besides the Soul-
diers of the Garrison, the Towns-men also concurred willingly to defend the place;
they had great store of Ammunition and Fire-works, and the Commanders (who had
suspected a siege) had prepared and fortified all convenient places in such manner,
that the siege seemed like to be of great difficulty, and uncertain event; and so much
the rather, because the Spanish Camp being near, it might keep the Kings Army in
jealousie

jealousie many ways; nor was it to be doubted, but that the Duke of *Mayenne* would use his utmost Forces to relieve and disengage his Son. Wherefore the King, intent before all things to shut up the passage against the relief which might come from many places, sent Monsieur *de la Chastre*, with the Troops under his command, to lie upon the way that leads from *Reims*, and the other places of *Champagne*, doubting that the Duke of *Guise* with the Forces he had in that Country, and perchance reinforced by the Duke of *Lorain*, might come on that side: on the other side, the Duke of *Nevers* places himself upon the other way that leads from *Soissons* right unto the Town; the Duke of *Longueville* with his Troops of the Province, quartered upon the way of *Noyon*, and of *la Fere*, and all these causing the field to be scoured with infinite diligence, were ready to oppose and fight with them that should advance to bring either victual or other relief to the besieged. The principal Pass by which the Spanish Army might come directly remained yet, upon which the King lay himself; and because the way was incumbered with an Hill that had a Wood upon the right hand, and a great Village upon the left, he took up his Quarters within the Village, and made Count *Soissons* and the *Sieur de Vic* encamp on the other side, at the entry of the Wood; and upon the top of a Hill, where the way was, Monsieur *d'Humieres* lay in the Field with three hundred Cuirassiers, and the Baron *de Giury* with five hundred Light-horse: besides, to the end the Enemy might not come unexpectedly, he sent the *Sieur de Clermont* of *Amboise* with five Companies of Harquebusiers on horse-back to lie at *Cressy*, and strengthened the Garison of *St. Lambert*, a Castle standing upon the same way the Enemies might come directly.

The Passes secured in this manner, five Redoubts were begun to make approaches to the Moat; of the first of which the Marechal *de Byron* had charge, Monsieur *de St. Luc* of the second, the Baron *de Salignac* of the third, Monsieur *de Montmartin* of the fourth, and the Count *de Grammont* of the last; and in every one of them the Infantry being set on work, besides many of the Country people, they laboured with wonderful great diligence, though they of the Town, both with their Artillery and strong Sallies, strove to hinder their Works in every place; insomuch that the two first days, before the Besiegers had time to recover themselves, there were above four hundred Souldiers slain, and among them the *Sieur de Forcade*, one of the Marechal *de Byron's* Lieutenants, and there were wounded the Baron *de Termes*, who lost a leg, and the Marquis *de Caures*, who within a few days died of his hurt.

But in the mean time the Spanish Army (which had received order from the Archduke resolutely to relieve *Laon*, according as the Duke of *Mayenne* should think fit to manage the business) having left *Cressy* and *St. Lambert* on the left hand, took upon the right, and came upon the thirteenth day of *June* within a league of the Kings trenches: the Duke and Count *Charles*, as soon as the Quarters of the Army were entrenched and fortified, intended to make themselves Masters of the Wood that was before them, and by means of it to draw so near the Town, that they might relieve it without venturing the sum of affairs. The *Sieur Montlucet* was fortified in the Wood with four Companies of Foot, who, when upon the fifteenth day, two Captains, the one an Italian, the other a Spaniard, advanced with fifty men to discover the quality and situation of the place, and of the way, repulsed them valiantly, but without any great difficulty, because there came so few of them, and had no design to take that Post: But the next morning the event of the business was quite contrary; for *la Berlotte* entering unexpectedly into the Wood with two thousand Foot, did with small resistance beat out *Montlucet*, who making his retreat in the Rear of all his men, was taken prisoner; and the Kings Regiment of Guards being advanced to oppose the Enemy, three Captains and many valiant Souldiers were slain in the first encounter: So that they being thus handled, would have retired, if Monsieur *de Vic*, with the Regiments of *St. Ange* and *Navarre*, had not come up to resist the Enemy: But the Tertia's of *Agostino Messia*, and the Marquis *de Trevico*, being likewise advanced, the service was exceeding hot at the entry of the Wood; and to second these, Count *Soissons*, and the Baron *de Giury* advanced on each hand; and on the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* with his own Troop, and the *Lorain* Light horse appeared in the entry of the Wood, to back the Foot of his own party. But the courage of the Infantry was not equal, and the Horse by reason of the narrowness of the place, fighting among Shrubs and Trees, could do but little service; whereupon the Kings Regiments receiving very great loss in the fight, began to stagger; and so much the rather, because the Duke of

1594

Count *Montlucet* having received order from the Archduke to relieve *Laon* with his forces as the Duke of *Mayenne* should think fit, marches within a league of the Kings trenches

The Spaniards beat the Kings forces out of a Wood, where they had fortified themselves

Mayenne

1594. *Mayenne* seeing a Wing of Muskettiers advance in the opening of a Meadow, had fallen upon them with threescore Horse, and cut them all in pieces; whereby it not only appeared, that the Enemies would have possession of the Wood, but also the Foot was in exceeding great danger of being defeated. Thus difficult and dangerous was the state of the encounter, when the *Mareschal de Byron* came up, and knowing the hazard of the Infantry, and of utterly losing the Wood, drawn by his wonted fierceness, he alighted from his Horse, causing the Count *de Torignyes* and *Sieur de la Curée's* Troops to do the like, and placing himself in the Front of the Battel, sustained and stopt the violence of the Spaniard. At the same time the King also came up, who though the Trees and Hedges hindred him very much, would needs have the Baron *de Guiry* advance with all his Horse, to attack the *Lorain* Cavalry, which being gallantly received, for the Duke of *Mayenne* himself was there in person, the conflict was as difficult, as bloody; and supplies hastening upon both sides from all parts, Count *Mansfelt* came into the Wood, and the *Sieur d'Humieres* went down from the Hill, so that the business grew to a certain kind of battel, in which though all fought not, yet the major part was either engaged or hindred by the unfitness of the place. The fight lasted with various success, and several encounters till the evening, at which time, the King having caused all his Infantry to lie upon the very way near the Wood, to fortifie against the Front of the Enemy, and stop up their passage, sent back his Horse to their wonted quarters. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, and Count *Mansfelt* considering that the most part of their Foot were advanced to make good the Wood; whereby their quarter was left so weak, that it might with danger be assaulted by the King in the Rear; and so much the more, if he should resolve upon it by night, they quitted the Wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the Camp, the Wood being left free, and exposed to the incursions, and skirmishes of both Armies.

The Kings forces take a great deal of Victual and Ammunition which were brought from *Noyon*, to be put into *Laon*.

While they fought here and kept the Kings forces busied, the Duke of *Mayenne* had given order, that *Nicolo Basti*, and the *Sieur d'Escluseaux*, Colonel of a French Regiment, should move from *Noyon* with abundance of Victual and Ammunition, to put it into *Laon*, for the relief of the place; but the Duke of *Longueville*, who scoured the ways on that side, having notice of it, laid an ambush for them not far from the Town, which though it was discovered by the Scouts that went before, yet the Convoy being either affrighted at that unexpected encounter, or thinking all the Kings Cavalry was there, took a resolution to retire, which not being able to do without time, and much confusion, by reason of their carriages, the *Sieur d'Escluseaux*, who was in the last Ranks, as soon as his men were routed remained prisoner; the Powder was divided among the Souldiers, and the carriages of victual burnt, but *Nicolo Basti* got back safe to *Noyon*.

The greatest difficulty of the Spanish Camp was want of victual, without which they could not lie long in that place, where while they staid, they did so incommode the King, that he could not prosecute the besieging of the Town; wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne* had caused great store of provisions to be made at *la Fere*, having determined to have them brought to the Camp, the straight way, which was in a manner behind them; for this purpose Six hundred Spanish Foot, a thousand Italians, and an hundred Light-horse were gone thither, the Commanders thinking that guard sufficient, because they believed not the King would dare to pass by their Camp, and leave it behind him, to go to a place, so far off, and so dangerous to fall upon them; but the thing proved otherwise; for the *Mareschal de Byron*, taking with him the *Sieur de Montigny*, eight hundred Switzers, and as many French Foot of the Regiments of *Navarre* and *St. Ange*, two Companies of English, the Baron *de Guiry* with the Light-horse, and four hundred Horse of the Count *de Torignyes*, and the *Sieur de la Curée*, departed by night from the Camp before *Laon*, and being come with wonderful silence within a League of *la Fere*, caused the Horse to lie hid in two little Woods, which were on each side the way, and he with his Foot hid himself in the Fields, which being full of Corn almost ripe, gave them conveniency to lie unseen. The Spanish Camp was not above two Leagues from that place, and people going continually from thence to *la Fere*, they were often like to have discovered the ambush, if the *Mareschal* very patient, beyond his own nature, had not with marvellous silence withheld his men, who many hours being already passed, began to be hungry, and were with much ado kept in by him; yet they persevered so long, that towards evening certain Carriages began to appear; having intended to have gone under favour of the night: Much more difficult

The *Mareschal de Byron* having placed himself in ambush, falls upon and takes great store of victual, which were going from *la Fere* to the Enemies Camp.

difficult was it then to withhold the English from falling upon the enemy before the time; but in the end, part of the Carriages being past, they rose up furiously and assaulted the Guards on all sides. The Van which was of Italian foot, made resistance valiantly, and the same did the Battel which was of Spaniards; but the Rear finding themselves nearer *la Fere*, faced about precipitately to retire; but with so ill fortune, that falling among the Horse, which was already come out of the Wood, it was in a moment cut in pieces. The defeat of them was a wonderful disadvantage to the rest of their companions, who, drawn into a Body, bravely withstood the fury of the Kings Infantry; for, being left unguarded in the Rear, they were assaulted also on that side by the Harquebusiers on Horse-back, and yet facing every way, and sheltering themselves with their Carriages, they made it good a great while, and that with no small loss to those of the King's party, among which, Colonel *St. Ange*, and Monsieur *Fauvelles* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Navar* were wounded, and still marching on, fought valiantly with their Pikes and Swords, being partly defended and covered by their Carriages, till the Marechal de *Biron*, fearing least the noise of it being heard, the whole Spanish Army should fall upon their backs; and therefore making haste to put the business to an end, caused the Gentry to alight, and advancing at the head of the Switzers, charged with so great violence, that the less number, not being able longer to resist the greater, the Italians and Spaniards stoutly defending themselves, were all slain upon the place: The Horse that fled were pursued by the Baron de *Giuri*, even to the Gates of *la Fere*; and of all those that were about the Carriages, very few were taken prisoners. On the Kings side were killed above Two hundred, and few less wounded, among which, in the last brush, the Sieur de *Camiſy*, Son-in-law to the Marechal de *Matignon*, and the Sieur de *la Curce*. In this place also *Henrico Davila* (who was one of those that alighted from their horses with the Count de *Torigui*) put his Ankle out of joynt with getting over one of the Carriages, and was in very great danger, of being lamed for his whole life. The Marechal de *Biron* considering, that by reason of the enemies nearness, he might be assaulted every moment, set fire on the Carriages to the number of Four hundred; and having spoiled some, and bringing away others of the Teams that drew them, retired with infinite celerity the same night.

But the Spanish Army failing of this hope, the Commanders were no longer able to subsist, and therefore determined to take some resolution, before they were further straightened by the necessity of hunger; but they disagreed among themselves, about the manner of their retreat; for Count *Mansfelt*, for the greater security, would have raised the Camp by night; and the Duke of *Mayenne* fearing both confusion, and dishonor, would needs have the retreat made by day. And because *Mansfelt* persevered in his opinion, he was content, that the Vanguard, led by the Sieur de *la Motte*, and the Battel commanded by the Count himself, should march away, with the greater Artillery, before it was light, and he, with the Rear, undertook to make the retreat by day. In this occasion, both the discipline and valour of the Duke of *Mayenne* (qualities for the most part obscured by ill fortune in his military enterprises) appeared clearly; for being to retire four Leagues, through an open Country, in sight of the Enemy, who had so much a greater number of gallant horse, he did it with so great order and resolution, that he received no damage at all in his retreat. He placed eight Corps de *Garde*, part Italians, and part Spaniards, commanded by *Cecilio de Sangra*, and *Don Alonso Mendoza*, and behind these he put the flying Squadron, in the Rear of which, he himself, with his Pike in his hand, and with him the Pince of *Avelino*, the Marquis of *Trevico*, *Agatino Messia*, *Don Antonio de Toledo*, *Don Juan de Bracamonte*, and above 100 Reformadoes, and a little before *la Berlette* retired with his Tertia of Walloons, who had six Field-pieces with them, ready to be turned against the Enemy: As soon as it was broad day light, the Walloons began to march; and after them the flying Squadron; at which time the King (who had notice of it from *Parabere*, being encouraged by the Marechal de *Biron*, who affirmed, he had left so many broken Carriages, and so many dead bodies upon the way, that the Enemies would find it extreme difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his Cavalry to fall upon them in the Rear; but the eight Corps de *Garde*, who were the last that moved, retired with admirable expertness; for as soon as the Wings of Musketeers had given fire, they fell off into the Rear of the Pikes without facing about, but fringing still towards the Enemy, and in the mean time the shot played that were among the Files,

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The Duke of Mayenne makes his retreat by day in the face of the Enemy, much superior to him in number, with so good order, that he receives no loss at all.

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who

1594- who had no sooner ended their volleys, but the hinder Wings were come to be the Front, and while they gave fire, the Squadron retired without turning their backs: after which, the second following, and after the second the third, and so the rest one after the other, drew off all by little and little to the Rere of the flying Squadron; which, when the Baron de Guiry was come up unto, with the Count de Soissons, and the rest that were at the Head of the Kings Cavalry, they fiercely charging their Pikes, and powring forth a terrible thick hail of Musket-shot, repulsed them in such manner, that they wheeled about, not daring to charge in amongst them; which having been done several times, the retreat went on with particular honor to the Duke of Mayenne, who, very tall of stature, and compleatly armed, stirred up the courage of all by his words and example, and also with his own hand over-turned the Sieur de Persy upon the ground, who, with a Troop of Light-horse had the boldness to charge his Squadron. But being come (already tired with service, and with heat) unto a narrower way, *la Berlotte* presented his Artillery, placed on each hand upon the banks of ditches, in such manner, that the Kings Horse were constrained to make an halt, letting the whole Camp march off safe unto *la Fere*: Nor did the obstacles alledged by the Marechal de Biron prove any hinderance; for the retreat proceeding slowly and warily, without hurry or confusion, the Pioneers had time to free and clear the way.

But the enemies Army being gone, the King returned unto the Siege, and began to batter the Town; and while the Artillery played upon it, from every redoubt, they made a mine, to blow up the Ramparts, and make a breach with more speed and Security; but the besieged, not being willing to lose themselves, without making due resistance, sallied out at the *Skys-gates* upon the first of July, and fell into the Marechal de Biron's and the Sieur de Montmartin's Trenches, with so much violence, that making themselves masters of the Redoubts, they made a very great slaughter there, Eleven Captains, and above Two hundred Soldiers being left dead upon the place; But the Marechal de Biron coming happily at the noise, and the soldiers running armed from all parts into the Trenches, the enemy was at last beaten in again, who, taking another course, made a furious counter-battery, from whence they dismounted and spoiled many pieces of Cannon, and yet all things being repaired with marvellous diligence, there was already a great part of the Wall beaten down, after which, the Rampart appearing high, it was necessary to stay till the mines and works under ground were brought to perfection; which, while they were about, the Baron de Guiry, who, with extreme diligence hastened the work, was shot in the head with a Musket in the flower of his age, and to the infinite grief of every one, lost his life; a Gentleman of great courage, and exceeding worth, but of so sweet behaviour, and so pleasing a wit, improved with additions of Learning, that forcing a general affection, he was praised and beloved by his very enemies; The mines (which had been many dayes in hand) being perfected, had very different effects; for the Sieur de S. Luc's proved fruitless, because the water got into it; the Count de Grammont's had vent given it by the besieged; the Sieur de Montmartin's threw down the Wall, but did no hurt at all to the Rampart; only the Marechal de Biron's, and the Baron de Salignac's wrought very great effects, and yet being assaulted, one by Colonel Grillon, and the other by the Count de Torigny, they were valiantly made good by the defendents, who having at the same time sprung * a *Fougade*, and blew up many of those, who inconsiderately were advanced upon the Rampart; the next day the assaults were redoubled several times, the Duke de Bouillon and the Marechal de Biron having the care of them: in which, though the assailants could not lodge themselves upon the Rampart, yet the besieged lost so many men, that without relief it was not possible for them to hold out longer; wherefore they began to parley, and upon the 22th of July Capitulated to surrender, if within twelve dayes the Duke of Mayenne did not either raise the Siege, or put at least six hundred Foot into the Town: but in such manner, that the besieged might not assist the relief any way, except onely in opening the Gate to it when it came, nor might receive less than Three hundred Foot at a time; Which Articles being made known unto the Duke, the King sent the Duke of Montpensier, the Admiral Villars, and the Sieur de Balagny, (who had newly submitted himself to his obedience) to possess the wayes as far as *la Fere*, and hinder the passage of relief, which not being come within the time prescribed, the Count de Sommerive, Colonel de Bourq, President Jeannin, and the whole Garrison marching out with their Armies, and Baggage, were conveyed

The Baron de Guiry slain.

The mines are sprung, *Laon* is assaulted, and valiantly defended.

* *Fougade* is a kind of mine of about eight or ten feet square, covered with stones, pieces of Timber, bricks, and such things as may do mischief to the assailants, being fired when they come upon it. The number of the defendents being diminished, they, not longer able to hold out, Capitulate and surrender.

convoied as far as *la Fere*, the King honouring the Duke of *Mayenne*'s young Son with great demonstrations of courtesie.

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The besieged of *Laon* had hoped, the Duke of *Guise* would bring them some relief by the way of *Champagne*, and the King had suspected the same; but the affairs of that Province were so distracted, that it was not possible for him to think of stirring at that time; for there were not onely practices on foot in every Town, but with every Governor in favour of the King; and not onely the people were inclined to acknowledge him, as had been clearly seen in the Commotion at *Trayes*; but more pernicious thoughts reigned even among those of the very party.

Monsieur *de St. Paul*, a man of mean parentage, had, by all the degrees of War, raised himself to the Office of Colonel in the time while the Duke of *Guise*'s Father was living, and had served him with so much valour and fidelity, that he deserved not onely to hold one of the first places in his favour, and also to be advanced to higher charges of Command; but being favoured by his protection, had, by the marriage of a very rich Widdow, settled himself in a gallant and plentiful fortune. He, after the accident at *Blois*, having, as one of the principal dependants, taken part with the D. of *Mayenne*, continued to serve with so much diligence, and so prosperous success, that he not onely was appointed Lieutenant to the Government of *Champagne*, which Province was governed under the name of the Duke of *Guise*, though a prisoner; but also in process of time he was by the Duke of *Mayenne* created and declared Mareschal of France: He, when *Paris* was besieged, having gathered together great store of victual in the Province of *Brye*, put them happily into the City, while the King stood facing the Duke of *Mayenne*, and he thence drew so great a profit, that, added to the Dowry of his Wife, he made himself possessor of very considerable riches, which, together with his pay from the Spaniards, (who at first proceeded with an open free hand) gave him conveniency to gain many followers and dependents, and to set himself in a condition of high reputation. His prosperity of fortune was accompanied (as it is wont) with pride of mind, and haughtiness of carriage, in so much, that the Duke of *Guise*, being at liberty, and come into the Province, he who was accustomed to rule of himself, did very unwillingly hear of submitting himself to his command: and since the obligation of benefits received, and the greatness of his blood did not permit him to refuse obedience, he endeavoured at least to keep at a distance from him, and interpreting his Orders and Commissions his own way, onely executed what suited with his own fancy, and excused himself for the rest under several pretences. The declining of the affairs of the League increased his Pride and his Ambition; and seeing the Princes of *Lorain* disagreed among themselves, and were ill-grounded, he took the greater boldness, and in his thoughts went on to a design of making himself Master of certain places, whereof he had the command.

He began with seizing upon the Duchy of *Retel*, belonging to the Duke of *Nevers*, and with intolerable arrogancy assumed of himself the title of Duke of *Reteloys*; nor stopping here, he went on plotting which way to make himself Master of *Vitry*, *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, and *St. Disier*; and he was the more fixt upon his thought when he saw the Spaniards intent upon gaining the French Lords and Commanders, and getting them into their pay; intending, as soon as he was in possession of those places, or some of them, to put himself under the protection of the Spaniard, and labour to establish himself in his usurped greatness.

To this end he began to introduce a Garison of his adherents into the City of *Rheims*, and to design the building of a Citadel, which might serve for a curb to keep the Citizens in obedience, who, not being accustomed to be commanded by a *Militia*, fearful of losing their liberty, and of being made subject to many burthens and insolencies of the Soldiers, (to keep whose affection *St. Paul* cared not, though they plundered and oppressed the people) oftentimes took recourse, and made their complaints thereof unto the Duke of *Guise*, who having written also about it many times, and seeing he was not obeyed, not onely took a wondrous great disgust at it; but also began to perceive *St. Paul*'s arts and his intentions. Wherefore, departing from *Paris* after the Truce was expired, and being come into that Province with an intent to remedy so great a danger, he wrote resolutely that there should be no more soldiers brought into that City, the fidelity whereof he suspected not: But *St. Paul* continuing his design, without making reckoning of the command he had received, and the complaints of the Citizens multiplying, the Duke went thither well

Col. *St. Paul* takes upon him the title of Duke of *Reteloys*, and while he plots to get also the City of *Rheims*, he is killed by the D. of *Guise*.

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accompanied to bridle the insolency of the attempt; but so far was *St. Paul* from forbearing, that on the contrary, being either in greater necessity or suspicion, he persisted yet to call some Companies into the Town; which being come to the Dukes knowledge, and he inflamed with a generous disdain, not thinking to endure it, was the cause, That coming one morning out of the Church, and meeting with *St. Paul*, who daigned not to company him, he asked him the reason, Why, contrary to his Orders, he yet brought more Soldiers into the City? to which he answering, That he did it for the common security, and because he had notice of some practices that were on foot in the Town; the Duke seeking to make a quarrel, replied angrily, and with high injurious words, That those were inventions of his own; but that he would teach him to obey. *St. Paul* being incensed with these contumelious speeches, and not enduring such a publick affront, told him, That being *Mareschal of France*, he acknowledged no superior in matters of War: And in saying those words, whether by chance, or by way of boasting, put his hand upon his Sword; at which action, the Duke running upon him with his Sword drawn, and thrusting him quite through the body, instantly took away his life: With him fell his ill-grounded greatness; but the Soldiery was displeased at it, which, by reason of his indulgence to them, and of the profit they made under his command, loved and honoured his name; nor were the Citizens (though they rejoyced at his death) any way satisfied afterward; for the strength of the League still declining, the Duke of *Guise* resolved both to keep the Soldiers there, and prosecute the design of making a Cittadel.

But the example of *Rheims* stirred up all the other Cities, and many Governors of the Province; in such manner, that all of them were in a commotion, and had an inclination to put themselves under the King's obedience, to free themselves from imminent dangers. So that scarce could the Duke of *Guise* withstand the troubles of his own Government, much less was he able to succor or assist the necessity of others: Nor was his stay there, and his diligent care sufficient to keep them all faithful; for the *Sieur de Peschay*, Governor of *Chasteau-Thierry*, at the same time when *Laon* was surrendered, made composition with the King, and with the same conditions the rest had, keeping his Government, went over unto his party.

The *Sieur de Peschay*, Governor of *Chasteau-Thierry*, submits himself with that place to the Kings obedience.

Almost about the same time happened the revolt of the City of *Amiens*; for, the People stirred up by the Kings adherents, who told them, That the Duke of *Aumale* having made agreement with the Spaniards, was likely to put the City under the dominion of strangers, attempted to drive out the Duke who was in the Town without a Garrison; for the inhabitants alledging their privileges, would not receive any; but the tumult having lasted four dayes without any certain resolution, the Duke of *Mayenne* came thither, who being admitted only with the company of his Guard, appeased (as he thought) the tumult, and reconcil'd the Chief Citizens to the Duke of *Aumale*; but, after he was departed, to return again to the Army, the people took up Armes afresh, crying out openly, *For the King, for the King*; and having brought *Monsieur d'Humieres* into the City, drove out the Duke of *Aumale*, who, having lost the hope of being able to uphold himself, chose to depart, before he should enter into a thought of seizing upon his person.

The Citizens of *Amiens* raise a tumult against the D. of *Aumale*, and put themselves into the Kings hands.

The *Sieur de Balagny* was before this gone over to the King's party, with the City of *Cambray*; which having been in the power of the French, ever since the time of the Duke of *Alencon*, and after his death possessed by his mother, as inheritrix of what her son had gotten, had been put under the Government of the *Sieur de Balagny*, who, the Queen being dead, and the revolution of *France* following, chose to take part with the League, to the end the Spaniards might be kept from troubling him; and, of Governor, by little and little made himself absolute Master, both of so noble and famous a City, and of its most fertile Territory; but now the affairs of the League declined, he desiring to keep that dominion, held a Treaty with the King, that if he would declare him Prince of *Cambray*, and after his declaration protect him from the Spanish Forces, he would submit himself to his obedience, and to the Sovereignty of the Crown of *France*; and that moreover he would receive the King's Garrisons into the City, and Castle, obliging himself to serve him in time of War, with Two thousand Foot and Five hundred Horse, and that on the other side the King should pay Seventy thousand Crowns every year to maintain the Garrison at his devotion. It was not hard to obtain these conditions from the King, as well because of his desire to keep the supream dominion of that Principality unto himself, as to oppose such

The *Sieur de Balagny*, who had had the Government of *Cambray* from Queen *Katherine*, as heiress to the D. of *Alencon*, and after adhering to the League, had made himself Master of it, makes composition with the King, upon very large conditions.

a difficult encounter unto the enemy upon the frontiers; and though these reasons were manifest and apparent, yet many stuck not to say, that the King condescended to grant *Balagni* that Principality which was already in the power of the French, to please *Madam Gabrielle d'Estree*, whom he ardently loved, and who was nearly allied to *Balagni*: However it was, the King having caused the Patents to be dispatched, and allowed in the Parliament before he went from *Paris*, sent the *Marschal de Retz* about this time to make him be elected, and declared Prince of *Cambrai* by the City, confirming the Title to his Wife, his Sons, and his posterity, and after the taking of *Laon*, he entred personally into the Town with his Army, received the homage of obedience, and having settled a Garrison, and the affairs of the City, returned to *Amiens*, where, being received with wondrous pomp, he granted the same conditions to the Citizens, which, with his wonted liberality, had been granted to the other Cities. In this expedition, the King created two *Marschals of France*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the *Sieur de Balagni*, intending to make use of them both in the War, which he already designed to make against the Spaniards.

The news of the King's prosperous successes, which, from several parts came successively to *Rome*, moved, but did not much trouble the Pope; for, having already secretly given the King hopes, that he would give him his Benediction, and signified so much unto him, not onely by the *Sieur de la Cielie*, but also by words that might receive a double interpretation, intimated as much to *Paulo Paruta*, the Venetian Ambassador, a prudent man, who was well able to apprehend the Pope's intentions; he was pleased to hear businesses went on in such a way, that he might not prevent, but be prevented by the motion of the people; and that he might come to his last determination, in such manner, as he might seem to be drawn unto it by necessity, and that the Spaniards might not condemn him of too inconsiderate forwardness, nor accuse him of want of inclination to the interests of their greatness; For this cause he had from the beginning of the year, permitted Cardinal *Gondi* to come to *Rome*, and though he did it with a manifest injunction, that he should not open his mouth about the affairs of *France*, yet secretly in their private meetings he gave him leave to alledge and repeat all the King's reasons to him, to represent the disorders, and wants of the Clergy, to put him in minde of the causes, why Religion would be in danger, if he should not satisfy the King, and finally, to inform him of every small particular, that he might make use thereof to the advantage of his design; For this same cause (though he knew it) he was not offended at the Decree of the Divines at *Paris*, in favour of the King, but rather was well pleased, those very men, who had made the preamble and way to make him be excommunicated, should now be as active in smoothing the passage to his reconciliation; and though upon all occasions he shewed anger and disdain in his words, in his private actions he did not so, but rejoiced as often as he heard that his perseverance was interpreted obdurateness, telling the Spaniards, as well Cardinals, as Ambassadors, who were at his ear every day, that he suffered much, and exposed his own reputation to a general blame, because he would not dissent from their desires; in the mean time, he also satisfied his own conscience, by making himself certain of the King's constancy, and of the truth of his conversion, and by means of *Sannesio*, and *d'Offat* had let him know, that many conditions were necessary to his rebenediction, and particularly, that he not having any lawful heir male, the young Prince of *Conde*, who was nearest to the Crown, should be taken out of the hands of the Hugonots, and bred up in the Catholick Religion, to the end that whatever should happen, they might not fall again into the former dangers and inconveniences; which having been also intimated by way of discourse, both to Cardinal *Gondi*, and the Venetian Ambassador, the King was not only advertised of it, but counsel'd to take away that scruple, because it might hinder the progress of what was in Treaty; wherefore he began to think, by what means he might get him out of the Hugonots hands, who, after the King's Conversion, esteemed him much more dearly, that they might breed themselves up a head, and support unto their faction.

But Cardinal *Gondi* thinking himself informed of all those things that might take away the Pope's doubts, and facilitate the King's reconciliation, resolved to return into *France*, and to endeavour the execution of them, by speaking with the King himself in person; so being come to the Camp before *Laon*, he was two dayes in close conference with the King, and going from thence to *Paris*, feared not to command the Clergy to use those Prayers again, which were wont to be made for the most Christian Kings,

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Cardinal *Gondi* being returned to *Paris*, commands as superior of the Clergy of that City, that they should use again the Prayers that were wont to be made for the King of *France*, and that they should acknowledge *H. the Fourth*, their lawful King.

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Words of
Pope Clement
the Eighth to
the Duke of
Sessa the Spa-
nish Ambassa-
dor.

Kings, and absolutely to acknowledge *Henry the Fourth* for their true and lawful Lord, sharply also reprehending, and driving from his presence, certain men of Religious Orders, who dared to oppose that determination; which, though (as other things) it was written to *Rome*, and amplified, the Pope made no other shew of resenting it, than to tax *Gondi* for no good Cardinal, and to threaten, that with time and opportunity he would punish him for his fault; adding, that the affairs of *France* were in such a condition, as it was not fit to put more fuel to that fire, which was already kindled; since the businesses of the Catholick Union went on so ill, that it would be no small matter to be able to uphold it; but the news of the taking of *Laon*, and the retreat of the Spanish Camp being come, the Pope made shew to be very angry; and desiring to find means to make it appear, that the fault was the Spaniards, he told the Duke of *Sessa*, that the Catholick King desired to have him to resist onely with spiritual Arms, but that he in the mean time was not careful to make use of Temporal ones; that he should remember, though Excommunications are pernicious to the Souls of the obstinate, yet are they not destructive of their corporal affairs; and that whosoever would have businesses effected, must unite the two Swords, and proceed equally with both hands; that he saw, or thought he saw, the Catholick King was already weary of expence, and of the War, and that if it were so, he desired to be made privy to it, that he might in time find the best remedy that might be for the danger of Religion, since the French Union was already in a manner dissolved, and the Spanish Armies either could not, or did not care to sustain that weight. These stinging words of the Pope, deeply pierced the minds of the Spaniards; who, suspecting the end to which he tended, and not being willing to give him that occasion, which they were of opinion he sought, they wrought with the same heat not only into *Spain*, shewing the King the necessity, either of yielding, or of doing something in good earnest, but also to *Bruxelles*, to the end the Arch-Duke might sustain the manifestly falling affairs of the League.

The Duke of
Mayenne goes
to *Bruxelles*,
where he is
treated with
compliance.

Wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne*, after the loss of *Laon*, being gone back to that Court, to find means to settle their common affairs, yielding now something on both sides to the quality of the time, they treated a little more pleasingly to each other; for the Duke knowing himself in a weak estate, had abated much of his first demands, and the Arch-Duke knowing it was no time to exasperate him, for fear he should be driven into utter desperation; and seeing that he could neither accommodate his mind, nor his ears to hearken to a Treaty of putting himself under the Catholick Kings obedience, as *Rosne* and the Duke of *Anmale* had done, he resolved to hold him in hand with a shew of fitting conditions, and of a Treaty in a manner equal, still keeping alive the proposition of the *Infanta's* election, being certain afterwards to bring matters to his own end and intention, and to behave himself in his secret design, in such manner as time and opportunity should advise; Wherefore, there having been a long Treaty between President *Riccardotto*, and President *Jeannin*, and the Princes themselves, having often conferred together, they at last agreed to establish a Capitulation, which seemed just and honourable to both parties.

The Substance
of the agree-
ment conclud-
ed between
the Duke of
Mayenne and
the Spaniards
at *Bruxelles*.

The Agreement contained in substance, that the Catholick King should continue to use the Duke of *Mayenne* as before, in the quality of Lieutenant-General of the State, and Crown of *France*, and that so he should be acknowledged in all places and Armies, where he should chance to be: That the Ten thousand Crowns by the Moneth, should continue to go on, which had been assigned to him by the Catholick King from the beginning: That he on the other side, should continue to make War in those Places, where he should think best, and particularly in the Province of *Bourgogne*; for the upholding whereof, certain supplies of Horse and Foot should be given him; That whatsoever should be acquired, should be held by him in the name of the King, who, in due time should be chosen, by the common consent of the French Confederates of the Apostolick See, and of the King of *Spain*; That the said King should be obliged, to reinforce his Armies to make War in *Dauphine*, *Picardy*, and *Bretagne*, those conquests likewise which should be made, being to be held in the name of the future King, under French Governors: and that the Dukes of *Lorain*, and *Guise*, and the other Lords, and Heads of the *Union*, should be exhorted to continue the War.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking, that by these conditions (though ambiguous) he had in some measure stopt the precipice of his affairs, departed from *Bruxelles*,
and

and with a Gentleman sent from the Arch-Duke, went straight to *Nancy* to speak with the Duke of *Lorain*; His intention was to try to keep him united to the League, and to persuade him to continue the War; but he by the means of Monsieur de *Bassompier*, had not only concluded a Truce with the King of *France*, but also being desirous to disburthen himself of the expence, permitted his soldiers to take pay under him; wherefore the Baron d' *Offanville*, and the Sieur de *Tremblecourt* with Three thousand Foot, and Four hundred Horse, had put on white Skarfs, and were gone to serve the King, having obliged themselves to molest the County of *Bourgogne*, which till then had been neutral, and had not been troubled on any side. The Duke of *Mayenne* having found things in this Condition, and not having been able to remove the Duke of *Lorain* from his inclinations to Peace, resolved to go into the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, (the Dutchy and the County are Provinces divided one from another; that appertaining to the King of *France*, and this by antient division to the King of *Spain*) and there endeavoured to establish himself absolutely, holding already the most part of the Towns, as Governor of the Province; for he had plotted, whatsoever event his affairs should have, to retain either the free dominion, or at least the Government of that Dutchy. But the King, who was very well aware of his design, after he saw the Treaties of Peace broken off, which had been held by the means of *Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, resolved to oppose what he intended concerning the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*; and that he might make use of the boldest of all his Commanders, he chose the Marechal de *Biron* Governor of that Province, and made him be set in order with convenient Forces to go to recover those places.

In the mean time *Tremblecourt* and *Offanville* were gone into the * *Franche Compté*, and having suddenly made many incursions into the Country, took *Vesne* and *Jainville*, putting the whole Province in wondrous terror, and confusion; for, by reason of the Neutrality which had made the People secure, there were no Forces in the Province able to oppose their invasion; wherefore, having hastily demanded succors both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*, though some few were sent to keep Garrison in the principal places; yet the Winter beginning, would not suffer greater preparations to be made by the Spaniards, and so much the rather, because the very season hindred the King of *France* his Soldiers from being able, in respect of the smallness of their number, and the quality of the weather, to make any greater progress.

That which compleated the disordering of the League, was the composition of the Duke of *Guise*, who, either incensed that the Duke of *Mayenne* had hindred his greatness; or else vext, that the Spaniard had shewed him a flash of exaltation, and then had presently drawn in those beams, shutting up the passage to all other favors; and knowing that his Fathers ancient greatness, was all turned upon the Duke of *Mayenne*, whereby he, both in regard of his youth, and because he had no Dependents, was fain, not only to yield the first place, but also to content himself with one of the inferior ones, resolved, about this time, to establish his own fortune with the King, and by the means of his Mother, and of the Marechal de *la Chastre*, agreed for himself, his Brother the Prince of *Jainville*, and Monsieur *Louis* destined to an Ecclesiastical life, to restore *Rheims*, *Vitry*, *Rocroy*, *St. Dizier*, *Guise*, *Moncornet*, and the other places in *Champagne*, and the quarters thereabout unto the Kings obedience, receiving in recompence thereof the Government of *Provence*, Four hundred thousand Crowns, to pay the Debts their Father had ran into, and many Ecclesiastical preferments for the third Brother, which formerly were the Cardinal of *Bourbone*, who, after a long sickness, held by the Physicians to be an Hectick Fever, departed this life about this time, not without suspicion of Poyson. The Treaty of this agreement had been very long; for the Duke of *Guise* stood to retain the Government of *Champagne*, and the King would not deprive the Duke of *Nevers* of it, and there were likewise exceeding great contentions, about giving him the Government of *Provence*: for the Duke of *Esperson*, who had gotten it after the death of his Brother, and had, by many successful enterprises against the Duke of *Savoy*, and against the League, settled himself in the command, was not willing to leave it; nor was it this alone that hindred it; but the High Chancellor, and many of the Council persuaded the King, not to put that Province into the Duke of *Guise* his hands, to which he pretended right, as heir of the House of *Anjou*; but the King desired on the one side to have the Duke of *Esperson* leave that Government, into which he had skrew'd himself, in the greatest distraction of affairs, without his Commission: and on the other, he knew that it was necessary to remedy the present, without having so unreasonable a fear of the future:

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The Duke of Lorain makes a truce with the King.

* Or County of Bourgogne.

The King sends the Lorain Forces that were come to him, to make incursions into the County of Bourgogne.

The Duke of Guise leaves the League, and makes his composition with the King.

The Duke of Guise, as heir of the House of Anjou, pretends rights unto Provence.

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besides that, the Duke of *Guise's* ingenuity and moderate nature, of which he had given clear testimony in the businesses lately treated by the Spaniards, perswaded the King to a confidence in him. Therefore the Agreement was established, whereby, as the King's party increased in strength and reputation, so the League was not only weakened and languishing, but little less than utterly dissolved.

The Duke of *Mercœur* is disgusted at the Spaniards in *Bretagne*, because they would not meddle in matters out of that Province.

Now, having told the principal matters of the War, appertaining to the main body and substance of affairs, the things that hapned in the remoter Provinces of the Kingdom, ought likewise briefly to be related. The party of the League was most firmly settled in *Bretagne*; and more powerful there than in any other place; for, besides the Forces of the Province, which (much more united than any other) followed the Duke of *Mercœur*, who, by the prosperity of many successes, had raised himself to a very high estimation, there were also Five thousand Spanish Foot under *Don Juan de P. Aquila*, who, possessing *Blauet*, and the neighbouring places about it, were ready to help wheresoever need should require in that Province. But, their mindes here were neither more agreeing, nor more satisfied than in other places; for the Duke of *Mercœur* was discontented, that the Spaniards should proceed with ends and designs apart; nor could he frame his ears to hear talk of the pretensions which the *Infanta of Spain* had unto that Province, as contrary to those rights which his Wife *Margaret Countess of Pontieu* pretended also to it: nor did other things trouble him more, than the Commission they had, not to meddle in matters out of that Province; insomuch, that when the course of Victory carryed him upon some important design into the neighbouring Provinces, they clipt his wings, because they should not pass beyond the limits of *Bretagne*; They, on the other side, were ill-satisfied, that he limiting them within the circuit of *Blauet*, would not suffer them to take footing in the Province; and because going forth of that Fortrefs, seated in the extremity of a *Peninsula*, they had begun to raise a Fort in the neck of another *Peninsula*, which blocked up on the land-side, and hindred the entrance of ships into the Port of *Brest*, a place frequented by the Northern Nations, the Duke seemed not to consent unto it, and to use many arts, that the Fortification might not go forward.

On the other side, the Marechal d' *Amont* Governor for the King, had more courage than strength; for the wants of the near adjacent Provinces, did not suffer him to draw together above One thousand English Foot, Two thousand French, and Four or five hundred Horse of the voluntary Nobility of the Country: but after that the King's conversion began to give him favour, and to move the humours of the Province, he advanced, and received *Laval*, a Town that voluntarily submitted to him, and then having laid siege to *Marlais*, he took it, notwithstanding the Duke of *Mercœur* laboured to relieve it; and being recruited with new English Foot, led by Colonel *Norris*, which had been in *Normandy*, he resolved to assault the Spaniards new Foot before it was brought to perfection, and before they could settle themselves in the possession of that fertile and populous Sea-coast: Wherefore, having drawn the Army together, in which there were Two thousand English Foot, commanded by Colonel * *Norris*, Three thousand French, commanded by the Baron *de Molac*, Three hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back, and Four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furnished with Artillery, Ammunition, and other necessaries, by Monsieur *de Sourdiac* Governor of *Brest*, who, being hard by, to ease himself of the trouble of the Spaniards, supplied all wants, he brought his Army before it upon the Eleventh of October.

The Marechal d' *Amont* Governor for the King in *Bretagne*, besieges the Fort of *Croisil*, begun by the Spaniard.
* Sir John Norris.

The Fort was seated upon a natural Rock, and compassed by the Sea quite round, except only where the *Peninsula* joyns to the firm Land; on which side they had raised two Bulwarks in form of a *Tenaille*, and between them was the Gate, with its Draw-bridge, Moat, and Counterscarp, all designed with excellent skill, though not yet perfected to a defensible condition. The Governor of the Fort was *Don Tomaso Prassider*, an old experienced Commander, and he had with him Four hundred Spanish Foot, with plentiful provisions of all things necessary for the defence of it. The difficulty of that siege appeared at the very first; for, as soon as they began to break ground, and make their approaches by the help of Trenches unto the edge of the Counterscarp, they found, there was not above two foot of earth, after which they met with the impediment of the hard rock; wherefore it was necessary to make use of Gabions, in the bringing, planting, and filling whereof, they disputed for the space of nine dayes, with great execution upon the Besiegers; they within with singular art making use of small pieces of Artillery; wherewith they were abundantly stored,

and falling out at the *Sky-gate* sometime of one Bulwark, sometimes of the other, molested them continually, no less by day than they did by night; but at last the constant assolation of the Besiegers, overcame the difficulty of the enterprise, and having planted twelve pieces of Cannon, they began to play upon the Bulwarks; and though at the first their Bullets, striking upon the Earth, did little harm, yet their continual battering having broke the fence of Bains wherewith the Rampart was fastened together, and made it slip down, the Moat began to fill by little and little, affording better conveniency of advancing to make the assault. Wherefore the Baron *de Molac* with the French assaulted the Bulwark on the right hand; and Colonel *Norris* with the English assaulted the other on the left: But though the assault was bold and violent, the Spaniards received it with so much constancy, that after a wondrous hot fight of three hours, the Assaultants were precipitately beaten off, above an hundred being slain, with three French Captains, and four English; and that loss was much increased by their own Cannoniers; for they, as the Assaultants were retiring, going to fire their Artillery against the Defendants that were upon the Rampart, did it with so little discretion, that they blew up their Powder, and killed many of their Soldiers. This accident gave the Spaniard great opportunity to make up their Works again; for while they stayed for new Supplies from *Brest*, of powder, and new instruments to use their Cannon withal, they had time to mend up their Bulwarks again with the same Earth, fortifying them with two strong Pallisadoes (the French call them * *Rbraiser*) which compassed them round about: But the Battery being furnished again, they began to batter again upon the fourth of *November*, with more fury than they had done before; and the Pallisadoes yielding easily to the force of the Cannon, they began to plain the way once more, and make it fit for an assault; which whilst it was just ready to be given, there came such a sudden storm of Thunder and Lightning, and such abundance of Rain, that it was necessary to defer it till the next day, in which time the besieged cut off the points of the Bulwarks, and made a retrenchment, to cover themselves in such manner, that the next morning they sustained the assault very valiantly with small loss to themselves, and a very great one to the Enemies, who were scarce gone down from the assault, and sought to their rest, when the Spaniards falling out to the number of seventy, suddenly made themselves Masters of the Battery of the French, kill'd a Colonel, and above two hundred other Soldiers, whom they found unprovided, and laid to sleep, and nail'd three pieces of Cannon; yet the Baron *de Molac* being come up, they were beaten back into the Moat, not having left above eleven of their men.

The French assault *Croisl*, but are bravely repulsed by the Spaniard.

* *Storm-plac*.

The French renew the assault, but are beaten off with great loss.

The Siege went on but slowly; for the *Marshall d'Almon* being burthened with years, but more with toll and labour, was fallen dangerously sick; and yet the continual molestation they of the Fort received, consumed them from day to day, in such manner that they began earnestly to sollicite relief; but the Duke of *Meremur* took small care of them, for he was not displeased that the Fort should be taken, knowing the Spaniards aim'd to possess themselves of all that coast, which, full of Islands, secure Harbours, and great well-peopled Towns, by reason of the Supplies it might receive from the Spanish Fleet, was marvellous opportune to nourish a long War, and dangerous combustion in all *Breigne*; wherefore though he had been constrained to grant them *Blanc*, yet he took it extream ill, they should endeavour to enlarge themselves further; for this cause alledging divers excuses, and causing many obstacles and impediments to arise, he still deferred the relief; *Don Juan del Aquila*, who had not any number of Horse with him, could very hardly move to raise the siege of *Port Croisl*, (for so they called the place) yet the siege still pressing, and it seeming to him a very great fault to let his own Country-men be destroyed without assistance, he advanced with four thousand Foot, and two pieces of Cannon towards *Quimpercorant*, to see whether the jealousy of that place could move the French to draw off; but having met the *Sieur de Mombarant*, who lay upon that way with two hundred *Carabiers*, and fifty *Marquebusers* on Horse-back, though he retiring by little and little, drew at last within the Walls, yet the Town was so secured thereby, that the fear of losing it made no necessity of raising the siege of *Croisl*, besides he had no such Artillery, nor preparations, as were sufficient for that enterprise; wherefore turning another way, and passing under the Walls of the Town, he came upon the Road that leads straight from *Quimpercorant* to the French Camp, intending to encamp in advantageous places, where the Horse might not hurt them, and try in some sort, by drawing near, to hinder

The Duke of *Meremur* takes no care to relieve *Croisl*.

Don Juan del Aquila marches to relieve his Country-men; but having neither horse nor other preparations sufficient, he finds the enterprise very difficult.

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the taking of the Fort; but *Mimbrant* following them in the Rere with his Cavalry, and the *Sieur de Tremblay* advancing from the Camp with an hundred and fifty Horse more, *Don Juan del Aquila* was forced to march not only very warily, but very slowly, lest he should be molested in open places by the Cavalry, to which the *Chevalier de Poissonville*, and the *Sieur de Bastermay* being joined with the rest of the Horse that belonged to the Camp, he was constrained to go a great circuit of ground, to get to the Peninsula by Land, which if he had had Shipping, he might have done in a short space by Water.

In the mean time the *Mareschal d'Aumont* recovered of his sickness, having call'd *Monfieur de Sourdiac* unto the Camp, press'd the besieged with his utmost power; and having upon the eighteenth day of *November*, battered from break of day, till the Sun began to decline, he caused the *Baron de Molac* to give the assault, who being beaten off, *Colonel du Bordes* fell on, and he being likewise repulsed, with a greater slaughter than the other, the English without delay stormed it on the other side, and a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen renewed the assault on the other; and though *Martin Frobisher*, one of the English Colonels, and *Colonel Trescamp*, one of the French Commanders, were killed in the first fury of the assault, yet the Defendents being overcome more by their own weariness, than the valour of their Enemies, were at last, after two hours resistance, all cut in pieces, without stirring one foot from the defence of the Rampart, upon which they fought desperately to the last man, and that with so much loss to the Assailants, of whom there were slain that day above six hundred, and all the best and stoutest Souldiers of the Camp, that if *Don Juan del Aquila*, who was come very near, had marched straight on, perchance the *Mareschal d'Aumont* could not have escaped a very great defeat, and the Fort would the same day have been lost and recovered; but he staying for fear of the Cavalry, and quartering so near that he heard the rattling of the shot while the fight lasted, when he at the same time was told of the singular courage, and total destruction of his Country-men, he resolved to retire the next morning, and not being followed by any body, marched away to *Blauet* without any other attempt.

After many assaults the defendents of *Craisl* are all cut in pieces, but with some of most remarkable valour, and very great loss to the assailants.

After this the Kings forces increased in that Province; for the *Sieurs de St. Luc*, and *Mommartin*, departing from the siege of *Leon*, were come thither with five Companies of Switzers, three Regiments of French, and three Companies of Harquebusiers on Horse-back, who in their march having either by force, or composition taken many weak Towns, brought the Duke of *Mercant* to a necessity of uniting himself with the Spaniards, to hinder these new Forces from joining with the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, and thinking of some enterprise of great importance; so that the disgust ceasing which had been about *Fort Craisl*, (which after it was taken, was by *Monfieur Sourdiac* utterly slighted with great forwardness in the Country people) the Duke of *Mercant* resolved to unite all the Forces in one body, and labour to resist the Kings, as he had very prosperously done until that present.

Fort Craisl slighted by the French.

In the beginning of this year there brake forth a little fire in *Provence*; the sparkles whereof would have caused a wonderful great combustion in those parts, if there had not been seasonable provisions made against the beginning of it. The *Provencials* and *Gascons* are by long and ancient emulation naturally Enemies, which respect not having withheld King *Henry* the Third from giving the Government of *Provence* to the Duke of *Espernon*, though he was a *Gascon* by birth, the Gentry and people of that Province were so incensed at it, that it was necessary to force them with an Army to yield their wonted obedience; which as it was an occasion very much to encrease the followers and adherents of the League, so would it have produced other mischiefs, if his Brother *Monfieur de la Valette*, who was left to govern as his Lieutenant, had not with singular dexterity, and mild gentle usage appeased their minds, and brought them to make more account of the merit of virtue, than difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Espernon* being come thither with greater Forces than his Brother had, began also to execute his Government, and follow the War with more vivacity, exacting a punctual obedience from those of the Kings party, and fighting vigorously against the rest, who held part with the League, among which the Count of *Carsey*, and the City and Parliament of *Aix* which he had besieged, when they saw they could not resist so powerful an Enemy, were content to yield to the King, and for him unto *Monfieur de Les Diguieres* or *Colonel Alfonso Corso*, but with express condition, that the Duke should have no Power nor Superiority in that Town, which

The City and Parliament of *Aix*, not being able to resist the Kings forces under the Duke of *Espernon*, surrender upon condition, that the Duke shall have no superiority in that City.

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though it was promised them, the Duke nevertheless made himself the stronger, and (being the more exasperated by the ill will they had shewed against him) began to build a Fort, which commanding the City might keep it in subjection; this the Citizens impatiently brooking, and the same humours reigning through the whole Province, they dispatched Agents to the Court, to beseech the King to take the Government from the Duke of *Espernon*, and provide another Governour. The King, who by reason of the uncertainty of his affairs, had till then dissembled, nor at that present was willing to alienate the Dukes affections from him, and who on the other side saw the discontents of that Province, and the troubles that were like to come, thought it a moderate way to refer the business to the Marechal d' *Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, who was newly by him made High Constable of the Kingdom: For on the one side the Provencials being well affected to his person; and on the other, the Duke of *Espernon* having married a Niece of his, he thought that by his prudence and dexterity, he might find a middle way, whereby both the people might remain satisfied, and the Duke handsomly removed from that Government; but after that he saw the Duke resolved to maintain himself in that Office, and the Constable slack in finding out a remedy, he gave order to *Les Diguieres* to go, as he was wont, from *Dauphiné* into *Provence*, and with as much speed as was possible, oppose the Duke of *Espernon*, into whose designs he thought he could not see very clearly. *Les Diguieres* ready to make use of Arms, and enclining to satisfy the Provencials, having drawn together seven thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, marched without delay, to pass the River *Durance*, and to enter hostilely into the Province against the Duke of *Espernon*; but being come to the River side, he met Monsieur *de la Fin*, a discreet man, versed in the affairs of the Court, who coming from the Duke of *Espernon*, perswaded him to stay his voyage; for without the tryal of War the Duke was ready to obey the Constable's Orders, according to the Kings intention and command; which *Les Diguieres* believing, resolved to stay in the same quarters, not being willing to precipitate matters for the delay of a few days, which were afterwards prolonged by his falling sick of a fever, which necessitated him to stay much longer in that place. But though *la Fin* passed often between them, and went also to know the Constable's pleasure, yet could no invention be found to accommodate so different interests; for the Duke pretended, that by his Sword he had acquired the merit of that Government, having maintained it in the most difficult times against the Duke of *Savoy*, and against the League, at his own charge, with his own Forces, and with the blood of his own Brother; and therefore declared that he would defend it in what kind soever: On the other side, *Les Diguieres* argued, that there was no reason to put the whole Province in desperation, and make it incline to cast it self into the protection of the Duke of *Savoy*, or of the Spaniard; and that the Duke of *Espernon* had so many Governments, that he might be contented without usurping this, to the damage and prejudice of the Kings affairs: and because the diversity of Religions stirred up their minds one against another, *Les Diguieres* being a Hugonot, and the Duke sincerely a Catholic, they were very sharp upon one another; besides, the one having been so much favoured by *Henry* the Third, and the other an Enemy who had always lived in rebellion during his Reign, there grew a private enmity between them, very prejudicial to the publick businesses they had in hand; whereupon the Treaty of Agreement being broken, *Les Diguieres* past the River with his whole Army in the beginning of the month of *May*, and the same day there was a hot encounter between the Forces of the two Armies, which lasted many hours: but though the difference was not great in the event, yet *Les Diguieres* remained Master of the Field, and the Duke made his retreat without receiving any loss, carrying away many of the Enemies prisoners with him.

But at last the Duke seeing the Forces of *Dauphiné* joined with those of *Provence* against him, and (as he was very prudent) not seeing any seasonable opportunity of forming a third party, nor no support ready to which he could have recourse for the present, having about the same time received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and of the other Cities of the League, he thought it no wise resolution to swerve from the Kings obedience, when others returned so fast unto it; and therefore taking hold again of the Treaty of Accord, which had never been totally intermitted, he submitted himself to the Constables arbitrement; who declared that he should put the Fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monsieur *de la Fin*, and draw out his Garisons from *Thoulon*, *St. Paul*, *Treques* and *Mirebeau*, till such time as the King should determine the manner

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The Marechal d' *Anville* is deputed by the King to compose the differences of the Provencials by removing the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Duke of *Espernon* declares, that he will defend the Government of *Provence*; and the Sieur de *Les Diguieres* goes with good forces into the Province to put him out.

The Duke of *Espernon* refers himself to the Constables arbitrement, who declares that he should go out of the Government.

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The Duke of Savoy besieges *Briqueras*, and the French not being able to pass to relieve it, he takes it.

But in *Dauphiné*, while Monsieur *de Les Diguieres* in the beginning of *September* prepares himself to go into *Piedmont*, having received intelligence that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid strait siege to *Briqueras*, he was constrained to do that by necessity which he would have done by choice before. The Duke of *Savoy* had got together four thousand Germans commanded by the Count of *Lodrone*, five thousand Italian Foot commanded by Colonel *Barnabo Barbo* a *Millainese*, and fifteen hundred Horse under the conduct of *Don Alonso Idiaques*, with which Body of men he resolved to try to drive the French from beyond the *Alps*: and because *Briqueras* was the principal place they held, he laid siege before it, and afterwards having battered it with many Cannons, he caused it to be assaulted by *Don Filippo* of *Savoy*, his Bastard Brother; and at the same time a scalado to be given on the other side by *Don Sancho Salina*; wherefore the Defendants invironed on all sides, left the Town, and retired into the Castle. It was closely besieged without delay; in which interim *Les Diguieres* having passed the Mountains, came to relieve that place: but the Duke had provided against that; for in the narrowness and difficulty of those ways, of themselves steep and full of Precipices, he had caused all Passes to be so shut up, and had set so strong Guards upon them, that after the French had made many attempts without any fruit at all, they were constrained to retire, and the besieged straitened on all sides, and having no longer any hope of relief, resolved to surrender; so upon the second of *October* they delivered up the Castle into the Dukes hands, who having freed himself from that impediment, within a few days recovered Fort *San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Diguieres* in his retreat; and within a while the Snows fell, which put an end to the troubles of this year in those parts.

The Duke of Nemours escapes out of the Castle of *Pierre-Anaise*.

The Duke of *Nemours* escaped not long before from his imprisonment in the Castle of *Pierre-Anaise*; being much more cunning in saving himself, than he had been wary in avoiding the dangers of imprisonment: for having a certain Servant that had an extream long and thick head of hair, which sometimes hanging down covered all his face, he found means to have a perruque made like it very secretly, and knew how to manage his business so subtilly, that one morning having put his Servant into his bed, and covered him in his place, he went forth of the Chamber carrying a Close-stool-pan, as if he went to empty it, and going hastily, escaped out of the Castle-gate, hiding himself first among certain Houses, and afterwards getting down opportunely into the Field, where being received by some few that waited for him, he came safe to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, and there being joined with the Marquis his Brother, continued to make War in favour of the League, and above all, to infect the Country, and trouble the Inhabitants of the City of *Lyons*, with which (besides publick businesses) he had a private enmity: but his, and his Brothers weakness, and their want of money and adherents, would not suffer them to do any great matter.

The year was shut up with an hainous fact, dangerous beyond all belief, and which was like in an instant to have subverted all that had with so long pains been victoriously atchieved; for the King being returned to *Paris* from the War of *Picardy*, upon the Seven and twentieth of *December*, whilst having alighted from his Horse, he, in

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one of the Chambers of the *Louvre*, saluted the Knights, who being elected to receive the order of the *St. Esprit* upon *New-years-day*, were come to do their wonted obeysance to him, a young Merchant named *Jehan Chastel*, born in *Paris*, being got into the same room with the train of the *Sieur de Ragny*, and *Montigny*, in the action the King used, stooping to imbrace one of those Knights, struck him with a knife in the face, thinking to strike him in the throat: The blow being diverted, as it were by a Divine Hand, hit him in the lips, and having met with the hindrance of his teeth, made but a slight inconsiderable wound. At the commotion of the by-standers, the young Merchant having dextrously let the knife fall, mingled himself in the crowd, hoping to get out of the room undiscovered; but being known by many, he was instantly seized on, and whilst every one transported with a just indignation would furiously have fallen upon him, the King commanded that the Malefactor should not be hurt; and having caused him to be delivered into the Custody of the *Grand-Prevost de P. Hostell*, he was by him carried to prison, from whence being put into the Power of the Parliament, and examined with the wonted forms, he freely confessed, and afterwards ratified his confession when he was tortured. That he was bred up in the Schools of the Jesuites, and had often heard it discoursed, and disputed, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious to kill *Henry of Bourbon*, a relapsed Heretick, and Persecutor of the Holy Church, who falsely appropriated to himself the Title of King of *France*; wherefore having afterwards fallen into hainous and abominable sins, even to the attempting to lie with one of his own Sisters, he fell into so great despair of having Gods forgiveness, that he chose to execute that fact, which he believed to be of inestimable merit, to free him from the horror and punishment of his offences; that he had imparted his design unto his Father, who had effectually dissuaded him from it, but that being more effectually moved by an inward Spirit, he had at last resolved it, and attempted to perform his resolution; that having in his private confession conferred about it with the Curate of *St. Andre* in the City of *Paris*, he was by him (though ambiguously) confirmed in his intention, so that after long contriving, he had chosen that place, and time to put it in execution.

As soon as he had made this confession, they presently sent to lay hold on his Father, Mother, and Sisters, with the Writings that were in the house, among which there was nothing found considerable, save a Confession written with his own hand, wherein he had set down his sins, to confess them to the Priest, which for the most part consisted in wicked and beastly dissoluteness. But the ill will the Parliament bore unto the Jesuites, (the first Authors and continual Fomenters of the League) added to the conjectures drawn from the confession of the Traytor, who said more than once that he learned that Doctrine from them, was the cause that their Colledge was suddenly beset, and that some of them were led to prison, and the Writings which every one had in his Chamber diligently searched, among which in the Closet of Father *Jehan Guignard* born at *Chartres*, there were many Writings found which taught the Doctrine, praised the murder of the late King, perswaded the killing of the present, and contained many other such like things, with odious Epithets and Attributes given to those Princes, and many others. They likewise proved many things of that like nature, spoken in the fury of the War by Father *Alexander Hays* a Scotch-man; and others not very unlike, spoken in the same times, by Father *Jehan Guenet* Master in Philosophy, and the ordinary Confessor of this *Jehan Chastel*; wherefore after many debates in the Parliament, the Counsellors at last agreed in this sentence, That *Jehan Chastel* being bare-head; and bare-foot, before the gate of the Cathedral Church, should abjure the Doctrine which till then he had believed, and confess the enormity of that parricide which he had attempted, and then be put into a Cart, and his flesh pulled off with pincers in the four principal places of the City, and being brought to the place of execution, his right hand should be cut off, holding the same knife wherewith he had hurt the King, and finally that he should be dragg'd in pieces by four horses; that the Jesuites, as well those that were professed, as the others not professed, should be as Enemies of the Crown, and of publick tranquillity, be banished out of the whole Kingdom, their goods and revenues distributed to pious uses, and all Frenchmen prohibited to study or converse in their Schools; that Father *Jehan Guignard* should be condemned to the Gallows, and Father *Jehan Guenet*; and Father *Alexander Hays* perpetually banished from all places under the dominion of the Crown; that *Pierre Chastel* the Delinquent's Father should be banished for ever from *Paris*, and nine years

1594.

Jehan Chastel a Merchant of *Paris* wounds the King in the mouth with a knife, whilst he was Saluting the Knights of the Holy Ghost in his lodgings at the *Louvre*.

Jehan Chastel being imprisoned and tortured, confesseth that he was moved to attempt the killing of the King by the Doctrine he had learned of the Jesuites; whereupon some of them are put in prison.

Jehan Chastel is condemned to be dragged in pieces by four horses.

The Jesuites are banished out of the whole Kingdom of *France*.

1594. years out of the whole Kingdom; that his House standing right over against the great Gate of the Palace of the Parliament, should be razed to the very foundation, and a Piramide erected in the place, wherein the present Decrees should be registred, as well against *Chastel*, as against the Company of Jesuits; the Mother and Sisters of the Criminal were let at liberty.

The Divines of Paris make a Decree, wherein they declare the Doctrine that teaches to kill Princes, to be Heretical.

To this decree of the Parliament, the Divines of the City being met together in Cardinal *Gondi's* House, added a Declaration, whereby they determined, that the Doctrine which taught to kill Princes was Heretical, prodigious, and diabolical, and gave expressly in charge to all men of Religious Orders, to acknowledge and obey King *Henry* the Fourth as their lawful Prince, and Lord; and that in their Masses, and Canonical hours they should insert those prayers, which were wont to be said for the safety of the most Christian Kings of *France*. In the end of the Decree they intreated the Cardinal, as Bishop of that City, to beseech the King in the name of them all, that he would send a new Embassy to the Pope, to hinder by his reconciliation, the imminent and manifest danger of Schism. This was procured by the Cardinal himself, who believing he had apprehended the Popes mind, desired to give the King a fair colour and occasion to try again to get his benediction.

1595.

In this condition of affairs began the year 1595, the first business whereof after the King was cured, was the promulgation of the Edict in favour of the Hugonots. They at the Kings Conversion, had not only been much moved to their hopes lost of having a King of their own Religion, and of obtaining by that means, that it might be the chief in the Kingdom, and that the Catholicks should be reduced to be but by permission; but they had also begun to waken new thoughts, and practise new designs, to unite themselves more closely to one another, and to provide themselves a new Head. For which having turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Bouillon*, they perceived that he, as a most prudent man, was very backward to separate himself from the Kings prosperous fortune to follow the uncertainty of new, and not well grounded hopes; and therefore he protracted businesses that he might take some counsel from the maturity of time. The Mareschal d' *Anville* likewise, who in former times would have readily imbraced that occasion, at that present was little inclined to side with them; for being already old without Sons, (for those he had were unfortunately lost) newly married to a young Wife, out of a desire of issue, and as concerning the rest of his fortunes, firmly established in his Government of *Languedoc*, was not like to adventure himself upon new designs, and put that into the arbitrement of fortune, which with so much pains, and so long patience, he had attained among the difficulties of a thousand dangers; wherefore they had necessarily set their thoughts upon the Prince of *Condé* yet a Child, who living at St. *Jehan d' Angely* with his Mother, was bred up in the rites of their Religion; but the tenderness of his age, and the many accidents that might happen before he could come to mans estate, held the whole Faction in suspense and trouble; wherefore ever and anon, making meetings and assemblies, sometimes at *Rochele*, and sometimes at *Saumur*, sometimes at St. *Foy*, and sometimes at *Montauban*, and not abstaining to speak high injurious words against the King, calling him an ingrateful man, and one that did not acknowledge what they had done for him, and threatening not only to forsake him, but also to take that Crown away from him, which they professed (though without reason) that they had gotten him, they put jealousy and trouble into the mind of the King himself, who by long experience knowing their humours, and what they might contrive, and put in execution, doubted not only that they would alienate themselves from him, but that before he could absolutely conquer the forces of the League, they would stir up War against him elsewhere. And though he had gained one *Morlas* an Hugonot Minister, born in *Bearne*, and not *Rottan*, another born in *Piedmont*, subtil men, of great authority and eloquence, who discoursing severally, among those of their Religion, concerning his Conversion, exhorted the party not utterly to lose their confidence, but expect the benefit of time, making profession that they were privy to some secret designs of his; yet he feared these arts would not be sufficient to bridle the violence of some new dangerous insurrection.

The Mareschal d' *Anville* imbraces the Kings Conversion.

The Hugonots threaten to forsake the King, and take the Crown from him which they said they had gotten him,

This Doubt which had retarded his Conversion much longer than the necessity of his affairs required, had also made him yield to many things which were contrary to his own *Genius*, and inclination; for he had declared the Mareschal d' *Anville* High Constable of the Kingdom; though there were many to whom he had much great obligations,

gations, that he might confirm him to his devotion, and deprive the Hugonots of the hopes of having him. He had likewise preferred the Viscount *de Turenne* before the Duke of *Nevers*, in the marriage of the Heiress to the State of *Bouillon*, whereby he had attained that Dukedom, and now he employed him in the War upon the Confines of the Low-Countries, to divert his thoughts, and ingage him in long businesses, far from the Countries possessed by the Hugonots; and finally desiring to get the young Prince of *Conde* out of their hands, and in some part to sweeten the bitterness which they generally had received at his Conversion, he thought of causing that Edict to be proclaimed and ratified, in the Parliament, which *Henry* the Third had made in favour of them, in the year 1577. which was much better regulated than all the rest.

It was a very hard matter to get it to be received in the Parliament, where the debates were very long and diverse; for by how much the more dexterously the King laboured to proceed in the business, lest he should discontent the Pope, and put him into an ill opinion of his inclination; so much the more ardently did many of the Counsellors oppose it: and the King not being willing that either the Chancellor, or any other should go in his name to desire it, the first President *Harlay* and President *de Thou*, who knew his intention, had much ado to persuade the rest (who thought they did as they ought) to consent unto the promulgation of it. But in the end, the Counsellors whom the King had confirmed through favour, after the reducing of the City, and particularly *Lazare Coquerelle* formerly a great Stickler, and a Minister for the League, desirous to shew themselves less sharp and severe in what concerned the Hugonots, lest they should seem to persevere in their old opinions, laboured so far, that the Decree was received and proclaimed; though neither did this publication much satisfy the Hugonots, with whom the King, both by reason of his past Obligations, and present need, proceeded mildly, and kindly, endeavouring to remove suspicions out of their minds, and confirm them by good usage to his devotion, and knowing by his long conversing with them, the poverty of many of the principal Hugonots, and the narrowness of the condition they were in, and being certain that the Heads and Incendiaries being taken away, the poor common people would be abundantly contented with quietness, and security, he procured that many Deputies should be sent from several places, to treat of the affairs of that party, the most part of which he afterwards gained to himself, with gifts, pensions, and promises, so that by mild and gentle ways, he insensibly took away the pulse and strength from the whole party; but if the Kings incredible want of money, and his own nature, frugal in expenses, together with the hard austerity of Monsieur *de Rosny*, who then managed the Finances, had given this remedy liberty to dilate it self more amply, those that are well versed in the Kingdom, believe that a few years of such sweet poyson would have extinguished that faction which so many years of desperate War had not with the effusion of so much blood been able to weaken.

The second action of this year was the Kings resolution to denounce open War against the King of *Spain*; for though in the beginning of the year before, the Duke of *Bouillon*, united with Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, had taken some weak Towns in the County of *Heimault*, and in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, that was rather an incursion than a formed War, and partly by reason of the sharpness of the weather, partly for want of money, they quickly retired, having also received no small loss from Count *Charles* his Army in their retreat; but now the King had determined to proclaim open War, and turn all his Forces against the States of King *Philip*. This resolution to many seemed strange and unreasonable, considering that the King of *France* was so troubled, and so unsecure at home, that he had no need of foreign contentions; they saw the Kingdom so exhausted of men and moneys, and so tired and worn out with Civil War, that they knew not which way he would be able to sustain the weight of a Foreign War; and recalling to memory that the King of *Spain*, without hazarding at all his own affairs, had in times past troubled, and little less than conquered the King himself in the heart of his own Provinces, and in the midst of his Forces, it seemed to them a ridiculous thing, that now with his Forces still divided, and discords still burning in his State, he should dare to think of offending the States of the Catholick King founded upon the Basis of so great a Monarchy; wherefore they should have thought it much more to the purpose, for the King to have endeavoured by some tolerable conditions to attain Peace, than to provoke and stir up War, so much the more, by the vanity of a publick Declaration.

1594.

After many difficulties, the Edict in favour of the Hugonots, is accepted by the Parliament, and proclaimed; being the same which King *Henry* the III. had made in 1577.

Henry the IV. resolves to proclaim open War against the King of *Spain*.

But

1595.
Causes that
moved King
Henry the IV.
to proclaim
Wars against
Spain.

But the Causes that moved the King were very powerful; for he foresaw that the overturt of a Foreign War would help to close the wounds of a Civil War, as skilful Chirurgions are wont with seasonable Cauterics to divert the hurtful humours that corrupt and infect our Bodies; He knew there was nothing that could move the French more to a Reconciliation and Re-union, than the appearance of a War with the Spaniards, the natural Enemies of their Nation; he desired the War might no longer carry the name of a Civil War for Religion, but of a Foreign one for interest of State; and that in the flame of this Controversie between Crown and Crown, the yet remaining sparks of the League might be extinguished; he knew that howsoever he should still have the Catholick Kings forces against him, which since they could by no means be avoided, it was less hurtful to have them open and publick, than treacherous and dissembled: He thought the Princes confederate with the Crown of *France* would have much less caution in lending him favour and assistance in the War, between the Spaniards and the French, for matter of Empire, than between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, whether they were real or feigned for matter of Religion: He considered that nothing would more please, nor satisfy the Hugonots, than War against the Spaniards, in which they being imployed with their utmost spirits, their minds might be withdrawn and diverted from the thoughts of new designs; besides all these causes, having made a League offensive and defensive with the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, with a mutual obligation of concurring jointly in War, and hoping to draw the Queen of *England* and some of the Princes of *Germany* into the same confederacy, it was necessary to imploy his forces in some enterprize of common profit and conveniency in *Flanders*, and the Countie of *Bourgonne*, and being desirous to do it for his own reputation, and to interest the other Confederates, he judged the Declaration of the War to be very proper to stir up the minds of his Subjects, and to necessitate the forces of the Confederates: But above all being again to treat of his Reconciliation to the Apostolick See, and knowing he should have all the power of the King of *Spain* against him, he desired to have him known for his open Enemy, and that he and his Ministers might not be admitted to that deliberation, as being excluded, and excepted by the publick and open War, which should yet be between the Crowns; and if the minds of great persons, among so many interests of State, are sometimes also moved, and driven by passions, the old persecution he had suffered from the Catholick King, stirred up and spurred on by the so late dangers, in which he was like to have lost his life, by the suggestions of persons whom he esteemed to be dependents upon that Crown, had perchance some part in this resolution; for the execution whereof upon the Twentieth day of *January*, he caused a Declaration to be published, and the same to be proclaimed by Heralds in the Towns upon the Confines, wherein after having related all the injuries done by the King of *Spain* unto himself, and the King his Predecessor, imputing also the act lately attempted against his person to the suggestion of his Champions; he denounced open War against him by Land and Sea, took away all Commerce between the two Nations, and permitted his Subjects to invade, spoil and possess the States under the Dominion of that Crown.

Upon the 20th
of Jan. 1595.
Henry the IV.
causes War
against Spain
to be proclaimed
by his Heralds
in all the
Confines.

King Philip
answers the
King of France
his Declaration
about two
months after.

King Philip answered this Proclamation about two months after with another Writing, wherein reckoning up the benefits and supplies lent to the most Christian Kings, his Confederates and Allies, he declared and protested, that he would not break the peace which he had with the most Christian Crown, and the good Catholicks of the Kingdom; but persevere in their assistance, and defence, to the end they might not be oppressed by the Prince of *Bearn*, and the Hugonots his Confederates, and commanded all his Subjects not to molest or hurt those French, that should follow the Catholick party in the Kingdom, giving order on the other side to his Governours and Commanders, to defend his Counties, and likewise to offend the Prince of *Bearn*, and his adherents.

This Declaration was slow, but so were not the preparations; for not only in *Flanders* Count *Charles* his Army was recruiting, to enter upon the Confines of *Picardy* in the Spring, but also *Hernando de Nalves* Constable of *Castile*, and Governour of the State of *Milan*, was preparing a great Army in *Italy*, to march into *Bourgonne*, and in *Spain* new Forces were raising, that they might send new Supplies to *Don Juan del Aquila* in *Bretagne*, as soon as the season would permit; the like preparations were made in *France*, *Holland*, and *England*, so that the course of this year seemed on all sides likely to prove formidable and bloody.

In

In the mean time, the King, cured of his hurt, had celebrated the solemnity of the Knights of the *Holy Ghost*; among the Ceremonies whereof, he renewed his Oath of living and dying a Catholick, and of defending Religion, and afterwards with great pomp and demonstrations of honor, he had received *Vincenzo Gradenigo*, and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambassador of the Venetian Senate, who came to congratulate his assumption to the Crown, and *Pietro Duodo*, that came to reside in the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who, for the space of seven years together, had made his residence with him, and the King his Predecessor; having, with exceeding great praise of singular prudence, managed the most weighty businesses in the ambiguous revolutions of past affairs.

1594.

The Venetian Ambassadors sent to congratulate the Kings assumption to the Crown, are received with great demonstrations of honor.

The first action in the War of this year, was the taking of *Beaune*, a principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, wherein some of the chief Citizens having begun to mutiny from the year before, to put themselves under the Kings obedience, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had a special jealousy concerning the affairs of that Province, (as being his own particular government) went speedily, at his return from *Lorain*, into that City, where, having found businesses all in a combustion, he caused fourteen of the Citizens, which seemed to him more inclined to an alteration than the rest, to be imprisoned in the Castle, and having removed that difficult scruple, he, in all things else, sought to appease the generality of the Citizens, without using any kind of severity; He endeavoured to make them understand, that he was about to conclude the general peace, with the Popes consent; and therefore it would be much more honourable, much more advantageous to them, to be included in the general agreement, than to compound by themselves, and forsaking him, who had alwayes governed them gently, refer themselves to the uncertain discretion of a new Governor, with which reasons thinking he had settled their minds, he left a good Garrison in the Castle, and a convenient one in the Town, and went with speed to *Dijon*, where he feared some insurrection, no less than in other places; but being advertised, that after his departure, there had been new tumults at *Beaune*, he would needs return to provide against them, and began to contrive how to fortifie both the Town and Castle, which being not to be done, according to the design of *Carlo Bonaventura* an Italian Engineer, without pulling down some principal Monasteries, and a great many private houses to the very ground, the Citizens opposed it; shewing the Duke, that it was no time, to come to so precipitate a determination; but he, entering by this opposition into a greater jealousy of their inclinations, resolved to prosecute the Fortification, and brought in a greater strength of Soldiers, which were distributed into several parts of the Town, to bridle the People, and to secure them to his devotion; and having given convenient order for these things, he departed, to oversee the rest of the Province, and secure other places, believing he had sufficiently provided against that danger; but the Citizens, exasperated by the pulling down of their houses, and by the imprisoning of the chief of them, resolved to use their utmost force to deliver the City to the *Mareschal de Biron*, who, with Two thousand Switzers, Four thousand French Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse, was come into those quarters in the month of *January*; wherefore, having secretly invited him, and settled the agreement, that he should present himself at the Gates of the City upon the fifth of *February*, they, upon the same day, as soon as it was light, took Armes, and running up and down the streets with white Scarfs, began to cry out, *For the King*; to which the greater part of the common people answering, *Jaques Richard*, one of the Plot, ran to that Gate, which alone was wont to be kept open, and letting down the Portcullises that were on the inside, shut out the guard of Soldiers, who negligently and carelessly guarded the *Raveline*; then many others running thither arm'd, they made themselves Masters of the Gate, driving out the soldiers that were upon the guard, who, having forsaken the *Raveline* to save themselves in the Fields, were, by the Country-people (no less exasperated than the rest) miserably defeated and dispersed. At the same time *Gnillaume Allesan*, and *Michel Richard*, two other contrivers of the business, ran to the house of the *Sieur de Montmoyon* Governor of the Town, and suddenly made him prisoner, having killed *Guillermin* a Colonel of Foot, and some other Captains that were with him; and *Carlo Bonaventura* the designer of the Fortifications (who, in his own defence, had wounded *Allesan*, and many others) being almost stoned by the fury of the people, could scarce, by the diligent care of some, be carried alive into the common Gaol. The Gate and the Governor being taken, the next work was to master the Quarters of the Soldiers, who, though divided in different places, had fortified themselves there from the be-

The Citizens of *Beaune* in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, calling the *Mareschal de Biron*, submit themselves to the Kings obedience.

1595.

beginning of the tumult; in which combustion the City being all in an hurly-burly, and even the very Women and Children betaking themselves to Arms, they began to fight in many several parts of the Town with various and bloody events: In the mean time came the Marechal de Biron, who had delayed longer than the Citizens had appointed, and being entered into the Town with his whole Army, the Soldiers, who were no longer able to make resistance, yielded, saving their goods and persons; and he, with very great and unusual severity restraining his soldiers from pillage, appeased the whole tumult that night. The next day siege was laid to the Castle, which, being battered with Twelve pieces of Cannon, after Three thousand shot, and having held out Two and forty dayes, surrendered it self into his hands.

The Baron de Senecey goes over to the Kings party with the City of Offonne.

The Baron de Senecey, with the City of Offonne followed the example of Beaune; for, he having been Ambassador to the Pope, and having found there was no hopes, either from Rome or Spain, of such Supplies as were necessary to uphold the enterprise, and having diligently informed the Duke of Mayenne of it, and exhorted him (in vain) to imbrace peace, he took a resolution, and submitted himself to the Marechal de Biron, upon condition to keep the Government of that place.

The Citizens of Autun put themselves under the Kings obedience.

The Citizens of Autun resolved to do the same; but because that Town was guarded with a good Garrison, nor could the inclinations of all be founded without evident danger of discovery, the Heads of the design determined to call the Marechal, and not to make any stir at all till he was at the Gates; one of which being kept by them, they had resolved to open to him: wherefore he being come secretly into the Suburbs upon the eighth of May at night, the Mayor of the Town, who had undertaken to bring him in, with great silence caused the Gate to be opened, into which a Captain entering first of all with Five and twenty Cuirassiers and Fifty firelocks, quickly made himself Master of that Post; and having sent word that the Pass was secure, the Sieur de Sapierre and the Marquis of Mirebeau entered, after whom followed the whole Army, which being drawn up in the open space between the Walls and the houses of the Town, was divided into four parts, which took possession of the streets of the City four several ways: One of these having fallen upon a good number of Soldiers, which, according to the Military custom were going *Patrouilles*, there began a furious conflict in the dark, at the tumult whereof all the Guards being wakened and in Arms, as likewise all those Citizens that were not privy to the business, they continued with various uncertainty fighting all the night, till day being broke, every one perceived that the City was possessed by the whole Army; whereupon, all laying down their Arms, and hiding themselves in houses, Biron caused a pardon to be published through all the Streets, and having plundered the Soldiers of the Garrison, and sent them forth of the Town, it remained without further harm under the Kings obedience.

The Constable of Castile with 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horse goes into the Franche Comte, and being united with the Duke of Mayenne, recovers some places, and takes others.

The affairs of Bourgogne being in this condition, the Constable of Castile having past the Mountains with Eight thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, had crossed through Savoy, and was come into the Franche Comte, where, being united with the Duke of Mayenne, who, with Four hundred Horse, and a Thousand French Foot was gone to meet him, recovered Jaunevilles (which they of the King's party had quitted) and resolved without delay to besiege Vezin; in which Town the Sieur de Tremblecourt was with Four hundred Foot, and 60 Horse; nor was it very hard to take it, because his weakness would not suffer him to make any great resistance: whereupon the Duke of Mayenne, who, as a Soldier of greater experience, commanded in Military matters, having caused a Battery to be planted, made an open breach within few hours, and the Sieur de Tremblecourt not being obstinate to make a vain defence, resolved to retire into the Castle, and expect relief from the Marechal de Biron. But he could not receive the assistance that was needful in due time; for the Marechal being at the same time called by the Citizens of Dijon, resolved to attend that as the more important occasion; so that the Sieur de Tremblecourt not being able in a weak place to resist the Forces of a whole Army, was constrained to surrender the Castle.

The Sieur de Tremblecourt not being relieved by the Marechal de Biron, surrenders the Castle of Vezin to the Constable of Castile.

But the Citizens of Dijon, having declared themselves unseasonably, ran a very great hazard of being suppressed; for the Viscount de Tavannes who governed that Province as the Duke of Mayenne's Lieutenant, being advertised of their intention, drew all the neighbouring Garrisons together with infinite celerity; and while the chief Citizens stood perplexed, and irresolute, whether or no they should call the Marechal de Biron, for fear of being scacked, Tavannes appeared with a considerable force to enter

enter into the City; but that being denyed him by the people already up in Arms, he turning towards the Castle, was willingly received by the Governor of it: There, after having refreshed and ordered his men, he caused an hundred of his stoutest Horsemen to alight, and placed them in the front of the Squadron, and then encouraging his men to fight gallantly, marched down in order the common way, to enter the passage towards the Market-place, where, being encountred by the Townsmen in Arms, there began between them a sharp and obstinate fight, which lasting stiffly from the morning till it was far of the day, some of the Heads of the people, taking a resolution in necessity, determined to send for the Marechal *de Biron*, who, having already many dayes expected that opportunity, hovered up and down about those quarters. But, not being able to bring the Army with that celerity, which so sudden an exigent required, the Marechal having left order, that the Cavalry should follow him with all speed, entered into *Dijon* with onely Sixty Gentlemen towards the evening; at whose arrival the Citizens recovering courage, who not being able to resist, were already reduced into a corner of the Town, and then the whole Army coming up successively one part after another, *Tavanes* not willing to lose the Castle, while he contended obstinately to get the Town, resolved to retire thither, and leave the possession of the Town unto the Army; wherefore, making the Rereguard of his Squadron face about, he drew off softly, and still fighting, got safe into the Fortrefs, the day being quite shut in; but leaving it to the care of the wonted Governor, he retired himself into the Castle of *Talan*, a little distant from the Town. The Marechal was reduced into a great straight, his Army not being sufficient to divide it self and besiege both Castles; and because he feared the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Constable of *Castile*, having dispatched at *Vezun*, would come straight to *Dijon*, he solicited the King by redoubled Messengers, to advance into *Bourgogne*, whither the greatest weight of arms was already inclined.

1595.

The King had staid at *Paris* longer than he had at first intended; for President *Jeannin* being come unto him, they had great hopes to conclude the lately renewed Treaty of Agreement, which afterwards was prolonged many dayes; for not onely the King was backward in granting conditions, by reason of the prosperity of his affairs in *Bourgogne*; but also the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to the variation of hopes varied also his determinations, and without proceeding further, would have had a Truce established, to expect (as he said) the Popes resolution, and (as the Kings said) the resolution of King *Philip*; and finally, the revolt of those Towns having hapned on the one side, and on the other, the Constable being come, the Treaty dissolved without conclusion; and the King having left the Prince of *Conti* to govern *Paris*, and with him the Count of *Schomberg* to counsel him, was come to *Troys* upon the thirtieth of May, to draw his Army together in that place, and to march thence whither need should require. Thither the earnest desires of the Marechal *de Biron* came unto him, who solicited him to march speedily to *Dijon*; wherefore, without interposing any delay, he, with the Troops that were with him, having left order that the rest should follow, took his way, with all haste, toward *Bourgogne*, having with him the Count of *Anvergne*, the Duke *de la Tremouille*, the Marquis *de Pisany*, the Count *de Torigny*, the Chevalier *d'Osse*, the Marquisses of *Tresnel*, and *Mirepoix*, and the Sieurs *de Chiverny*, *Liancourt*, *Vitry*, *Montigny*, *d'Inteville*, and *de la Curer*.

Being come to *Dijon* upon the fourth of June, he presently gave order, that both the Castles should be beleagured, setting the Count *de Torigny* to besiege that of the City, and the Baron of *St. Blancard*, Brother to the Marechal *de Biron*, to take in the Castle of *Talan*; but because to shut up the Castle round about was a work of many dayes, all the Infantry not being yet come up (which could not march so fast as he had done) the King resolved to advance with the major part of Cavalry towards the Spanish Camp; for, having intelligence, that the Constable had cast two Bridges over the River *Saone* at *Gray*, to pass all his Army at once, and come to raise the siege of the Castles, he hoped to foreflow him, till such time that all his men were come up, and the Trenches brought to perfection. The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewise, partly with reason, partly with authority, partly by entreaty perswaded the Constable to advance to recover the City of *Dijon*, telling him, that the Marechal *de Biron*'s Forces were much inferior to his, and that the Castles, in which the sum of affairs consisted, afforded them a very easie way to drive out the Enemies; and though the Constable (a Lord of high birth, and great riches, but small experience in the affairs of War) was

The King comes to *Dijon*, and gives order, that both the Castles be besieged.

The Constable of *Castile*, perswaded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, advances with his Army to attempt the recovery of *Dijon*.

1595.

very unwilling to do it; yet his confidence in the Dukes prudence and valor, and his not knowing that the King was so near, had induced him to yield unto it; wherefore, having passed the River the day before with his whole Army, he had quartered himself in the Villages on this side of the River, eight Leagues from *Dijon*. Things being in this condition, and neither the Constable, nor the Duke of *Mayenne* knowing of the Kings being come, he, without losing time, upon the seventh of *June* in the morning departed from the City with Twelve hundred Gentlemen, and Curassiers, and Six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, and gave order that all should march toward *Luz*, he being to break his fast that morning at the house of the Baron of that Town, and to stay there for some intelligence of the Enemies moving: *Luz* stands upon the confines of *Bourgogne*, and of the *Franche Comte*, four Leagues from *Gray*, and as much from *Dijon*; so that he was in the way between the City and the Spanish Camp, between which and *Gray* there was nothing but the current of the River; As soon as the King was come to the place appointed, and not meeting that intelligence he expected, to know what the enemy did, he sent forth the Baron *d'Offenville*, with Sixty Light-horse, to discover and to bring him back the certainty of all things; and he, resting his men, and refreshing his horses at leisure, gave order, that at three of the clock in the afternoon all should meet at *Fontain-Francoise*, a village upon the edge of his confines, there to dispose of themselves according to the information he should receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Marechal *de Biron*, with Three hundred horse went that way to be upon the Rendevouz first of all, to order and dispose the Forces as they came one after the other, but when he was two miles from *Fontain-Francoise*, he saw three Horsemen come full gallop towards him, who brought word, that the Baron *d'Offenville* being charg'd with Three hundred Horse of the League, was forced to retire, not having been able to discover any thing, and that he desired relief, that he might be able to withstand the greater Forces of the enemy; The King not knowing what to believe, whether the 300 Horse were the enemies Vanguard, or else but some party that was scouring the Campagne, sent forth the Marechal *de Biron*, and the Baron *de Luz*, and the Marquis *de Mirabeau* followed by 60 horse, to succor *Offenville*, and to know matters more certainly; who, advancing at a large trot, out of haste to recover *Offenville*, as soon as he was out of *Fontain-Francoise*, discovered a Troop of 60 light-horse which were upon the steep of the hill, just upon the way that led to *S. Seine*, a village that stood upon the great Road which led straight to the River *Saone*; wherefore he resolved (without doubting) to charge them, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he might discover all the Countrey: nor was it hard for him to obtain his intent; for the light-horse received the charge without opposition, and left them the hill free, which, as soon as he was gotten upon, he discovered the whole Spanish Army at a distance, which marching in its ranks, was coming to quarter at *S. Seine*, standing in a Plain, which on the right side is bounded with a hill, and on the other is covered with a Wood; wherefore, being desirous to carry back certain news of the quality and order of the enemy, he resolved to advance, that he might have means distinctly to observe the march and order of that Camp; but he was no sooner descended into the Plain, when he saw the enemies Three hundred Horse, who having routed and pursued *Offenville*, came resolutely towards him: The Marechal knowing himself inferior in strength, thought to retire without doing any more, giving the Baron *de Luz* order to make a stand in the Rear with twenty of his men, and endeavor to detain the enemies, if they should come up to molest him; which the Baron courageously performing, their fury came upon his back with so much violence, that being overthrown with his horse, and four of his men slain, who gallantly faced about, the rest were constrained to gallop away: Wherefore, the Marechal being likewise forced to face about towards the enemy, fell in furiously to disengage the Baron, who, having freed himself from his horse, and much more difficulty from the enemy, had got over a ditch and came towards him with his Sword and Pistol in his hand: The encounter was very sharp and furious in the beginning; but the Marechal who fought without a head-piece, being wounded with a slash in the head almost at the very first, and some of his men being slain and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, he began, by reason of the inequality of the Forces, to be in extream danger of being defeated; yet was he not at all dismayed, nor did he slacken the ardor wherewith he fought, being accompanied by the Baron *d'Offenville*, who again was joyned with him, and the Baron *de Luz*, who was fortunately

The Baron *d'Offenville* sent forth to discover the Army of the League, is charged, and constrained to retire.

The Marechal *de Biron* going to receive the Baron *d'Offenville*, puts a Troop of the Enemies Cavalry to flight.

The Marechal *de Biron* being without his head-piece, is wounded in the head.

nately gotten again on horse-back, till at the same time, there appeared out of the Village, and out of the Wood eight Squadrons of the enemies horse, which separating themselves from the Army, came a round pace towards him; wherefore, having something repressed the first violence of them, who charged him first, he turned his bridle, and rallying his men, began to retire, galloping to get to *Fontaine-Francoise*, where he believed the King to be already come, with all the rest of his Forces: But the hour assigned for the Rendezvous was not yet come, wherefore the King, though he had with him onely Two hundred horse of the Nobility, and sixty Harquebusiers on horse-back that were come up before the rest; and though he had no other Arms on but his back and breast, yet was he necessitated to advance, and receive the Marechal de Biron, who was hotly pursued at the heels by a much greater number of the enemies.

1595.

The King, half
disarmed, suc-
cours the Ma-
reschal de Bi-
ron.

The first Troops of the League were led by *Louis d' Huden* Sieur de Villers, and Captain *Giovan Battista Sansoni* a *Milanese*; the first one of the Duke of Mayenne's field Marechals; the second, Lieutenant of the Constables Light-horse: the other French Troops were commanded by the Sieur de Tenissay, and the Baron de Tianges, and the Italian and Bourguignon Light-horse, by Don Roderigo Bellino, and the Marquiss de Varambone. An hundred Carabines marched first to begin the charge, and after the other Squadrons followed the Duke of Mayenne, with a body of *Gens d' Armes*. The King was put upon a necessity of fighting with all this fury of the enemies, and his Forces being not yet come up, he closed upon the right hand with the Dukes de la Tremouille, and d' Elbauf, the Baron de Termes, and the Sieur de la Carree; and, upon his left hand the Marechal de Biron, though weary and wounded, with the Baron of Ossonville and Lux; and with the Marquiss de Mirabeau. Monsieur de Villers with his Squadron charged that part where the Marechal de Biron was; and *Giovan Battista Sansoni* fell upon the other where the King himself was; but with different fortune, though they fought with equal courage on both sides; for Monsieur de Villers at last beat back the Troops of Ossonville and Lux, and forced the Marechal to retire as far as *Fontaine-Francoise*; but on the other side where the King was, new Troops of Gentry and Cavalry coming up stragglingly every minute, who, having heard the danger he was in, advanced with all possible speed to assist him; Sansoni was killed with five wounds, and his horse being routed and dispersed, were driven back, even to the last Squadron of the enemy; Nor could the Sieur de Villers prosecute the victory on his side; for having received a shot in his arm, he was likewise constrained to retire; For all this the King's danger lessened not, for the Baron de Tianges and the Sieur de Tenissay advanced with fresh and numerous Squadrons to charge, and the same did the Marquiss Varambone, and Roderico Bellino, in that place where the Marechal de Biron fought; so that being very much inferiour in number, their men wearied, and their horses haggled out and tired, they were almost in a certain danger of being overcome; yet the King, with his voice even hoarse, and with the example of his own valour, encouraging every one; and the Marechal de Biron all bloody, and covered with sweat and dust, charging desperately among the first, they prevailed so far, that each fighting beyond his own power, and above his own strength, they gave time to the rest who were upon the way to come up; amongst which, the first were the Count of Auvergne, Monsieur de Vitry, and after them the Count de Chiverny, the Chevalier d'Oyse, and the Monsieur d' Inteville; At the arrival of these (after whom the whole Army was believed to follow) the Duke of Mayenne caused the Troops to withdraw from the fight, and the King seeing it was no time to think of any other safety than what courage afforded, followed them with a gallant skirmish to the Plain and Wood of *S. Seine*, where they met the Spanish and German Infantry, which advancing valiantly in two divisions, came to give their charge: when they appeared, the King drew back his bridle, and the Duke of Mayenne having rallied all his Horse into one great body, made shew as if he would charge him: but the King's Troops were already arrived; whereupon the number of the Cavalry was not much different, and the Constable of Castile riding up to the head of the Army, commanded his men to make an halt, being resolved not to hazard all his Forces, and all the *Franche Comte* to the danger of a Battel: wherefore, it being already late, the King began to retire with a gentle pace toward *Fontaine-Francoise*; and the Enemy, though at first, to conserve their reputation, they made shew that they would follow him, retired also without doing any thing else.

The King fol-
lows the For-
ces of the
League, which
retire still
skirmishing.

The Constable
of Castile, not
to hazard the
Franche Comte
by a Battel,
makes a halt,
having resol-
ved not to
fight.

The Constable
retires with
his Forces,
though the
Duke of May-
enne labours to
the contrary.

The Spaniards lay that night at *S. Seine*, the King's Forces at *Fontaine-Francoise*, and his own person at Lux, having that day run one of the greatest dangers that be-
fell

1595. fell him in all the revolutions of the past Wars; in which he ought to acknowledge his safety, no less to his own valour, than the courage of those were with him, among which, after *Biron*, the principal praises were given to *Marquifs de Mirabeau*, the Count *de Grammont*, and the *Sieur de la Carree*: In this encounter, which fame published to be much greater than the truth, there were kill'd about forty on the Spaniards side, and of the King's above sixty; the wounded were many more, nor fewer were the number of those that were taken prisoners on both sides: each party laboured to draw the fame of the victory and the honor of that day unto it self; the Spanish Commanders, because the number of the slain and prisoners were greater on the Kings side; the French, because they remained Masters of the field, and likewise of the dead bodies, and because they made the enemies retire to their very quarters. But that which confirmed the victory on their side, was, the determination of the Constable, who, having heard from the Prisoners, that the King himself was there, and had been in the fight, resolved (though the Duke of *Mayenne* laboured much to the contrary) not to pass any further; and the next morning having caused his Army to repass the River, went to lye in a place of advantage, having *Gray* behind his Camp, and the obstacle of the River before it. The King advanced the next morning with all his Cavalry, to see which way the Enemies would move, and being come to the hill from whence he discovered the Plain, and the Village of *St. Seine*; he stood there a long time in Battalia, not seeing the retreat of the Spaniards, in respect of the Wood, and of the opposite hill; nor would the King, being without his Foot, in a various Country, full of advantageous places, and not well known unto his men, put himself into the danger of falling into some great Ambuscado; but it being already past noon, the *Sieur de Tremblecourt*, and *d'Offinville*, with a few horse, went up to the very entry of *S. Seine*, where certain Peasants that were working in the Fields told them of the retreat of the Army, whereof having speedily informed the King, he advanced at a round trot to fall upon the Enemies Rere; but he found that already they were all safely past the River, and the boats taken away, upon which they had made two Bridges; wherefore, having scowred and beaten the wayes along the banks of the River, he returned that night to his quarters at *Lux*, and the next morning went to *Dijon* to hasten the Siege of the two Castles.

The Duke of Mayenne seeing himself forsaken by the Spaniards, and advertised that the Pope inclined to the absolution of the King, makes an agreement with him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side, not having been able to perswade the Constable to stay beyond the River, began to intreat him, to let him have some number of men, wherewith he might go and defend his own in *Bourgogne*; but neither was it possible for him to obtain that; for the Constable, who was come onely to defend the *Franche Comte*, thought he had done enough in recovering *Vexin*, and all the other Towns the French had gotten possession of, and would no more put himself to the arbitrement of fortune, so much the rather, because his want of experience in Military matters, made him very much to fear; every small encounter; and though he had a great Army about him, he thought not himself secure from the celerity and courage of the King of *France*; besides the continual Treaty the Duke of *Mayenne* held of making his peace with the King, rendred him suspected to the Constable, and to all the Spanish Ministers, nor would they trust any thing of moment to his fidelity: wherefore (seeing himself destitute of all succor; and that the Constable, being grounded upon good reasons, was not like to change his resolution) he determined at last to close up the treaty of agreement, and so much the rather, because he was advertised by his Agents at *Rome*, that the Pope manifestly inclined to the Kings absolution; and therefore having sent the *Sieur de Lignerac* to *Dijon*, he concluded upon these terms; That he leaving the Spanish Camp, should retire to *Chalons*, upon the River *Saone* in the same Province of *Bourgogne*, where, without using Arms, he should expect the event of the deliberation at *Rome*; and that on the other side, the King should not any way molest him, nor any of his followers, nor should attempt any thing upon *Chalons*, and that in the mean time, while the Advertisements came from *Italy* concerning the absolution of the King, the difficulties should be smoothed, and the conditions agreed upon, wherewith the Duke should turn unto the Kings obedience. This truce or suspension of Arms being established, the Duke (making as if he had a minde to relieve the Castles of *Dijon*) departed from the Constables Camp with the French troops, and went straight to *Chalons*, where presently the Kings Deputies arrived to conclude the agreement, and he gave order to the Viscount *de Tavannes* and the Governor of the Castle of *Dijon*, to surrender both the Castles without delay.

But

But the King having dispatched that enterprize, resolved to go into the *Franche Comte*, to attempt something against the Constables Army, and with Seven thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse marched towards the River *Saone*. The Constable lay still at *Gray*, thinking it a very convenient place to hinder the passing of the River, and to turn which way soever the French Army should move; which being quartered at *S. Seine*, fought all the banks for many dayes, without finding an opportunity to pass; but, it being already the month of *July*, and the waters of the *Saone* very much fallen; by reason of the time of the year, the *Sieurs de Tremblecourt*, and *d'Offonville*, who attempted all manner of means to pass, found that the River was fordable in a certain place about three milés from *Gray*, which was guarded onel by One hundred Spanish firelocks; wherefore, upon the eleventh of *July* in the morning they appeared upon that Pass, with Two hundred Curassiers, and Five hundred Harquebussiers on Horse-back, and began to try the Ford where the River was shallowest. The Spanish firelocks opposed them, and bravely resisting, hindred the Enemies passage with their uttmost power; but having no more Ammunition then what they carried in their Flasks, after they had fought for the space of half an hour, they were necessitated to retire; at which, the French taking courage, passed resolutely to the other Bank of the River, and after them the Count *d'Auvergne*, and the Mareschal *de Biron* with Five hundred Horse more: The news of the Enemies passing was already come to the Spanish Camp, and the Foot that had fought there, murmuring at the unskilfulness of their Commanders, who had left them without Ammunition, retired towards their Quarters, when *Hercole Gonsaga* advanced with the first Squadrons of Horse to beat back the French, and make them repass the River, being not believed to be many in number; but having found the truth to be different from what they thought, after the first volley he could not withhold his men from yielding to the greater number, though he fighting valiantly, and sharply rebuking those that turned their backs, did the Office of a very gallant Commander. *Cavaliere Lodovico Melzi* followed with another Troop of Horse, and having avoided the incounter of the first, who precipitately ran away, fell in couragiously to oppose the enemy; but the French were so much stronger, there coming up new Troops of Horse every minute to reinforce them, that it was not possible for him to stop their fury, but being routed and disperfed, fell foul upon the last squadron of Horse, wherewith *Don Alfonso Idiaques* came to second him; in such manner, that the Squadrons mingling confusedly with one another, being juskled and disordered by the violence of those that fled, they that came up to charge, began likewise to run away without stop; in which flight, it being necessary to pass a great Ditch full of water and dirt, to come to the quarters of the Army, the disorder proved so great, that many precipitated themselves into the Ditch; and many, not to incur the danger of being thrown down and trampled under foot, fell into the power of the French; among which, *Don Alonso Idiaques*, his horse having fallen under him, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Sieur de Chanliot*, and was fain afterwards to compound for a ransom of Twenty thousand ducckers. The French seeing the Constable's Infantry drawn up on the other side of the ditch, stopped their pursuit, and stayed for the King; who, having past with all his Army, lodged in the nearest Villages two miles from the Enemies Camp.

By these two great disorders the Spaniards gave the King of *France* liberty to pass; for there was no doubt, but if the Foot that guarded the Pass had been more in number, and better provided with Ammunition, they would have hindred the first that came over, in respect of the difficulty of the passage, and the height of the banks of the River; and after they were past, if all the Cavalry had advanced in order to beat them back, it is most certain, they would either have totally defeated them, or made them repass to the other side of the River: but coming up disorderly, and in a manner scatteringly, they gave the French opportunity to conquer, and put themselves in danger of being utterly cut off; and therefore knowing Soldiers cannot endure those rash runnings out of the trenches of Camps, without order or consideration, at every little call of a Trumpet; and that which the inexpert count boldness and resolution, they, with very good reason call rashness and ignorance.

But the King of *France* his passage, made with so much fortune or valour, produced little effect; for the Constable keeping himself in his wonted quarter excellently fortified, and placed between *Gray* and the current of the *Saone*, the King not having power to force it, and not being in a condition to assault it, went on the other side to make incursions,

1595.

The King goes into the *Franche Comte* to molest the Spaniards.

The French pass the River *Saone* at a Ford, and the Spaniards that lay to defend the Pass, for want of Ammunition, were forced to leave it and retire.

The Spaniards are routed and disperfed.

Don Alonso Idiaques taken prisoner.

1595. incursions, and spoil the Country; and spent the time without receiving any fruit, save that *Besancon*, a Town no way strong nor tenable against his Army, to free it self from danger, compounded for many thousands of Duckets. In the mean time the King's Camp was full of many dangerous diseases, whereof, being in an enemies Country, and in the exercise of Arms, there died very many, among which was the Count *de Toriguy*, who had the Office of Field-Marschal: For which reason, and because there came every day ill news from *Picardie*, the Cantons of the Switzers interposing as common friends, and particular Protectors of the *Franche Compté*, the wonted neutrality was established in that Province, which the King going out of, went to *Dijon*, and the Constable *Velasco* having left part of his Army, returned with the rest to his Government of *Milan*.

The Princess of Conde being dexterously referred by the King unto the Parliament of Paris, concerning an imputation laid upon her, of being privy to her husbands death, is cleared thereof by the Parliament, having promised first to turn Catholick, and that her Son should be instructed in the same Religion.

At *Dijon*, the business of the Hugonots still troubling the King, and he desiring, for his own security, and for the Pope's satisfaction, to get the Prince of *Conde* out of their hands, caused a Petition to be presented by the kinsmen of the Princess his Mother, wherein, relating in her name the imputation that had been laid upon her, of having been privy to the death of the Prince her Husband, and the sentence that had been given against her by Judges that were not competent, nor capable to sentence her, they demanded, that she, having till then been kept in prison, at *S. Jehan d'Angely*, the King disannulling the first sentence, would be pleased to grant, that the Parliament of *Paris*, a natural and competent Judge, might hear her cause, and, having discussed the proofs, give sentence upon it: to which Petition the King answered, That if the Princesses Kinsmen would oblige themselves to put her into the power of the Parliament of *Paris*, he would disannul and make void the sentence that had been given, and would refer the case to the aforesaid Parliament, into whose power the Princess was to be delivered within the space of four months. This served for a colour and excuse to take away suspicion from the Hugonots, to deprive them of power to detain the person of the Princess and of her Son. And the King sent the Marquis *de Pisani* to *S. Jehan*, who, though the Hugonots murmured at it, brought them both away to *Paris*, where the Princess having declared, that she would live for the time to come in the Catholick Religion, was absolved by the Parliament of that imputation that had been layed against her; the Prince of *Conde* remaining not only in the King's power, but instructed and bred up in the Catholick Religion.

The Pope almost assured of the Kings sincerity, inclines towards him, and shews himself averse from others.

The Duke of *Montmorancy* came likewise to the City of *Dijon*, and there took possession of his Office of Constable; the Hugonots being thus deprived of those props, wherewith they had designed to uphold themselves. The Pope was by these lively effects very much confirmed of the King's sincerity, who already was wholly averse from them, and wholly intent to secure the State of Religion within his obedience; He shewed the same inclination by the strict orders, and particular Commissions which he had given to restore the use of the Mass in all those places from whence it had been taken; and he laboured continually in seeking means to restore the estates of the Clergy possessed by others, which, by reason of the difficulty of the matter, proved very hard and troublesome; for the Lords and Gentlemen, who, in reward of their services had obtained them, and had already possessed them a great while, could hardly be brought to leave them without equivalent recompences; which, by reason of the number of the pretenders, and the narrowness of affairs; in a time of so great distraction, it was not possible to satisfy; yet the King, with infinite patience and dexterity studied how to compose things, so that if he could not altogether, he did at least in part satisfy the Clergy, though of necessity many of the principal of them could not be absolutely contented; but discreet persons commended both the King's inclinations, and dexterous manner of finding a way to compose interests that were so oppositely diverse and repugnant.

These things brought by fame unto the Court of *Rome*, did opportunely promote the King's interests; but much more were they helped on by the contrary circumstances, which troubled the mind of the Pope, and of that Court; for Schism was in a manner totally settled; the Parliament continued diligently to hinder, that none should go sue for Benefices at *Rome*, and whosoever procured any by such sutes, did not certainly obtain the possession of them; the King, by some one of the great Council, did still dispatch Spiritual *Oeconomies* to the Bishopricks, and other cures of Souls that were vacant; the name of the Apostolick See seemed to be utterly forgotten; and the King's Forces prospering, it was doubted he would demand Absolution no more; the Duke of

Nevers

News having said publicly at his departure, that they should not look to have any more Ambassadors sent to *Rome*: wherefore though the Treaty was set on foot again by means of Cardinal *Goudi*, and that *d' Ossat* continued to treat with *Sannesio*, and with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, yet the Pope fearing the mischief that was imminent, and considering the example of other States that had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the Apostolick See was wonderful anxious, by reason of the danger of this division. To this was added the Kings confederacy contracted with the States of *Holland*; and the League which was still in treaty with *England*; whereupon it was doubted that so near confederacy being made with Hereticks, Religion would in some part be injured by it. That which the more incited the Pope, was the sharp War made by the Turk in *Hungary*; for being constrained to think of the progress of the common Enemy on that side, he desired to appease the tumults of *France*, that he might turn all his Forces for the maintenance and benefit of the Commonweal of Christians; for all these reasons being resolved within himself to condescend to the Kings benediction, to which he thought himself obliged in Conscience, he began to think of softning the Catholick King; and therefore besides satisfying him in all his demands, he resolved to send his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into *Spain* under colour of treating of the affairs of *Hungary*, but withal to negotiate the absolution of *France*; to which he laboured to bring the King of *Spain* gently, by shewing that he depended much upon his consent: In the mean time by the means of Monsieur *d' Ossat*, he secretly let the King know that things were already ripe, and that if he sent new Ministers to treat, the absolution perchance might be concluded.

The Pope sends his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into *Spain*, to treat of the affairs of *Hungary*, and also of the Kings absolution.

The King desirous to reconcile himself fully to the Church, thought at first to send a gallant Embassy; but being informed of the Popes intention, who desired that the business should pass privately, and with terms of very great submission, he determined to send only *Jaques Davy Sieur du Perron*, who should treat of matters together with *d' Ossat*, being also desirous in case the business should not take effect, that the manner of treating might not make it the more eminent and remarkable. These men seasonably making use of the conjuncture of present affairs, managed the Kings intentions modestly and dexterously, shewing no less the prosperousness of his enterprizes, which at last had gained him the whole Kingdom; than his Piety and most ardent affection towards Religion, from whence proceeded his infinite patience, hardened to bear so many repulses as had been given him by the Pope. But those that were well versed in the affairs of the World, gave loose reins to their discourse concerning those very things which much troubled the Pope, and said freely through the Court, that in the end the Kings patience would turn into fury, and that having subdued his Enemies, and made himself a peaceable Master of his Estate, it was to be doubted he would care but little to reconcile himself to the Pope, or rather it was to be feared, that with a dangerous Schism in the Church of God, he would attempt to revenge so many past injuries and persecutions; and upon these points they repeated and alledged those reasons, for which it was just and convenient to receive and satisfy him: The Pope being between two contrary respects, one not to alienate nor offend the Catholick King; the other not to lose the obedience of the Kingdom of *France*, went very warily, and endeavoured, that time, the course of things, patience and dexterity might unloose that so difficult and so dangerous knot: He knew that those that took part with the King of *France* had reason on their side; that at length there was enough said, and enough done, to assure the sincerity of his Conversion, and that by standing firm against so many repulses, he had merited the pardon and reconciliation of the Church: but on the other side he doubted the Spaniards might upbraid him, that they had been more constant, and more jealous Defenders of the Majesty of Religion than he, and he thought it very hard to alienate King *Philip* an ancient and confirmed Defender of the Church, for a Prince, which, till then, had ever been an Enemy, and a Persecutor of it; to this was added, that the merits of the King of *Spain* towards the Apostolick See, and the many enterprizes he had done for the service of Christendom and of Religion, had gotten him so great authority in the Roman Church, that it seemed not fit for the Pope to determine a matter of so great consequence, without his liking and consent.

Monsieur *Serafine* tells the Pope that Clement the seventh lost *England*, and Clement the eighth would lose *France*.

But whilst the Pope dexterously protracts this determination, the Kings Forces gaining every day greater power, and greater fame, constrained him to come to a conclusion; and the words of Monsieur *Serafine* wrought much upon him; who discoursing

1595. often with him, and, according to his wonted liberty, mingling jests with serious matters, being asked by the Pope what the Court said about that business; answered, That it was now a common saying, that Clement the Seventh hath lost England, and Clement the Eighth would lose France: which conceit having pierced deeply into the Popes mind, spurred on by the evidence of reason, and the effectual solicitations of the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he determined to take his resolution upon his Nephews relation, who assured him that, in Spain mens minds were no longer so ardent as they were wont to be in the affairs of France, and that being exceedingly exhausted of money, and weary of the War, they would make no great stir at the determination of Rome, though they yet shewed perseverance, desiring that the resolutions of his Holiness might be protracted for some few days more, out of a desire to better their own conditions, than out of any hope they had that the King of France at last should not obtain absolution: wherefore the Pope taking courage, after he had oftentimes felt the pulse of the Duke of Sassa, the Spanish Ambassadour, upon that point, he at last could not but tell him, that the taking a course about the affairs of France could no longer be deferred, and that therefore he was resolved to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, to the end that with their advice he might determine what should be thought most convenient. The Duke of Sessa believed that the Pope would hear and gather the Votes of the Cardinals in the wonted Consistory, and in the wonted manner, and knowing that many of them depended upon the will of the Catholick King, and that many others of themselves dissented from the King of France his Absolution, did not argue much upon that particular, because upon a diligent scrutiny of the Votes, he was of opinion that the Absolution would not pass in the Consistory, and he was certain the Pope would not do contrary to what the plurality of Votes should determine: But Clement, who would not refer a thing of so great weight, managed till then with infinite dexterity, to multiplicity of opinions, which if they should be laid open, would appear to be guided with particular interests and respects, after he had brought the Catholick Kings Ambassadors not to refuse that the business should be put in consultation; went not the ordinary way, but having called the Consistory, after he had read the Kings Letters and Supplications, declared that he would hear the counsel of the Cardinals about them; yet not briefly and confusedly at one only time, but that they should one by one come into his Chamber, where no other body being present, he would hear them privately; and gave them charge that they should come four every day severally to private audience, and to discourse with him concerning the present business. The Pope (shewing by this prudent manner, that he would exclude all private respects, and give the Cardinals confidence to tell their opinions freely, without fear that they should be discovered) reserved unto himself the arbitrement of the determination, being able, when all had spoken, to declare what pleased him best, and to say in which opinion the major part of Votes concurred, so that none might be able to oppose or contradict: and just so it came to pass; for having first caused solemn prayers to be made in every Church of the City, and having in himself shewed signs of profound and singular devotion, he, for the space of many days, heard the Cardinals one by one; and finally, being all met in the Consistory, he said he had heard the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted that the King of France should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosom of the Church; and that therefore he would treat with the Kings Procurators, and in his Name impose upon them those penances and those conditions which he should think most profitable and advantageous for the service of God, and the exaltation of the Church. Cardinal Marc Antonio Colonna would have contradicted, and standing up, began already to speak; but the Pope imposed him silence, saying, It had been sufficiently consulted of already, and determined with the plurality of Votes; and therefore he did not mean that should be any more put into disputation, which had once been ordered and decided.

The Pope that he might have the more free and secure opinion of the Colledge of Cardinals, resolves to hear them privately one by one.

The Pope in the Consistory declares, that two thirds of the Cardinals had voted the absolution of Henry the IV. and that therefore he was resolved to treat with his Procurators about it.

In this manner having dismissed the Consistory, the Pope betook himself to treat with the Kings Procurators concerning the Conditions, which already had been debated many days by the means of Cardinal Toledo, who though a Spaniard by birth, and a Jesuite by Profession, yet either because his Conscience did so perswade him, or for some other reason, was favourably inclined to the Kings affairs; and though he laboured much, because the Pope would needs declare that absolution Null that had been given him by the French Prelates at St. Denis, and the King stood to have it approved and confirmed

confirmed by his accomplishment, and because many things opposed the publication of the Council of *Trent*, which the Pope by all means urged to have; and most of all because the Pope pressed to have the Decree made in favour of the Hugonots to be broken and disannulled, which could not be done without stirring up new Wars; yet such was the dexterity and prudence of the Kings Procurators, and such the moderation of the Pope, that with convenient words and clauses all things were set right in such manner, that the reputation of the Catholick See was kept whole, and the King was not put into a necessity of new perturbations.

Things being settled and concluded, the Pope, upon the 16th day of *September*, went with all the Cardinals in their Pontifical habits into the Porch of *St. Peter's*, where he sitting in the Throne prepared for that purpose, and incompassed with all the Cardinals, except *Alessandrino* and *Aragon*, who were not present at that solemnity; *Jeanes Davy* and *Arnaud d' Ossat* appeared in the habit of private Priests, and holding the Kings Proxy in their hands, upon their knees presented the petition to the Secretary of the *Holy Office*, which being publicly read, the Secretary standing at the foot of the Throne, pronounced the Popes Decree, which containing the narrative of the whole business, did appoint and ordain that *Henry of Bourbon*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosom of the Church, being at that present obliged to abjure all Heresies held formerly by him, to undergo the publick penance that should be enjoined him, and observe the conditions established by his Holiness, which were these following: That the Catholick Religion should be introduced into the Principality of *Bearne*, and four Monasteries of Friars and Nuns founded there: That the Council of *Trent* should be received in the whole Kingdom of *France*, except in those things that might disturb it, which the Pope was willing to dispense withal: That within the term of one year the Prince of *Condé* should be given to be bred up in the hands of Catholicks: That in the disposing of Benefices and other matters, he should observe the course agreed upon with the Kings his Predecessors, taking away all abuses: That Catholick persons, and such as were of exemplary life, should be nominated unto Prelacies: That all lands and goods taken from Churches and Religious places should be restored without a judicial way, and without contradiction: That those that were elected into Magistracy should be persons no way suspected of Heresie, nor such as favoured Hereticks, either directly or indirectly, but such as should not tolerate them, save in what could not be done without tumult and War: And that he should give account of his Conversion and Abjuration to all Christian Princes. The spiritual penances enjoined him were, That every *Sunday* and *Holy-day* he should hear a Conventual Mass, either in his own Chappel, or some other Church: That, according to the custom of the Kings of *France*, he should hear Mass every day, and that upon some set days of the week he should say certain prayers: That he should fast *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and receive the Communion publickly four times in the year.

The Procurators accepted the Conditions, and the publick ingrossments were demanded by them; and then kneeling down at the Gate of *St. Peter's Church*, they with a loud voice abjured the Heresies that were contained in a certain Writing; after which Abjuration, being touched upon the head by Cardinal *Santa Severina* the chief Penitentiary with his Rod of Office, they received Absolution: at which action the Gates of *St. Peter's Church* were opened, the whole Church resounded with joyful musical voices, and the Castle of *St. Angelo* with all its Artillery gave signs of extraordinary joy and gladness: the Procurators clothed in their Prelatical habits were present at the Mass in the wonted place of the French Ambassadors; after which they went to *St. Louis* the French Church, where the joys and rejoycings were redoubled; the Court and the people of *Rome* expressing infinite contentment, the one being much inclined to favour the French, and the other rejoycing at the re-union of so noble and so principal a Kingdom.

The Pope deputed Cardinal *Toledo* Legat to the Kingdom of *France*; but afterward, whatsoever the occasion was, having changed his mind, he appointed Cardinal *Alessandro de Medici*, he who succeeded him in the Papacy. The Procurators who had happily brought so hard a matter, and of so great consequence unto a conclusion, were at several times by the same Pope created Cardinals, having often publickly said, That the modesty and prudent managery of them both had overcome those infinite difficulties that arose in his mind about the determination of that business.

R r r r 2

The

1599.

Upon the 16 of Sept. 1599. the Pope in the Porch of *St. Peter's* doth with solemn Ceremony absolve *Hm. IV.* from censures, and he is received into the bosom of the Church.

The conditions established at *Rome*, to be observed by the King of *France*.

The Kings Procurators kneeling at the Gate of *St. Peters Church* do with a loud voice abjure the Heresie of the Kings false belief.

Cardinal *Alessandro Medici*, who after was Pope *Leo the XI.* is appointed Legat into *France*.

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The news of the Absolution was brought unto the King by *Alessandro del Bene*, dispatched Post from *Rome*; who thinking to find him at *Lyons*, arrived there when he was already departed to return to *Paris*: For, having concluded a general Truce with the Duke of *Mayenne* for three months, to the end, that the conditions of Agreement might be conveniently treated of, and the event expected of matters at *Rome*, which went more slowly than was believed, the King (having settled the affairs of that Province, and given way to treat an Agreement also with the Duke of *Nemours*, and his Brother the Marquis of *St. Sorlin*) was returned speedily to *Paris*, to attend the business of *Picardy*, where the Arms of the Spaniards made themselves be sharply felt: In which time, the Marechal *de Bois Dauphin*, one of the Duke of *Mayenne's* nearest dependents submitted himself to his obedience: And on the other side, the Duke of *Elbeuf* formerly reconciled unto him, had established a Truce with the Duke of *Mercœur* for *Breagne*; so that all things in all places inclined to favour the Pacification of the Kingdom, save only, that on the side towards *Flanders*, by reason of the new War kindled particularly with the Spaniards, there arose by little and little new occasions of perturbation and trouble.

The End of the Fourteenth BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars of France.

By HENRICO GATERINO DAVILA.

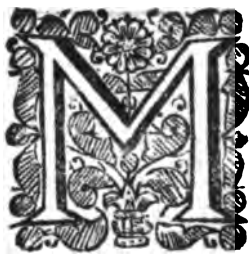
The FIFTEENTH BOOK.

The ARGUMENT.

THis Book relates the progress of the Spanish Forces in Picardy; the taking and recovery of Han; the siege of Castelet; the design of the Conde de Fuentes, General of the Forces in Flanders, to bessege Cambray, the preparations for that purpose: To facilitate that enterprize, he resolves to bessege Dourlans first, and sits down before it: The French Commanders on the other side prepare themselves to relieve it; they attempt to put in men, and come to a Battel; the Spaniards get the Victory, and the Admiral Villars is slain, with many of the Nobility: The Conquerors storm Dourlans with a very great slaughter: The Spanish Army beleaguers Cambray; the Duke of Nevers, who was arrived a while before for the defence of that Province, sends his Son the young Duke of Rhetelois to relieve the besieged, who fortunately passes thorow the Enemies Camp, and enters the Town. After him the Sieur de Vic gets in, and they defend themselves constantly. The people ill satisfied with the Government of Balagny, who had gotten that Principality, mutiny, make themselves Masters of a Gate, and open it to the Spaniards; the French retire into the Cittadel, where finding neither Ammunition nor Victual, they are constrained to surrender; the Conde de Fuentes grants them honourable conditions. The King departing from Bourgongne, marches to relieve them, but comes not time enough: He consults what is best to be done, and resolves to bessege la Fere; there follows an Accommodation with the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Joyeuse, and finally also with the Duke of Mayenne, who comes to wait upon the King before la Fere. Albert Cardinal and Archduke of Austria comes out of Spain to govern the Low-Countries; he puts relief into la Fere by means of Nicolo Basti; but the King slackens not the siege for all that. The Archduke resolves to try if he could raise him by diversion, and suddenly assaults Calais, and takes it: He obtains Guines, lays siege to Ardres, which yields for want of men to defend it: la Fere yields to the King at the same time, who finding his Army in an ill condition, resolves

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solves to disband it. Cardinal de Medici, the Pope's Legat, arrives in France, and is received there with great honour. An Accommodation is treated with the Duke of Mercœur, who artificially prolongs it. The King assembles the States in the City of Rouen to provide moneys, and settle the affairs of his Kingdom; being indisposed, he retires into the quarters about Paris. The Spaniards surprize Amiens the chief City of Picardy. The King exceedingly stricken with that loss, resolves to besiege it without delay; the varieties of the siege and defence are related. The Archduke marches with a very potent Army to relieve that place; the Armies face one another many days, and have divers encounters: The Archduke retires, and the besieged City surrenders. The King makes an incursion into the County of Artois; but because of the Winter and of the Plague, he retires. A Treaty of Agreement between the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal-Legat; the Deputies of both parties meet at Vervins: The Duke of Mercœur submits himself unto the Kings Obedience: After some defficulties in respect of the Duke of Savoy, the general Peace is at last concluded and published.



Atters of War went not on so prosperously for the King of France in the confines of Picardy, as in Bourgogne, and the Franche Comté; for the Spanish Forces ordered by Commanders of experience and resolution, having found in the French either little unanimity, or much weakness; besides the slaughter of men which had happened in divers encounters, had likewise made themselves Masters of many Towns and places of importance.

The Duke of Bouillon, and Count Philip of Nassau, had from the year before prosecuted the War unsuccessfully in the Dutchy of Luxemburg, and made divers incursions into it; where having possessed themselves of some places of small consequence, they were so streightened by Count Mansfelt's Army, but much more by the inundation of the Rivers, and the excessive abundance of waters, that they were necessitated to retire, one into the City of Sedan, the other by Sea into Holland; and though the Duke of Bouillon had afterwards in the beginning of the year rais'd the siege of la Ferre which the Spaniards had laid, yet that was done rather by art, than force, and, except some excursions, things were quietly settled on that side.

By the death of the Archduke Ernest the Government of the Low-countries is given to the Count de Fuentes.

Count Charles of Mansfelt goes to serve the Emperour in the War of Hungary.

But the Archduke Ernest dying unexpectedly in the beginning of March, the Condé de Fuentes took the Government of the Low-Countries, who full of Warlike Spirits, and desirous to restore the reputation of the Spanish Forces, apply'd his mind with all diligence to reform the Discipline of the Militia, which he had seen flourish gloriously in the time of the Duke of Parma; wherefore Count Charles of Mansfelt being gone to serve the Emperour in the War of Hungary, he was left alone to the administration of both Civil and Military affairs, and making use of the assistance of the Sieur de la Motte, the Prince of Avellino, Monsieur de Rosne, and Count Giovan Giacompo Belgiojoso, and Colonel de la Berlotte, old experienced Commanders, that were observant of Military Discipline, he had not only quieted a great part of those that mutinied for want of pay, but also reforming and re-ordering the companies of every Nation, and filling them up with old Souldiers, he had brought himself into such a condition, that with an Army more valiant than numerous, he might put himself upon the attempt of some gallant enterprize; which whilst he was contriving in his mind, they of the Province of Haynault and of the County of Artois propounded unto him the taking of Cambray, offering a good number of men, and great contributions in money as soon as they should see the Army encamped before that City, from whence those Provinces received great and continual damage with the interruption of commerce and the hinderance of tillage. The Archbishop of Cambray made the same request, who having been driven out from the power of that Town, proffered likewise money and Souldiers, provided the Spaniards would attempt to recover it. This enterprize seemed great and magnificent to the Condé de Fuentes, as well by reason of the greatness and splendour of the City and its Territory, as for the glory he should attain thereby; for since the time it

it was gotten by the Duke of *Alençon*, the Spanish Forces had never had the heart to venture the recovery; and the Duke of *Parma* himself, either withdrawn by more necessary occasions, or dissuaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had given it over. But if the enterprize carried with it so great reputation, it carried also no less difficulty by reason of the strength of the City and Castle, of the number of the people, the riches of the inhabitants, the Garison which Monsieur de *Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumstances which represented themselves to the consideration of the Count, who though in mind he was resolved to attempt it, did yet dissemble it prudently, making those preparations maturely which he thought convenient, that he might not strike in vain.

But while being intent upon this action, he was preparing matters, a new Emergent that sprung up in *Picardy* did, with very great and reciprocal danger, hasten the motion of the War. *Han*, a considerable Town in that Province, was governed by the Sieur de *Gomeron*, who having in the declining of the League taken a resolution to join with the Spaniards, agreed to receive what Garison they should think fit, not only into the Town, but also into the Castle; to which effect *Ceccho de Sangro* being come with eight hundred Italian foot, and Signor *Olmeda* with two hundred Spaniards, two hundred Walloons, and four hundred Germans, *Gomeron* though he admitted them into the Town, would not yet admit them into the Castle, fearing lest being become the stronger, they should attempt to drive him out of the place; upon which doubt, there having past many letters and messages, at last *Gomeron* was persuaded by *Don Alvaro Osorio*, Governour of *la Feré*, to go into *Flanders*, where he should receive not only the full sum of money that had been promised him, but also fitting security to continue in the Government of the place; wherefore he having left his Brother-in-law the Sieur d' *Orvilliers* and his own Mother in the Government of the Castle, went himself with his two younger Brothers to *Antwerpe*, where the *Condé de Fuentes*, incensed by the ambiguity of his Faith, made him and his Brothers be kept prisoners, and wrote to *Orvilliers*, that if he did not put the Castle into the hands of his Commanders, he would make himself satisfaction with *Gomeron's* head. But *Orvilliers* no less doubtful than his Brother-in-law, (though the Mother anxious for the safety of her Sons, press'd him very much) could not tell what resolution to take, but sometimes intimating to the Spaniards that he would give them the Castle, sometimes treating with the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monsieur d' *Humieres* the Kings Lieutenant in that Province to bring them in secretly to suppress the Spanish Garison that lay in the Town, kept both parties long in hope, till Monsieur d' *Humieres* proffering him larger conditions, and that all the Spanish Commanders that should be taken, should be given to him to exchange *Gomeron*, he resolved at last to adhere unto the French; wherefore (the Duke of *Longueville* having been slain a while before, with a Musket-shot, received by chance in a Volley which his Souldiers gave him in honour) his Brother the Count de *St. Paul*, to whom the King had granted the same Government, having sent to the Duke of *Bouillon* to meet him at *St. Quintin*, resolved to attempt that enterprize, though by reason of the doubt of *Orvilliers* his fidelity, and because of the strength of the Garison it was thought very difficult. Monsieur d' *Humieres* undertook the charge of ordering the business, and that he might effect it prosperously, took very great care to gather together all the Gentry of the Province, and all the Souldiery that was in the neighbouring Garisons.

In the mean time the *Condé de Fuentes* having settled the affairs of *Flanders* in good order, was advanced with eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse unto the confines to take in *Castelet*, a place built by King *Henry* the Second, in the time of the Wars with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth upon the confines of the Territory of *Cambray*; and because the taking of this place was necessary to the besieging of that City, he had encamped himself before it, and battered it with twelve pieces of Cannon, which not interrupting the designs of the French, who thought it much more considerable to take *Han*, than to relieve *Castelet*, had taken the field with Four thousand Foot, and above One thousand Horse, encamping sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, in the quarters about that Town. But though they dissembled it, and made shew to have some other design, yet their drawing so near, and some provisions that *Orvilliers* made in the Castle, had put *Ceccho de Sangro*, and the other Spanish Commanders in a jealousy, who doubting of that which indeed was true, determined to shut up the assage of those ways that went from the City to the * *Esplanade* of the Castle, and there

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The Sieur de *Gomeron* Governour of *Han* agrees with the Spaniards, and receives their Garison into the Town, but not into the Castle.

Gomeron having left the Sieur d' *Orvilliers* in the Castle of *Han*, goes into *Flanders*, where he is kept prisoner by the *Condé de Fuentes*.

The Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of *Picardy*, killed by a musket-shot.

The *Condé de Fuentes* goes into *Picardy*, and besieges *Castelet*, with a design afterward to besiege *Cambray*.

* The open space without the City, from the edge of the *Commencement*.

1595. there being three that led thither, they drew a traverse cross every one; raising them with Barrels and Earth, and made holes through the Houses on all sides, that with their small shot they might gall the place that extended it self from the City to the Moat and Raveline before the Castle Gate; and for more security, they sent with speed to the *Comde de Fuentes*, letting him know the suspicion they had, and desiring relief.

Oruilliers having agreed with the French brings a strong party into the Castle

The French go out of the Castle of *Noyon*, and attack the Spaniards that hold the Town.

The French on the other side, being assured of *Oruilliers* his fidelity, by many of his Kinsmen that were in the Army, drew near betimes in the evening between the Gate of the Castle, and that of the Town which led to the way of *Noyon*; but the *Perdues* that lay without the works, having given the Spaniards notice of the Enemies arrival, *Ceccho de Sangro* caused many Cannon shot to be made that way, whereby the French knowing that the Garison was advertised, and in order to receive the assault, resolved to enter into the Castle, and go down to fall upon the Town on that side: The Count *de St. Paul* with all the Cavalry, and a Body of a thousand Foot stood firm in the field: *Monfieur d'Humieres* and the Duke of *Bouillon* went into the Castle, where the difficulty of assaulting the Enemy appeared exceeding great; for the Gate of the Raveline was so narrow, that it forced them to go out but few at once stragling, and as they went forth they came upon the *Espanade* which lay open to the shot of the Town, wherefore they would not put themselves in so manifest danger in the darkness of the night, but staying for the morning, resolved to open the Gate of Relief, which was walled up, and through it, go down without opposition into the Moat, from whence cutting away part of the Counterscarp, they might come forth upon the Flank of the Castle, in a place that was not subject to their shot. This they effected at Sun-rise, and being divided into three Squadrons, each of which had One hundred Gentlemen compleatly armed in the Front of it; they marched on to fall upon those of the Town, who standing ready at their Works, received the assault very valiantly. The conflict was sharp and obstinate, fighting on both sides with old Souldiers, full of experience and valour, but the event had different success in the three several places where they fought; for *Monfieur d'Humieres* being slain on to assault the Traverse that was guarded by *Baldassare Carracciolo* and *Marcello del Giudice*, was not only opposed, but after two hours fight repulsed with much blood; on the other side, upon the left hand where the *Sieur de Sessavalle*, and Colonel *la Croix* assaulted the Traverse guarded by Signior *Olmeda*, they fought with equal fortune without advantage; but in the middle way, where the Visdame of *Amiens*, and the Governour of *Noyon* assaulted *Ceccho de Sangro*, after they had fought a great while, (*Ceccho* having received two wounds with a Pike) the French broke through the Traverse, and though they found a firm resistance every where, yet they got near to the *Porte de Noyon*, which they had designed to open, and bring in the Count *de St. Paul* at it; but *Ceccho* taking a resolution in the extremity of the danger, caused the houses of that quarter to be set on fire, which carried by a prosperous wind for him, followed the French so close at the heels, that it constrained them to retire, the flame making such havock, that they were fain to cease the assault: It was already Noon, and the Souldiers being weary every where, slackned the fight; and yet *Monfieur d'Humieres* seeing the wind turn, and the flames of the fire flie towards the Spaniards, set his Squadron again in order, and placing himself in the Front, went to renew the assault, in the beginning whereof he received a Musket shot in the head, and fell down dead upon the ground; which accident abated not the courage of his men, but being relieved by the Duke of *Bouillon* with fresh Forces, they at last possessed themselves of the *Porte de Noyon*, by which the Count *de St. Paul* entring with the rest of the Army, the Spaniards straitned on all sides, never turned their backs, but still courageously fighting, retired into the *Fauxbourg de St. Sulpice*, where having fought till night, and the relief not appearing, which they expected from the *Comde de Fuentes*, ordering their Pikes, they made shew, that they would yield themselves; but the French either incensed for the death of *Monfieur d'Humieres*, or by reason of their most ardent hatred against the Spaniards, prosecuted the Victory without regard, and would have put them all to the Sword, if the desire of recovering *Gomeron* had not perswaded them to take many prisoners. Of the Spaniards side there were killed about Eight hundred men; *Ceccho de Sangro*, *Baldassare Carracciolo*, Signior *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Alessandro Braccaccio*, were all taken prisoners, with many other Officers and Souldiers. Of the French were killed about One hundred and twenty Soldiers, and forty Gentlemen, among which Colonel

Colonel *la Croix*, the Sieurs de * *Bayancourt*, *des Masieres*, Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Surville*, and many Captains of Foot. Among the wounded were Colonel *Lierville*, and the Sieurs d' *Arpajon*, and de *Chalande*.

The *Conde de Fuentes*, having received intelligence of the assault which his soldiers expected, left the Duke of *Pastrans* at the siege of *Castelet*, and went, with a part of the Army to relieve them; but being come the day after the fight within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking it fit to attempt any thing for that time, returned to prosecute the siege he had begun; whereby the French remaining free Possessors of the Town and Castle, left the Sieurs de *Sessavalle* and *Plainville* with a convenient Garrison in the Town, and consigned *Ceccho de Sangro*, and many prisoners to *Orvilliers*, with the exchange of which he might redeem the Sieur de *Gomeron*: But the event of the business proved very different, for the Prisoners having secretly dealt with a Neapolitan, (who, as the Sieur de *Gomeron's* Rider lived in the Castle,) they came to an agreement, That he, and two other Soldiers of the Garrison, should free them out of the room where they were shut up, and furnish them with Arms, so that they might unexpectedly, not only recover their liberty, but by killing *Orvilliers*, make themselves Masters of the Fortrefs. The business succeeded prosperously at first; for *Ceccho de Sangro* with his Companions, suddenly assaulting the Guards at noon-day, possessed and locked up the Castle Gate; but running to the Governors Chamber to kill him, they found that he with those about him, were already in a posture of defence. Whereupon there began a very sharp fight among them, at the noise whereof the Commanders that lay in the Town suspecting the matter, ran violently to the Castle, and tried to get in with Ladders, and so the conflict was reduced to a third party; but, the Italians not having strength to resist in two several places, made composition with *Orvilliers*, by the means of *Madam de Gomeron*, that opening the Gate towards the field, they should suffer them to go out freely, and he as before should remain absolutely Master of the Castle. Thus the Prisoners being at liberty, *Gomeron* remained without hope of help in the power of the Spaniards; and yet his Mother ceasing not to try all means to free her Son, had, with Tears, Prayers, and Promises, brought *Orvilliers* into such a wavering doubtfulness of mind, that he seemed inclined to make a new agreement with the Spaniards; wherefore she judging, that if their Camp should draw near, he would easily resolve to receive it, writ to the *Conde de Fuentes*, that if he came with the Army, *Orvilliers* would deliver up the Castle to him.

In the mean time the Count had battered the Walls of *Castelet*, and given it a violent assault, which, though it was stoutly sustained by those within, yet as they fought, the fire taking and blowing up all their Powder, the Sieur de *Lirumont*, Governor of the place, was necessitated to surrender, and their goods and persons being safe, he came forth in a soldierly manner; whereupon the Count having dispatched that enterprize, moved with the whole Army to draw near to *Han*; but at his arrival, *Orvilliers*, more uncertain in his mind than ever, and not knowing what to determine, opened the Gate that was towards the Town, and fled out of the Castle, retiring to *Roy*; and the Sieur de *Sessavalle* being entred with Two hundred Soldiers, began to fire his Artillery against the Spanish Camp, at which the *Conde de Fuentes* much incensed, caused *Gomeron* to be brought within sight of the Castle, where, in the presence of all, he made him to be Beheaded, and sent back his Brothers Prisoners to the Castle of *Antwerp*. The Count, perswaded by the heat of Passion, was minded to besiege the Town, but the next day, when that first motion was quieted, not being willing to interrupt the already intended enterprize of *Cambray*, he raised his Camp and marched away to spoil, and pillage the places of that Country: At the first arrival of his Army, *Clery* and *Bray*, weak Towns of that territory, standing upon the River *Somme*, yielded without resistance, and to the infinite terror of the Country people, they began to plunder Cattel, and to spoil the Corn in many places; but the Forces were not yet in readiness which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Heynauli* had obliged themselves to contribute, and without them, by reason of the great circuit of the Town, and the number of the Defendants, the Commanders thought not fit to attempt the siege: Wherefore the Count, that his Army might not be idle, and to facilitate the enterprize of *Cambray* by shutting up the passages in many several places, resolved to fall upon *Dourlans*, a Town not very great, but reasonable strong, and situate near the confines, that separate *Picardy* from the Territory of *Cambray*; but on the higher side above *Peronne* and *Corbie*, the

1595.

* The French
saves *Haran-*
cous.

Many Prisoners are left with the Sieur d' *Orvilliers*, that he might exchange his Brother-in-Law the Sieur de *Gomeron*.

The Count de *Fuentes*, upon hopes given him by *Madam de Gomeron*, comes before *Han*; but his design of taking it not succeeding, he causes *Gomeron* to be beheaded in sight of the French.

The Count de *Fuentes* besieges *Dourlans*.

Sfff

Sieur

1595. *Sieur d' Arancourt* was in the Town, and the *Sieur de Ronfoy* as Governor of the Castle, for all the places of that Province, was near the confines, are secured by Castles; the most part of them stronger by situation than by art, with Walls of the old fashion, flanked onely with great Towers; but this, either by reason of the nearness of the danger, or of the Governors diligence, was much bettered by Ramparts and Ravelines, according to the manner of Fortification of our times. The weakness of the Garrison that was in the Town, being very much inferior to what need required, encouraged the Count to set himself upon that enterprize; but though he resolved it upon the sudden, and turn'd that way without losing a minutes time, yet could not the siege be layed, and the passages blocked up so speedily, but that the Duke of *Bouillon* was advertised of it, who being taken at unawares, put in four hundred Gentlemen, and eight hundred Foot; but it was a very pernicious Counsel; for, if he had put into the Town all the Foot that he had with him, which was above Two thousand, he would not afterwards have been necessitated to attempt with so great a loss to relieve it; and if he had not engaged the Gentry within the circuit of those Walls, he would have been so strong in Horse, that by obstructing the wayes, he might have forced them to rise; but in sudden occasions, the wisest persons do not remember all things. As soon as these Forces were entred into the Garrison, which, in all, amounted to the number of Eleven hundred Foot, and Five hundred Horse, the fault began to appear; for, there being no Commander of Authority, to manage the weight of the defence, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country who were there, by desiring all to Command, put all things in disorder and confusion, so that their presence, which would have been very proper, very helpful in the field, proved rather destructive than serviceable in the Town; And yet every one knowing it was needful to keep the Enemy at a distance from the Walls, they betook themselves to bring some of those Ravelines that were without the circuit of the Ramparts into so good forwardness, as to retard the approach of the Enemy for some dayes; but the defect of the Garrison appeared likewise in this; for the Gentlemen did not care to lay hand to the work, and the Foot being few in respect of the necessity, all preparations went on but slowly.

There being no commander of authority in *Dowls*, and all desiring to command, there grows a confusion among the Defendants.

Monsieur de la Motte, Camp-Master-General of the Spanish Army, is slain, *Monsieur du Rosne* is chosen in his place.

The Spanish Army encamped before *Dowls*, upon the fifteenth day of July, and the same evening *Valemine* *Sieur de la Motte*, who executed the Office of Camp-Master-General, going to view the place near at hand, to resolve on which side it should be fittest to assault it, was killed with a Musket-shot in the right eye; a Soldier, who, from small and low beginnings, passing through all Military degrees, was risen with a most renowned fame of valour and experience, unto the eminency of the most remarkable Offices, and most important commands. The man whom the *Conde de Fuentes* designed to supply his place, was *Christian* *Sieur du Rosne*, who, by his sagacity, (which was exceeding great, (added to the valour and experience of many years,) had gotten himself an infinite reputation among the Spaniards; and by his Counsel, before all other things, they began to fortifie the quarters of the Army, and with Forts and Half-moons to shut up the Enemies, as well to hinder the relief that might endeavor to get into the Town, as to secure his Camp, which was not very great, from the sudden assaults and attempts of the French. These Works being ended, there remained to be resolved, on which side the Place should be assaulted; for many were of opinion to begin with the Castle first; and many others finding it very difficult to take the Castle, advertised to possess themselves of the Town first, to facilitate the way to the taking of the Castle. But after long consultation, a third opinion carried it, propounded by *du Rosne*; which was, that the Town should be assaulted on that side, where it joyned with the Castle, because at the same time a breach might be made in the Wall, and part of the defence of the Castle taken away: The quality of the situation advised the same, which (in respect of the River *Oyse* that passes there) was more easie to be made defensible; whereby the Batteries would be the stronger and better sheltered from any attempt the Duke of *Bouillon* or the Count de *S. Paul* should make; who, it was already known, were with very great diligence drawing their Forces together, to relieve the Gentry which they unadvisedly shut up in the Town. The first violence of the siege met with an Half-moon without the Ramparts, that separated the Castle from the Town; which, though of nothing but earth, yet being by length of time firmly knit together, did little fear the battering of the Cannon: Wherefore, *Monsieur du Rosne* having found the small fruit of playing upon it, began

began two Trenches, to approach covered from the shot both of the Town and Castle, and brought them within a stones cast of the Half-moon; but while the Defendants believed he would continue them to the Moat, he suddenly caused two Squadrons that were prepared ready, one Italians, the other Walloons, to sally out of them; who, some scrambling up upon the Earth, others clapping scaling ladders against it, got so quickly upon the Parapet, that they fell in pell-mell with the Defendants, before the Artillery of the Castle could hurt them: The fight was short, but valiant; for the Defendants were all soldiers of experience; and yet their being taken so at unawares; was the cause, that after they had fought a quarter of an hour, being over-pow'ed by the greater number, they were forced to retire, saving themselves within the covered way that was without the moat of the Town: Monsieur *de Rosne* entering the Half-moon, commanded *la Berlotte's Tertia* to cover and fortifie themselves in that place, having designed to make use of that same Post to plant his Battery in it: The Walloons were diligent and careful in fortifying themselves; but they of the Town were no less ready to hinder their work; for with three Sacres that were upon a Platform of the Town, and on the other side, with the Artillery from the Castle, they did so play upon the place where the besiegers wrought, that the slaughter of them was very great; and yet the Italians, Spaniards, and Walloons working by turns, the Half-moon was at last made defensible, and in it they planted seven Culverins, which battered the Works of the Castle, and six Cannon that played against the wall of the Town; insomuch, that having shot continually for two dayes together, matters were brought to such a pass, that they were ready to open two trenches into the Counterscarp, wherewith approaching, they might advance to the assault.

But, in the mean time, the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de St. Paul* being joyned with the Admiral *Villars*, and the Forces of *Normandy*, were intent upon relieving that place; but not so much for the importance of the Town, as in respect of the great number of Gentlemen that were shut up in it; and though the Army they had was not very numerous, yet they were confident the Gentry which they had with them would enable them to put in men and ammunition, by forcing the Guards on some side or other, though they were diligent, and well strengthened by the Enemy. The Sieur *de Sessavalle's* design was, to enter into the Town with a Thousand Foot, and Four and twenty Carriages of Ammunition, and at the same time to make the 400 Gentlemen that were in *Dourlans*, retire into the Army, wherein, besides the Infantry, there were Twelve hundred Curassiers, and Six hundred Harquebusiers on Horse-back; and because the circuit and the entries into the Town were unequal, and some on this side, some on that side of the River, which nevertheless, by reason of its shallowness, might be forded in many places without difficulty; they determined to divide themselves into three Squadrons, and appear three several wayes, to keep the enemy divided and employed in divers places; they consulted among themselves the evening of the twenty third of *July*, what was best to be done; the Count *de S. Paul* was of opinion (to which the Marquis of *Belin*, and the Sieur *de Sessavalle* assented) that they should stay for the Duke of *Nevers*, who being appointed by the King to the superintendence of the affairs of that Province, was already near at hand: it seeming to them a very great rashness, to attempt that then with exceeding great danger, which they might undertake within two days with more force, and more hope of good success: But the Duke of *Bouillon* (an old emulator of the Duke of *Nevers*, not onely by reason of their difference in Religion, but also of the fame of wisdom, to the first place whereof they mutually aspired) could not endure to hear of staying for his coming, and that the glory should be reserved for him, which he pretended should result unto himself, by raising the siege, or relieving the Town, and having drawn the Admiral to his opinion, he caused it to be determined in a manner by force, that the next morning they should try their fortune.

On the other side, the Count *de Fuentes* knowing that all the hope of the French could consist in nothing, but keeping him distracted in several places, resolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppose their attempt with all his Forces united; and having left *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* to guard the Battery, with Twelve hundred Foot, and *Gasparo Zappogna* with a Thousand more to defend their quarters and works, he, with all the rest of the Army advanced upon the same way the enemy was coming: The Prince of *Avellino* led the Van, wherein were two Squadrons of Horse, one Walloons and Flemings, and the other Italians; and on the Flanks of them,

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The Duke of *Bouillon* intending to relieve *Dourlans*, causes the Commanders to resolve, that his opinion should be executed.

The Count *de Fuentes* having left *Hernando Telles* at the siege, draws off to meet and hinder the relief.

1595.

two Wings of Spanish Musquettiers, the Duke of *Annale*, and Monsieur *du Rosne* followed with two Squadrons of Infantry, which had each of them four field-pieces in the Front; and in the last was placed the rest of the Cavalry, with the Count himself, and by his side a Battalion of Germans.

On the other side, the Admiral and the Duke of *Bouillon* led the Van; the Count *St. Paul* was in the Battel, and had by him Monsieur *de Sessavalle*, with the Foot that were to go into *Dourlans*, and the Marquis of *Belin* commanded the Rear. It was the four and twentieth of *July*, the Eve of *St. James* the Apostle, and it was near noon, when the Armies marching mutually to meet, came within sight of one another; without delay, the French Vanguard with very great violence charged the two Squadrons of the enemies Cavalry, whereof that of Walloons, which was upon the left hand, being broken and disordered by the Admiral, manifestly ran away; but that of Italians, where the Prince of *Avellino* was, did long sustain the fury of the Duke of *Bouillon*, till the Admiral, who had routed and driven away the Enemy, drawing near upon the Flank, it likewise was constrained to retire, though without falling into disorder; but the Wings of Spanish Musquettiers coming up, the service was hot and furious, and so much the more, because the Walloon Horse rallying again, had likewise faced about, and fought with no less courage than the rest. In the mean time, *Sessavalle* advancing out of hand, to march to *Dourlans*, fell into one of the Squadrons of Foot that followed, being led by the Duke of *Annale*, and there began between them a no less fierce encounter than there was among the Horse. But as soon as *du Rosne* saw those Squadrons charge one another so courageously, he, with that which he led, turning a good pace upon the right hand, possessed himself of a higher ground, which was upon the Flank of *Sessavalle*, and first raking through them with his field-pieces from thence, and then falling in with two Wings of Muskettiers that were in the Front of his men, did so great execution upon them, that the *Sieur de Sessavalle* and Colonel *St. Denis* being slain, and all their Colours lost, the French Foot were so dispersed, that they could no more be rallied, and the Carriages of Ammunition remained in the power of the Enemy. In the mean time, the *Comde de Fuentes* getting up to an high place, from whence he discovered the various fortune of his men, sent out two Squadrons of Horse to assist the Prince of *Avellino*, and Monsieur *du Rosne*, with the Duke of *Annale*, having put their Squadrons again in order, advanced on each side to the place of fight. Wherefore the Duke of *Bouillon* knowing how to yield to fortune, without being willing to adventure any farther, retired with small loss towards the Battel, with which the Count *de St. Paul*, reserving himself untouched, had not at all engaged in the encounter; but the Admiral, who much more fiercely had, from the beginning, rushed upon the greater number of the Enemy, having seen the *Sieur d'Argenville*, Governor of *Abbeville*, and the *Sieur de Hacqueville*, Governor of *Pontean de Mer*, Captain *Perdriel*, and above Two hundred Gentlemen of *Normandy* fall dead before him, though later, and with more difficulty, would likewise have taken a resolution to retire, if pity and gallantry had not called him afresh into the midst of the Battel; for seeing his Nephew, the young *Sieur de Montigny*, with fifteen or twenty of his followers, totally engaged, and sharply prosecuted by the Spanish Infantry of *Antonio Mendozza*, he called back his men that were retiring, and furiously turned about his Horse to fetch him off; but being surrounded by the Spanish Muskettiers, and his passage cut off by the Italian and Walloon Cavalry, fighting valiantly, and wounded in many places, he fell at last from his Horse; and though telling his name, he offered Fifty thousand Crowns in ransome, he was killed, in cold blood, by a Spanish soldier; and another, to get a very rich Diamond Ring he wore, without any regard cut off his finger; for which crimes they were, by the severity of the Count *de Fuentes*, both put to death. All those that followed him were killed upon the place close by him, though, fighting desperately, they made the Victory very bloody to the Enemy. The Duke of *Bouillon* (either judging it a greater service to the King to save the rest of the Army, or else moved by his ill will towards the Admiral, who was a very zealous Catholic) perswaded the Count *de St. Paul* (who being a young man, referred himself to the opinion of those that were elder) that without making further tryal to recover the day, they should get the Battel into security. But the Marquis *de Belin* detesting that advice, fell on with the Rere, to relieve the danger of the Admiral; and yet being encountred by four Squadrons of Lanciers, whom the Count *de Fuentes* sent out against him, he had not strength to resist their fury, and being routed and dispersed

The Admiral
Yillars fight-
ing gallantly,
is slain.

dispersed in a moment, the rest saved themselves by flight; but he and the *Sieur de Longchamp* remained the enemies prisoners: And this was one of those encounters which gave clear proof, that Cuirassiers in the field are very much inferior to the violence of Lances. The loss the French received in this Battel, was greater, in regard of the quality, than number of the slain; for they were not in all above 600, but most part of them Gentlemen, and persons of note, whereof the whole Army was composed; which made the D. of *Bouillon* excuse the better, in that he had saved the remainder, though it was a most constant opinion, that if all the Squadrons had charged at once, or if he obstinately fighting, had called up the Count *de St. Paul* with the fresh Forces to his assistance, he might either have put relief into *Dourlans*, or at least might have retired without receiving so great a loss. On the side of the Spaniards there were killed but few, and all obscure persons, and among the wounded, none was reckoned on but *Sanche de Luna*.

While the Armies fought thus, the besieged in *Dourlans* were not idle; for having heard the noise of the fight hard by, they made a gallant sally to assail the Trenches, in which, finding the Posts well fortified, and all the Guards in Arms, they were no less valiantly repulsed; though in that action they received not much loss. The *Conde de Fuentes* returning victorious to the Leaguer, and freed from the fear of being any more infested by the French, applied himself, with all his study, to hasten the end of the siege, which, though the defendents answered with very remarkable courage and valor, yet was not their conduct and experience correspondent; so that it manifestly appeared, the Town (though with much slaughter) would fall into the power of the Spaniards. Upon the 28th day the besieged made a great sally in the heat of the noon-day, and because they found the Foot ready and prepared for their defence, after a long fight they were at last constrained to retire; and while they did so very softly, and without any sign of flight, being assaulted by the Cavalry, and charged very furiously on the flank, they lost many of their men, and were fain to run back full speed to the very Counterscarp. The next day the Artillery, having battered not only the Walls of the Town, but made a breach also in a corner of the Castle, the Count caused the assault to be given; and to divide the strength and courage of the defendents, he sent Foot to fall on in both places. The Spaniards stormed the Castle, the Walloons the Town, and a while after the Italians entering into both Trenches, reinforced the Assault: In this occasion, the valor of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* appeared most remarkable, who being the first that got up into the breach of the Castle, fought there with so much courage, that the Count *de Dinan* being slain, who, on that side had the charge of the defence, and the Squadron of those within being beaten back and broken, the Castle was taken with a wonderful great slaughter; from whence the Assailants going down, without having found any obstacle or impediment of Trenches or Casemats (for the unskilfulness or discord of the defendents had been such, that there was no Works cast up) they impetuously also possessed themselves of the Town; where, in revenge of the slaughter of *Han*, (the name of which sounded aloud in the mouth of every one) all that were in it, were, without any regard, put to the Sword, in the violence of the fight: so that of so great a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, scarce the *Sieur de Harancourt*, and the *Sieur de Griboval*, with forty soldiers, remained prisoners, there being slain upon the place Monsieur *de Ronfoy* Governor of the Castle, the *Sieurs de Franconet* and *Prouilles* who had principal commands, above Three hundred Gentlemen, and above Six hundred Soldiers. The Town was sacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the discretion of the Soldiers till the evening, and then those had quarter given them who were retired to the security of the Churches. The *Conde de Fuentes* having obtained so full a Victory, betook himself to repair the ruines of the wall, and to throw down the Works without, and having given the Government of the place to *Portocarrero*, who had behaved himself so gallantly in the taking of it, applied himself with very great diligence to make preparation to besiege *Cambray*, not being willing unprofitably to lose that prosperity which the countenance of fortune shewed him.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* was arrived at the half-defeated, and quite affrighted Army, and though he strove to dissemble those errors that had been committed, yet talking with the Count *de St. Paul*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, that in their consultations they had been too courageous, and in their retreat too prudent; By which words, and their old emulation, the Duke of *Bouillon* being disgusted, departed from the Army; and likewise the Count

1595.

The Marquis *de Belin*, and the Monsieur *de Longchamp*, are taken prisoners by the Spaniards.

While the Armies fight in the Field, the besieged sally into the Trench; but are repulsed.

The Spaniards assault *Dourlans*, and take it, and to revenge the slaughter of *Han*, put all to the Sword without regard: A great number of the French Gentry are slain there, and the Town sacked.

The *Conde de Fuentes* gives the Government of *Dourlans* to *Portocarrero*, and applies himself to the enterprise of *Cambray*.

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Count *de St. Paul* not very well satisfied, retired to *Bologne*, the whole weight and care of the defence remaining upon one man alone. The Duke of *Nevers* having taken the charge of the Army, though brought to a very weak estate, drew into *Amiens* upon the second day of *August*, to secure that City, which, by the near slaughter of *Dourlans*, was struck with very great terror; and because the Citizens running popularly to him, shewed him in how great fear they were, lest *Corbie*, a Town not far from the place where the Enemy was, should fall into their hands, he promised to go into it the next day himself in person, and so having left his son, the young Duke of *Rhetelais* at *Amiens*, he went without delay to *Corbie*; in which Town, though weak, he began to set himself in order to receive the Spanish Army, in case it should march that way; but the next day, the *Conde de Fuentes*, who was not above seven Leagues from thence, having raised his Camp from *Dourlans*, advanced in one dayes march near to *Peronne*; wherefore the Duke with all his Forces leaving *Corbie*, went to quarter at *Arboniers*, that he might go the same night into *Peronne*. The Spaniards upon the fifth day passed near the Walls of the Town, marching towards *S. Quintin*; wherefore the Duke being sent to by the Viscount *d' Auchy*, who was in it, went thither upon the sixth in the morning, which day the Spanish Army made a halt in the same quarters, and stayed there four dayes, to make provision of victual from all parts, and upon the eleventh of *August*, drawing within four miles of *Cambray*, discovered their design of besieging that place, freeing all the rest from the suspicion they had been in.

The *Mareschal de Balagny* who was in *Cambray*, knowing himself weak in the number of his soldiers, and much more hated of the inhabitants, who could not indure his Dominion; and besides that, not having any means to pay and maintain the Soldiers, solicited the Duke of *Nevers*, by four Messengers, dispatched post one after another, to assist him with some men, and pleasure him also with a sum of money; letting him know the little confidence he had in the people, and the great terror that was in the Garrison, by reason of the noise of the slaughter at *Dourlans*. The Duke of *Nevers* having called a Council of War, was doubtful a great while whether he should go into *Cambray* himself in person or not; for, on the one side, the jealousy of keeping that City, and the Glory of defending it, spurred him on; and on the other, the necessity of endeavouring to recruit the Army, and set it again in order, dissuaded him from it; but all the Commanders agreeing, that he ought not to engage himself, since they hoped, that *Balagny* would supply what was needful in the Command within the Town, and that his presence would be most necessary to prepare relief; he resolved to send his Son *Charles*, Duke of *Rhetelais*, with Four hundred Horse, and four Companies of Firelocks, which he mounted all on Horseback, that they might march the faster; he sent, in company with his Son, the *Sieur de Buffy*, and *Trumulet*, the first a Colonel of great experience, the other Governor of *Ville-Franche*; He gave the command of the Firelocks to the *Sieur de Vandricourt*, a soldier of long experience, and intended, that within a while after, his Son *Monsieur de Vic* should attempt to get into the Town, with an hundred Horse, and Four hundred other Foot, to the end that he might supply the charge of the defence, in those things which the *Mareschal de Balagny* could not attend, or had not experience in, under whose obedience all those Forces were to be.

In the mean time the *Conde de Fuentes* having received Five thousand Foot, sent from the confining Provinces, under the Prince of *Chimay*, and a Regiment of *Wal-loons*, rais'd and payed by *Louis de Barlemont* Arch-Bishop of *Cambray*, was drawn before the Town upon the fourteenth day, and presently began to shut up those passes by which the relief might enter, which he thought would come; which diligence, not at all retarding the Duke of *Rhetelais*, he put himself upon the adventure of getting into the City, and having marched all night, appeared by break of day upon the Plain, which largely compasses the Town on every side; His appearing by day, contrary to what he had designed, was caus'd, not onely by an excessive Rain that fell that night, but much more because being to pass a certain Water in the Village of *Anne*, over a Wooden-bridge, part of it was fallen, so that he was fain to make a halt, till with Planks and beams, the Bridge were hastily made up again: wherefore the Spaniards, who had had time, both to be advertised of it, and to get to Horse, at the Dukes arrival were drawn up into the Plain, expecting him in very good order upon the straight way; He made a stop when he perceived the Enemy, being not well as-

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The Duke of *Nevers* having called a Council of War, resolves not to engage himself in *Cambray*, but sends his Son the Duke of *Rhetelais*, who afterwards was Duke of *Man-sua*, with a good relief.

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 fured what he should do ; but the Guide that led him, well versed in the Countrey, shewed him, that between the Enemies Horse, and a lower Gate of the City, there was a hollow, craggy way, which could not so easily be past, so that turning on that side, they might get under the Walls of the Town, before they could be overtaken by the enemy, who, of necessity, were to take a great compass, not to disorder themselves in the hollow of that way ; wherefore, the Duke placing himself courageously at the head of his men, went out of the great Road, and declining upon the left hand, marched a round trot whither his guide led him, hoping to get to the Gate without any obstacle of the Enemy : but when he was drawn very near the Town, he found a *Corps de Garde* of Fifty Horse, who, at the Alarm, which sounded aloud through the whole field, had set themselves in order to stop the way ; wherefore, being necessitated to fight, he shut down his Beaver, and having encouraged his soldiers, charg'd up with so much fury, that in the first encounter, he routed and beat back the Enemies Troops, without the loss of any one man, and having quickly wheeled about, he closed up, and in his first order continued to march on his way at a good rate ; but he was not advanced Two hundred paces further, when he fell upon another body of an hundred and twenty Horse, which being charged with the same fierceness, were fain to retire without making any great resistance. In the mean time the main body of the Spanish Horse, which from the beginning had discovered him, moved on with no less celerity towards him ; but, the hinderance of the hollow way, and the dirt of the field, which, by reason of the rain the night before, was all wet and slippery, retarded their march so much, that when the first Troops came to charge the Duke, he was already defended by the Artillery of the Town, which thundering with exceeding great violence, and scouring all the field, hindred him from receiving any harm ; so that entering into the City, and being received with marvellous joy by every one, he found he had lost only one Page, and an inconsiderable part of the Carriages, which having not been able to come so fast as the rest, fell into the hand of the Spaniards.

The Duke of
Rhetelais, having over-
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 Squadrons of
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The Duke of *Rhetelais* his getting in, necessitated the Count *de Fuentes* to strengthen the siege more closely, that he might hinder any new relief from entering ; to which likewise he was perswaded by his want of money to pay and maintain the Army, since though the Bishop of *Cambray*, and the confining Provinces, had obliged themselves to contribute Five hundred thousand Florines, yet they denyed to pay them down, before he had begun the siege, and was got upon the Counterscarpe. To this was added his ardent courage, carried on by the felicity of former success, which excited him to undertake, even beyond the number and strength of his Army, as it were presaging a prosperous event, notwithstanding many difficulties ; wherefore the City being great in circuit, and not having men enough, he resolved, with Forts and redoubts, to shut up all that part, which on this side the River *Scheld* (that divides the City in the middle) lies towards *France* ; judging, that with the impediment of Fortifications, he might supply that defect, all the Soldiers in his Army not being sufficient to possess so large and ample a Plain, which contains the space of many miles ; but it appeared in this occasion, as it hath done in many others, that Forts and Redoubts (if they be not joyned with a convenient number of resolute men) do not hinder the entry of those, who take a resolution to pass, with the hazard of some Cannon shot ; and yet the Count *de Fuentes* having caused Four thousand Pioniers to come out of the adjacent Provinces, and having Seventy two pieces of Artillery of several sizes, and wonderful preparations of all Instruments of War and Ammunition, full of hope and courage, began to encompass the City on all sides, but on that especially, where it might be relieved by the French. Between *Porte Neufve*, and the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, over against that part of the City that stood towards the South, he caused a Fort to be raised after the manner of a Platform, which being able to contain One thousand Foot, was (by the name of the Bourg close by it) called the Fort of *Gniargni*, and caused another, not very much less, to be cast up over against the place where the River enters into the City on the West side, which they called the Fort *de Premy*, from the name likewise of the adjacent Bourg ; and between these two there were seventeen Redoubts, like so many Sentinels, in each of which, there were Twenty five men, and the two Forts, with all the space between them, were guarded by the Prince of *Chimay*, with the Forces that were newly come out of the neighbouring Provinces : Besides these Posts between the *Porte de Quentimpre*, and the *Porte des Salles*, winding

The manner
 of Count *de
 Fuentes* be-
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winding towards the North, there was raised another great Fort, which they called *St. Oloy*, where the Count *de Bie* commanded with a Regiment of Germans; from the *Porte des Selles* as far as the Cittadel, over against the *Bastion de Robert*, a place that extends from the North unto the East, they resolved to plant the Battery; therefore, in that space they intended to cast up Trenches, and the command thereof was given to *Agostino Messia*. The Count *de Fuentes* with the Cavalry of the Army, and two Tertia's of Walloons was quartered in two little Villages behind the Fortifications, and *Ambrosio Landriano*, Lieutenant-General of the Light horse, with Four hundred Horse, and Six hundred Foot, placed himself upon that way that leads to *Peronne*, keeping continually many Ambuscadoes in divers Woody places, to assault and hinder the passage of those that should hazard the attempt of entering the Town.

Things being disposed in this order, they began to break ground, the Engineer *Pacciorto*, and Colonel *la Berlotte* overseeing the Works, the one for his skill in Fortification, the other for experience in War, men of exceeding high estimation: But the work proved difficult beyond all belief; for in the lower places where the River *Sckeld* passes and overflows, they could not dig above a span for water, and the higher places were so gravelly and stony, that they could not approach without great toil and much time; and yet the Soldiers accustomed to labor, full of courage, by reason of their past victories, and aspiring to sack so rich a City, wrought with incredible patience: Either Monsieur *du Rosne*, or the Count himself, continually overseeing the Works, and with words, promises and gifts, hastening the perfecting of them; so that upon the first of *September*, two very large Trenches were brought to the edge of the Moat, between the *Bastion de Robert*, and a Raveline in the midst of the Courtine. It is evident, that if the besieged had, with Sallies and Counterbatteries molested their Works, they must needs have approached with extream difficulty, and perchance without fruit at last; but it was well known, that Monsieur *de Balagny*, either had lost his courage, or had not much experience; for, during the space of ten dayes, that the Works of the Spaniards lasted, the Defendants continually lay idle, without molesting them in any kind; and the young Duke of *Rbetelois*, who, by reason of the tenderness of his years, refetred himself to the discipline of others, though he said, and laboured very much, could not, or had not credit, to move the rest to do any thing; in so much, that even the very day the Trenches were opened, there would have been nothing done, if he himself levelling a Culverin, had not given fire luckily against the Enemy; for it shot into the very mouth of their Trench; by which example, his Gentlemen excited more than many others, shot many pieces of Cannon, and did some harm to the besiegers.

But the day following Monsieur *de Vic* came in opportunely, a man of great credit and long experience, who having happily avoided all the Ambushes laid by *Landriano*, got near the City, upon the second of *September* in the morning, with all his men on Horseback, and because the guards of the Infantry were but thin, and few, he passed between Fort and Fort, without receiving any harm by the Artillery that plaid on all sides, and got, without any loss, near the Walls of the City, not far distant from the edge of the Moat; but when he believed he had escaped all dangers, he saw himself unexpectedly charged in the Rere by a Body of Italian Horse, which led by *Carlo Visconte*, was advanced full gallop towards him; so that to avoid that imminent danger, since already, all the rest of the Cavalry were at his back, he presently caused all his men to alight, and leave their Horses a prey unto the enemy, who, while they were greedily busied in catching them, afforded them so much time, that he with most part of his men got into the Moat; whither, though the Spaniards advanced courageously, yet they could neither hurt him, nor hinder him, (after a long skirmish, and an infinite number of Cannon shot) from coming safe into the Town. His presence seemed to put heart and spirit into the Defendants; for the same night, the Soldiers striving who should work fastest, two Platforms were raised, behind the Courtine that was plaid upon by the Enemy, and a Cavalier at the Gorge of the *Bastion de Robert*, in which places many pieces of Artillery were planted, and they made a furious Counter-battery with so much violence, and so much harm to the besiegers, that having lamed their Artillery, and dismounted them, broken the Carriages, and beaten the Gabions all in pieces, the Spaniards were three dayes without being able to do any thing of importance against the Town: At the same time he caused two Mines to be made, which being prosperously brought under the principal Battery, blew it up

The Sieur de Vic with great difficulty enters with men into Cambray.

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into the Air, and buried five pieces, overturning and disordering all the rest. Nor did he cease in the mean time, opportunely to make some Sallics, though the great number of places which were necessarily to be kept guarded, would not allow them to be frequent or numerous.

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Against so gallant a defence, Colonel *la Berlotte* who had the principal charge of the siege, approached more under favour of Gabions than Trenches, though with the loss of many Souldiers, till he came to pierce the Counterscarp; but it proved so high, that it was necessary to make use of Ladders to go down into the Moat, which appeared wonderful dangerous, for the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert*, and a Casamat (made about that time in the Moat) plaid openly on both sides upon whosoever dared to come unto the Ladders, wherefore it was necessary to raise a battery of five Culverins, which thundred against the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert*; and at the Casamat they fought desperately four days together, with an innumerable company of Fireworks, to make themselves Masters of it. But to take the Casamat by reason of the valour of the defendents, proved exceeding difficult; and in the Flank by the Bastion, Monsieur *de Vic* had caused five pieces of Cannon to be planted so low, that no violence was sufficient to hinder them from doing mischief, wherefore the Commanders resolved to remove the battery to a lower place, close to the *Porte des Selles*, where the whole Camp working with infinite eagerness, in two days time they planted two and twenty pieces of Cannon, which plaid upon the Curtine, and upon the Flank six great Culverins, which discurtining the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert* made it very dangerous for the defendents to stay and make good that place. Almost at the same time Colonel *de la Berlotte* with two other Trenches, made his approaches so far, that having under covert passed through to the Casamat, he forced the besieged to quit it; so the Moat remaining free, the Artillery began to play, and the Army to set it self in order, to give the assault.

It troubled the *Condé de Fuentes* to hear that the Duke of *Nevers* staying at *Peronne*, had gotten together above Four thousand Foot, and between Seven and eight hundred Horse, wherewith he thought he would without all question hazard himself to relieve the City, in which he had so great a pledge, as his own Son; wherefore having with marvellous diligence made all the Avenues to be cut off, and blocked up, he caused another great Fort to be raised at the mouth of the High-way, in which he put *Gastone Spinola* with one thousand Foot, and all the Army was with admirable order disposed in such manner, that standing all to their Arms at every little stir, the whole Plain was on all sides filled with Forts and Squadrons, each between the other, which, Flanked with the Troops of Horse, and with field pieces in their Front, made it most difficult to get through the Town, without very great danger, or without coming presently to a Battel. But want of money troubled the Count no less than this, for the neighbouring Provinces much forwarder to promise, than able to perform, had been able to raise but half the money they had promised, whereof he had been fain to spend a great part in satisfying the Souldiers that had mutinied at *Liramount*, to the end that being quieted they might come to reinforce the Army; wherefore the provisions of *Spain* proceeding with the wonted delays, the Count was reduced into very great perplexity how to maintain his Army, which being all employed either in the approaches, or guard of the Forts, could not enlarge it self to live upon the Country, though the season of the year, and the fields full of fruits, were very favourable for the sustenance both of men and horses: To these respects was added, the difficulty of the siege, which (by reason of the strength of the City, the number and valour of the defendents, and the prudence and diligence of Monsieur *de Vic*) proved so hard and dangerous, that many counselled to raise the Camp without losing themselves upon an impossible enterprize, and not stay for the King of *France* his coming, who being victorious in *Bourgogne*, was already known to be moving towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties there arose new unthought-of accidents: The people of *Cambray* accustomed to live under the pleasing Government of the Archbishops, had impatiently brook'd the Rule of the Marechal *de Balagny*, and their disdain and heart-burning had increased so much the more after the King of *France*, depriving the Crown of the Dominion it had over it, had granted it in Fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty covetous mind did very much augment the discontents of the Citizens. To this evil was added the insupportable nature of Madam *de Balagny* the Marechal's Wife, who being partaker in the Investment, did not only turn and govern her Hus-

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The Sieur de
Balagny in ne-
cessity, coins
copper-money

The Citizens
rising in an
uproar, make
themselves
Masters of a
gate, and send
their Deputies
to capitulate
with the
Count de Fuen-
tes.

The Citizens
open the gates
and receive
their Deputies
with the Capi-
tulations, and
the Spaniards
are brought
into Cambray.

band as she pleased, but with extortions, rapines, womanish taunts, and extream ill-usage had brought the City into a general desperation: wherefore when the Spanish Camp began to hover in those quarters, the people under colour of sending to demand relief from the King, had dispatched unto him two of their most noted Citizens, who propounded, that if the King would take away the Dominion of the City from *Balagny*, and incorporate it into the Crown of *France*, they at their own charge would pay the Garison, and defend and maintain it against the siege of the Spaniards, so that the King should be put to no manner of trouble nor expence at all; which request having been rejected by means of *Madam Gabrielle*, infinitely beloved and favoured by the King, they were returned, and by putting the business in despair, had absolutely stirred up and enraged the people. When men were thus ill-affected, the necessity of the Siege came upon them, in which *Monsieur de Balagny* being utterly without money, found a way to coin certain pieces of Copper, commanding by a publick Proclamation, that every one should receive them without dispute, they being afterward to be changed, when the City was freed from the present siege; but many being very backward to take that money, (as well because they knew not what the event of the siege would be, as because they trusted little to the faith of *Balagny*) were the cause that he and his Wife used many violent ways to make their Decree be obeyed; by which, the people exasperated, took their opportunity when (the breach being made) all the Souldiers were dispersed in several places upon the wall, and rising tumultuously in arms, made themselves Masters first of the Market-place, kept by a Main-guard of two hundred Switzers, and then of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, which as furthest from danger, was least guarded, and then dispatched two of the principal Citizens to treat of surrendering upon certain Conditions: These happening into the Squadron of the Prince of *Avellino*, were sent by him to the *Comte de Fuentes*, who being assured by the Prince that the Citizens had indeed made themselves Masters of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, commanded the Battery to cease, and applied himself to treat with the Deputies.

In the mean time *Monsieur de Vic* having heard the noise, was come into the Market-place, striving to appease the tumult, and quiet the Citizens with effectual persuasions, since that by force they could not be compelled, being very many in number, fierce in courage, well armed, and, which imported more, not only Masters already of all the streets, but also of a gate, whereby they might let in the Spanish Army at their pleasure: but his words did no good at all, so that accommodating himself to the necessity of time, he exhorted them to treat warily with the Spaniards, and to secure their business well, lest they should run into the precipice of being sacked, as it often uses to happen to those who slacken their defence, while they treat of composition. This he said, and persuaded the people, because he desired to prolong the time, that in the interim he might withdraw his Souldiers into the Cittadel. After him came *Madam de Balagny*, who with a manly spirit made a long discourse unto the people: but her presence did rather stir up than appease the tumult; inasmuch, that scarce were the Souldiers gotten into the Cittadel, when the people began to open the gate they had got into their power. The Deputies at the same time came in with the Capitulations subscribed by the *Comte Fuentes*, which in substance contained, That the City should be freed from plunder, and should have a general pardon for all things past; That the Citizens should enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and remain under the obedience of the Archbishop, as they were wont to be before; which Articles being accepted by the people, *Gastone Spinola* and Count *Giovan Giacompo Belgiojoso* entered without delay into the City with three hundred Horse, and after them *Agostino Messia* with the Spanish Foot, and without any tumult or loss to the Inhabitants, possessed themselves of the place. The same night entred the Archbishop with the *Comte de Fuentes*, and were received with marvellous joy by the Citizens, who were glad after the space of so many years to see themselves free from the vexation of an insolent power, and to return to their old manner of Government.

In the mean time the French were retired into the Cittadel, with a resolution to defend it a long time; but they presently perceived the impossibility of their design; for having opened the Magazines of Corn, and other Victual, they scarce found wherewithal to subsist two days: This unthought-of defect proceeded from *Madam de Balagny*, who no less imprudent than covetous, had (unknown to her Husband) sold all that was in the publick Store; so that the Count *de Fuentes* having sent to summon the

the Defendents to yield before the Artillery were planted, they seeing they could not sustain themselves, did to the wonder of every one that knew not the cause, and to the amazement of the Count himself, accept the proposition of surrendring upon certain Articles that were demanded by them; which the Count shewing to bear respect to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of Monsieur *de Vic*; but indeed, that he might not make the obtaining of the Castle more difficult to himself, did very largely grant them.

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The Conditions were, That the Cittadel should be consigned into the hands of the Count *de Fuentes*, with all the Artillery and Ammunition of War; and that on the other side, he should be obliged to cause the Castle of *Clery*, taken by his men a while before, to be dismantled within six days; that the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Mareschal *de Balagny*, Monsieur *de Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen and Souldiers of what Nation soever, might march out in rank and file, their Cornets and Colours flying, Match lighted, and Bullet in mouth, and that to that end, those Colours should be restored unto them, that had been left in the City, and that they might march on their way, with Trumpets sounding and Drums beating: that the Arms, Horses, and Baggage belonging to Souldiers, which had been left in the Town, should be restored; and if any thing were wanting, the value of it should be paid at that price which should be agreed upon by Monsieur *du Rosne*, and Colonel *Messia* on the one part; and the Sieurs *de Vic* and *de Buy* on the other; that likewise Madam *de Balagny*, with all the other women, the sick and wounded men, Courtiers, and servants of any person whatsoever might go forth freely; that the prisoners should be freed without ransom; that Monsieur *de Balagny's* debts, whether about the money, or any other occasion, should be remitted, neither should he be molested, or his baggage seized on for them; that all that the said Mareschal, his Wife, Sons, Captains, Officers and Servants had done in times past, should be forgiven and forgotten, neither should any of them be therefore questioned, either by the Catholick King, or the Citizens of *Cambray*.

These Conditions were concluded upon the seventh of *October*, and were executed the ninth, which day all went forth in the manner determined, marching towards *Perronne*; only Madam *de Balagny*, (being desperate no less because she was to leave the Principality, than because of her own improvidence, by reason whereof they were necessitated to yield the Cittadel) out of anguish and affliction of mind, fell grievously sick, and not only refusing to take medicines, but also even all kinds of nourishment, died miserably before the time of their marching out was come.

The Count *de Fuentes* having so fortunately obtained so many and so signal Victories, whereby his Name resounded with infinite fame, seeing his men were tired, and out of order, by their past toils and sufferings, and finding himself in exceeding great straits for money to satisfy the arrears of their pay, resolved to dissolve his Army, and draw it into several quarters; so much the rather, because the season was near to the usual rains of *Autumn*, and because the King of *France* was expected in *Picardy* with a victorious Army; wherefore having put five hundred Spanish Foot into the Cittadel of *Cambray*, under the command of *Agostino Messia*, and having left two thousand German Foot to defend the Town, he gave the Archbishop liberty to govern the City, in the same manner he was wont to do, before it came into the power of the Duke of *Alencon*; and having divided his Foot into the Towns of *Artois*, *Heynault*, and *Flanders*, he went to the City of *Bruxels*, at such time when the King of *France* was come with the greatest speed he could possibly to *Compeign*, being exceedingly afflicted at the sufferings of his party, for which not only that whole Province was sad and grieved, but even the very City of *Paris* was full of fear and terrour, seeing the Spaniards run on victorious in a Country so near it.

The Count *de Fuentes* having put the Government of *Cambray* into the Archbishop's hands, leaves *Picardy*, and goes to *Bruxels*.

These were the Progresses of War between the French and the Spaniards upon the confines of *Flanders*; but they were no less prosperous this year; for the same party in the Province of *Bretaign*, though they were still managed under the name of the League; for the Duke *de Mercœur* (though there was no very good correspondence between him and the Spaniards; yet making use of their shelter, in things which were of common interest, and holding the principal places of the Province, and the major part of the Nobility of the Country at his devotion): hindred all the proceedings of the Mareschal *d'Anmont*, and Monsieur *de St. Luc*, who commanded on the Kings side; and though for the most part, they spent their time in incursions, and actions

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The Marechal d'An-mont is killed with a Musket shot.

of small moment, wherein fortune often varied, yet the sum of affairs inclined still in favour of the Duke, inasmuch that he had in a manner reduced all the Province into his power; which was the more easily effected by him, because the Marechal d'An-mont, while he fruitlessly busied himself about the siege of the Castle of *Comper*, a wonderful strong place, was wounded under the left Elbow with a Musket shot, which broke both the Bones, whereof he died within a while after. Wherefore Monsieur de *St. Luc*, who succeeded him in that command, though a Cavalier of exceeding great valour, yet neither by the authority of his person, nor by the dignity of his charge, could he equal the reputation wherewith the Marechal upheld the precipitate declining of affairs; to which was added, that the King having conferred the dignity of Marechal upon Monsieur de *Lavardin*, which *St. Luc* expected should have been conferred upon him, he was afterward by discontent of mind, much cooled, and taken off from action; so that it was necessary for the King to call him to him, and give him hopes of rising to those honours which seemed due unto his merit, by which changes, the affairs of War, on that side, went on but with small success.

But if the affairs of the League seemed something prosperous in *Bretagne*, the adverseness of them in *Dauphine*, reduced the state of it to utter ruine. The Duke of *Nemours* held in that Province, the City of *Vienne*, whither he had retired after the loss of *Lyons*, and having well fortified the Town with the Castle of *Pipet*, near unto it, and furnished them with French Horse, and Italian Foot, he did continually infest the Country about *Lyons*, obstructing the ways, and interrupting the commerce, which that Merchant-City hath with the Neighbouring Provinces; so that by his fierceness and diligence, he put all the Country of *Lyons* into such fear, that from the beginning of the year, they had begged of the King to send them such relief as might be sufficient to free them from those streights to which they were reduced. But the King busied in the affairs of *Bourgogne*, gave order to the Duke of *Montmorancy*, (whom he had already declared Constable) that he should go down from *Languedoc*, and assist the City of *Lyons* against the Duke of *Nemours*, which he preparing to do, *Nemours* knowing he was unable to resist, and hold out of himself, resolved to make his addresses to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the Constable of *Castille* for supplies, for the facilitating whereof, he determined to go personally to *Turin* and *Milan*, leaving the Sieur de *Disemieux*, a Colonel of Foot, and a near Confident of his, to govern his Forces and the Town of *Vienne*: But the High Constable *Montmorancy*, coming much sooner than the Duke believed, united his Forces, with those of *Alfonso Corso*, and fiercely made War against his party. Whereupon *Disemieux*, either following the inclination of Fortune, (as most men are wont to do) or not thinking his strength sufficient to make resistance, agreed underhand to deliver up *Vienne* unto the Constable; provided, the Duke of *Nemours* his Forces might be suffered to march away without molestation, and retire into *Savoy*, and so the end the design might be the more easily effected, and not be opposed by the Captains of the Garison, or Officers of the Town, he secretly gave the Castle of *Pipet* into the hands of *Alfonso Corso*, and then having unexpectedly sent for the Constable to one of the Town-gates, which was guarded by those he trusted, he at the same time let the Captains of the Garison know, that the Enemy was at the Gates, that he had delivered up the Castle, and had made an agreement to admit him into the Town, upon condition that they might march safe away: Wherefore they being confounded and affrighted at a thing never thought on before, but much more at the urgency of the business, since the Constable was already received in at the Gate, accepted of the safe conduct, without contradiction, and retired unmolested to the confines of the Duke of *Savoy*. All the other Towns followed the example of *Vienne*; inasmuch, that the Duke of *Nemours* returning out of *Italy*, found not any place where he could stay; wherefore going to *Anicy*, a Town of his own Patrimony, he was so oppressed with despair, that he fell into a grievous sickness, which brought him to his end in the Autumn of this year.

Thus the whole Province of *Dauphiné* being reduced unto the Kings obedience, there remained only the War which Monsieur *Les Diguieres* (passing the Alps) had carried into *Piedmont*, which though it varied with diversity of effects, and with frequent valiant encounters, which by the difficulty of places where they happened, were rendered more sharp and bloody; yet in the main it proved of very great damage to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose Country was the seat of the War.

While the Duke of *Nemours* who upheld the League in *Dauphine*, goes to *Turin* and *Milan* to get supplies, Colonel *Disemieux* his Lieutenant delivers up the Fortresses unto the Duke of *Montmorancy*, whereupon he seeing himself deprived of all retreat, in despair falls sick and dies.

Nor

Nor were the affairs of the League more prosperous in *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*; for though the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who after his Brothers death had left the Cloister of Capachins, and put on arms to sustain the weight of that Government) laboured to keep the Nobility united, under pretence of expecting what would be determined at *Rome*; yet many of them weary of the War, and dejected by so many adversities of their party, came in daily to acknowledge the King; and the Parliament of *Tboloufe* was so divided, that part of the Counsellors declaring for the King, went forth of the City, and retired to *Chasteau Sarrazin*, where being succoured by the Duke of *Vansadour*, the Constable's Lieutenant in the Government of *Languedoc*, and by the Marechal de *Matignon* Governour of *Guienne*, the War was fiercely kindled: but fortune and the will of men inclining already to favour the King's affairs, first the Town of *Rbodex* came in, with many Castles and Towns depending upon it; and then *Narbonne* and *Carcassonne*, principal places for the League, making a tumult, yielded themselves; so that the Duke of *Joyeuse* was as it were shut within the walls of *Tboloufe*, and kept himself up with nothing else but the meer hope of the Accommodation which was closely treated by President *Jeannin* for the whole League; for the Duke of *Mayenne* who for that purpose was come to *Chalon*, after the King's Absolution was published, (which to the exceeding great prejudice of his own affairs, he had resolved by all means to stay for) that he might shew the end of his designs had been barely respect of Religion; and that therefore he had never been withdrawn from the Pope's obedience by any adversity whatsoever; being now freed from that impediment, closed up the Treaty of Agreement, in which, as Head of the Party, he reserved an entrance for all those that would follow him.

In the Treaty of this Accommodation there arose two wondrous great difficulties, which were very hard to be overcome; one, the great sum of the debts contracted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, not only in many places, and with many Merchants of the Kingdom of *France*, but also with the Switzers, Germans, and Lorainers, for the raising of Souldiers; for the Duke of *Mayenne* standing upon it to have them paid by the King, and he at that present not having money to satisfy them, it was very difficult to find a mean in that business: the Duke being resolved that his estate should not be lyable to the payment; and on the other side, the Creditors neither consenting to transfer nor defer what they had trusted, but would have satisfaction in ready money; The other difficulty was the commemoration of the late King's death; for all the Decrees and Agreements made in favour of those of the League, who were returned unto the Kings obedience, having still contained pardon and forgiveness of all past offences, except the death of *Henry the Third*, (which had always with expresse words been distinguished and excepted:) The Duke of *Mayenne* would have such a kind of mean found out, whereby on the one side he might not appear to have been the Author of it; and on the other, he might not be subject to the Inquisition which might be made concerning that business for the future, lest under that pretence occasion might be taken some time or other to revenge past injuries. It was extremely difficult to untie this knot; for not only the King thought it very hard to let pass into oblivion so hainous a fact, and pernicious an example of attempting against the persons of Kings, but also the Parliament would not suffer it, and, it was most certain, the Queen Dowager, who often had demanded justice, would oppose it.

These two difficulties hindered the concluding of the Accommodation in *Bourgongne*; and the King being necessitated to go speedily into *Picardy*, had taken President *Jeannin* with him to continue the Treaty; but nothing at all having been concluded in the journey, much less could it be done when they were come to *Paris*; for the affairs of the War with the Spaniards were brought into so great danger, that the King and all his Ministers were taken up and afflicted both in mind and body: wherefore the President was fain to follow the Army into *Picardy*, whither the King marched with an intent to relieve the City of *Cambray*; but the speedy victory of the Spaniards having taken away the necessity of relief, the King being come to *Fol-ambray*, (a house of pleasure built by King *Francis the First* for a hunting-seat) called all his Council to him, that the things appertaining to the peace with the Duke of *Mayenne* might with maturity be discussed and determined. After much treating and much debating, obstacles and oppositions arising in all things, it seemed most expedient to send for the proofs and inquisitions that had been made by the Parliament touching the Kings death, and also for some of the Presidents and Councillors of that Court, to see what clear-

1595.
The Duke of *Joyeuse* who formerly turned Capuchin for his wifes death, now upon occasion of his brothers death leaves the Cloister, and takes arms for the League.

Difficulties that interposed themselves in the settling of the Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King being come to *Fol-ambray*, consults long about matters concerning the Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

ness

1595.

The Duke of
Mayenne and
the Princes
and Princesses
his Adherents
are declared
innocent of the
death of Henry
the Third.

ness there was in them, and that they might determine which way was the best to manage the expedition of that business. The Writings being seen; and the matter put into consultation, though some signs appeared diversly against divers persons, yet did there not appear any such thing as was sufficient to determine the proceeding against any body; and though neither the Queen Dowager as Plaintiff had yet brought in the particulars of her accusation, nor the Parliament had dived very far into the discussion and inquiry into that business; yet it was thought, the not appearing, at that present, that the Duke of *Mayenne* or any of his were guilty of that fact, might serve for a pretence of finding out a mean to satisfy his honour, and likewise free him from the danger of future inquisition. Wherefore it having been many days consulted of between the High Chancellour, the first President *Harlay*, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, the Count *de Schomberg*, and President *Jeannin*, they at last determined, That in the Decree which the King was to cause to be published, and registred in the Parliament, there should be a clause inserted, which in substance should contain, That the King having caused the Process made upon the death of the late King to be viewed in the presence of himself, the Princes of the Blood, and the Officers of the Crown in Council, there had not been any token found against the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor against any other Prince or Princess of his Blood; and that having been desirous for the greater certainty, to hear what they alledged about it, they had sworn that they had not any knowledge of, nor participation in that crime; and that if they had known it, they would have opposed the execution of it: Wherefore he did declare, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the other Princes and Princesses his Adherents were innocent of that fact; and therefore he prohibited his Attorney-General to urge at any time that they should be proceeded against, and likewise forbade the Court of Parliament, and all other Officers and Lawyers, to make any inquisition about it.

The difficulty concerning the payment of debts was also taken away: for the King promised secretly to disburse unto the Duke of *Mayenne* Four hundred and twenty thousand Crowns for the payment of his debts contracted to particular persons; and as for the debt of the Leavies, the King freed the Duke of *Mayenne* from it, constituting himself Pay-master for him, and transferring the debt upon the Crown, forbidding the Duke or his estate to be molested for that occasion. It was likewise established, though not without dispute, that peace should be made with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as Head of his Party; which the King had refused, by reason of the multitude of those that were severally come in to his obedience; and chiefly in respect of *Paris*, and the other principal Cities: And the Duke of *Mayenne* for his own honour, and the reputation of his agreement, stood obstinately for it.

The substance
of the agree-
ment with the
Duke of *May-
enne*.

The King granted three places to the Duke of *Mayenne* for his security, which were *Soissons*, *Chalon*, and *Senne*, the Dominion of which he was to hold for the space of six years, and after the said term to restore them. He confirmed all the Collations of Offices and Benefices that had been vacant by death during his Government, provided the Possessors should take new Patents for them under the Kings Broad-Seal. He made a Decree of oblivion and silence of all things past, intelligences with Foreign Princes, raising of Moneys, exactions of Taxes, impositions of Payments, gathering of Armies, demolishings or buildings of Cities and Fortresses, acts of Hostility, killings of Men, and particularly of the Marquis *de Menelay*, killed by Lieutenant *Magny* at *la Fere*; and finally, all things done till the end of the War, which he with honourable expressions declared and certified to have been undertaken and continued for the sole respect and defence of Religion. He granted him the Government of the Isle of *France*, and the Superintendence of the *Finances*; and to his Son the Government of *Chalon*, separated and divided from the superiority of the Governour of *Bourgogne*. He comprehended in the Capitulation all those that together with him should reunite themselves under his obedience, and particularly the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Marquis of *Villars* and the *Sieur de Montpezat*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* Sons-in-law; Monsieur de l'*Estrange* Governour of *Puyes*, Monsieur de *S. Oflange* Governour of *Rocheforte*, the *Sieur du Plessis* Governour of *Craon*, and the *Sieur de la Severie* Governour of *Ganache*. He suspended the Sentences and Judgments past against the Duke of *Merceur* and against the Duke of *Annale*, till it were known whether they would be comprehended in the Accommodation; granting to every one (besides the oblivion of what was past, and the full enjoying of their Estates, Offices, and Dignities)

ities) leave within six weeks time to come into the Capitulation, and adhere unto the peace. 1595.

Within these principal Conditions, and many other lesser ones, the Duke of *Mayenne* concluded the Agreement; but there was enough to do to get this Decree accepted in the Parliament of *Paris*; for though the King with his own mouth forbade the Queen-Dowagers Ministers to oppose the publication of it, yet was there notwithstanding as great an obstacle and opposition: for *Diana de Valois* Dutches of *Angoulême*, and Bastard-Sister to the late King, appearing personally in the Parliament, presented a Petition written and subscribed with her own hand, whereby contradicting the confirmation of the Decree, she urged to have them proceed in the Inquest about the Kings death: whereupon most of the Counsellors being stirred up, because the major part of their Fathers had either been created by that King, or highly offended by the League, the acceptance of the Decree could not be obtained; and yet the King with very vehement Letters reprehended the Parliament, and declared that the publick peace and safety requiring that the Decree should be registred, his will and command was that it should be accepted. Yet neither by this were the Counsellors of the Parliament quieted; but they came to this resolution, That the Decree should be published, but with two conditions; one, That it should be no prejudice to the right of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Creditors; the other, That he should be obliged to come into the Parliament, and with his own mouth swear that he had not been any way accessary to the fact; that he detested the murder committed upon the Kings person, and promised not to save, protect, or favour any one that in time to come should be questioned for it. At which stubbornness the King more than moderately incensed, with grave resenting words replied, *That they should take heed how they put him to the trouble of leaving the War, to come personally into the Parliament; That he was their King, and that he would be obeyed by them.* But neither did this protestation suffice; for they determined to accept the Decree, but with such words as should shew that it was done by force of the Kings express command; which neither pleasing him nor the Duke of *Mayenne*, it was necessary for the High Chancellour to go to *Paris*, and after a long effectual demonstration of the interests of the general quiet, cause the Decree at last to be approved, without clauses or conditions.

The Duke of *Mayenne's* example was followed, not only by those that were named in the Capitulation, but also by the Marquiss of *St. Sorlin*, the City and Parliament of *Tbolouze*, and all the rest which formerly held the party of the League, except the Duke of *Anmale*, who having accorded with the Spaniards, and being exasperated by the Sentence published this year by the Parliament, (wherein he had been declared Rebel) would not consent to submit himself unto the Kings obedience. The Duke of *Mercœur*, though by means of his Sister the Queen-Dowager, he kept the Treaty of Agreement alive; yet being still full of hopes, by the help of the Spaniards, to retain the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, he deferred it, and put off his determination till another time.

But in the interim, while the conditions of these Accommodations were treated of, and discussed in the Council, the King exceedingly afflicted for his late misfortune, and solicitous by some means to repair the losses he had received, wherein he seemed to bear a great part of the blame, as well by reason of his too long stay at *Lyons*, as of the ill-satisfaction he had given the Citizens of *Cambray* in their requests, was still contriving in himself, and continually consulting with his Commanders, to what enterprise he should apply himself. The Duke of *Nevers* had formerly an intention to assault one of the places of the County of *Artois*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, not only to do the same mischief unto his Country, which he had done to the Jurisdiction of the King of *France*; but also because he believed that long peace had abased the courage of that people, and made many of their provisions for defence useless: Whereupon he had exhorted the King, that increasing his Army to the greatest number he could, he should unexpectedly fall upon *Arras*, or some other great City in those quarters; judging that the *Condé de Fuentes*, troubled with the many mutinies of several Nations, and reduced to extream want of money, would very hardly be able to reunite his Army time enough to relieve the place that should be assaulted: But after that he being spent with a tedious indisposition, departed this life at *Nesle*, this intention (which was set on foot by the reputation of the Author) came to nothing; for the other Commanders thought it too dangerous an attempt to invade the Bowels of an

Enemies

Difficulties and oppositions in the Parliament of *Paris*, about receiving the Decree of the Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The Duke of *Anmale* incensed by having been declared Rebel, keeps united with the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Mercœur* Brother to the Queen-Dowager, persists in his proposition of keeping *Bretagne* to himself.

The death of *Lodovick Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*.

1595.

Enemies Country; where all the Towns are populous and powerful, while by the loss of so many places, they were so much troubled at home, and while the Spanish Garisons over-running all parts, kept the whole Country in fear and terrour.

True it is, that of all the places that were lost, their opinions concurred not so well in the choice of that which they should assault, as they did in refusing to invade the Enemies Country; for some held it best in the same heat of affairs to besiege *Cambray*, to try to recover it before the Spaniards had settled themselves, by mending the breaches that were lately made; but the smallness of the Kings Army excluded this opinion, it not being sufficient to besiege a City of so great circuit, exceedingly well fortified with a very strong Garison. Many others counselled to fall upon *Dourlans*, to take the same way to streighten *Cambray* which the Spaniards had done; but the oppositions against this advice were, the strength of the place, and the diligence wherewith it was guarded by *Hernando Telles Portocarero*, who was the Governour of it: So that at last the opinion that prevailed was that of the Marechal de *Byron*, and of Monsieur de *St. Luc*, (who was come to the Camp to execute the Office of General of the Artillery, which was left by Monsieur de *la Guiche*, to whom the King had given the Government of *Lyons*) they counselled to besiege *la Fere*, a place of chief importance, but shut up in such manner by a Fen that invirons it, that there are but only two ways to come from the field unto the Town: wherefore they demonstrated that by blocking up those two *Avenues* with a Fort upon each of them, the place might with a small number of men be so besieged and streightened, that there being no means to relieve it with Victual, it might without much difficulty be taken, not by force, but famine.

Upon the 8th of November the King lays siege to *la Fere*, a place strong both by art and nature.

The King resolved to follow this advice; and having drawn his Forces together which were scattered thorow the Province, drew near unto *la Fere* upon the eighth of November with Five thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse, and having taken the *Avenues*, and caused the people of the Country round about to come in to work, he in a few days raised two Forts, each of which being able to hold One thousand Foot, and conveniently furnished with Artillery, did totally block up the ways unto the Town; the rest of the Foot in respect of the season, lay in a great Village upon the edge of the Fen, and the Horse took up their Quarters in the Villages on the North-side towards *Flanders* to hinder relief. Don *Alvaro Osorio*, an old experienced Souldier, was in *la Fere*; For the Vice-Seneschal de *Montelimar*, to whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had intrusted that place, had by little and little given it up unto the Spaniards, reserving only the title of Count de *la Fere*, and the revenue of the place, with other recompences, which had been liberally given him, first by the Archduke *Ernest*, and then by the *Condé de Fuentes*. The place abounded in Ammunition of War; for the reliques of all the Catholick Kings Armies which of late years had marched into *France*, had been left there, and the Garison of Spaniards, Italians and Germans, was not only sufficient, but more than need required for the defence of it, which increased the want of Victual, whereof (there being but small provision in the Town) the Kings sudden approach had not given them time to get in any; wherefore the Forts being raised, and the passages of both ways shut up on all sides, the Defendents began from the first days of the siege to feel great scarcity of Victual.

The Archduke *Albert* Cardinal of *Austria* goes to be Governour in *Flanders*.

About this time *Albert* Cardinal of *Austria* destined by the Catholick King to the Government of the Provinces of *Flanders*, was come to *Bruxelles*, and having received the Administration, and the Army from the *Condé de Fuentes*, he began to think how he might uphold that degree of prosperity and glory, in which his Predecessors in a few months had settled himself with victorious actions; and because the redoubled letters of Don *Alvaro* from the very beginning of the siege gave notice of the want of Victual in *la Fere*, he determined before all things else, to apply himself to the relief of that place; but it was difficult to resolve upon, for the Army out of order by the toils and sufferings of the late Summer, was divided into many several places, to their Winter Quarters, and there for want of pay had made many insurrections, so that the Italian Cavalry had mutinied afresh, and turned to seize upon *Liramount*; in another place *Gastone Spinola's* Tertia of Sicilians had done the like, two Tertia's of Spaniards having cast off their obedience; did likewise quarter themselves at discretion in advantageous places; and the Walloons not openly in Rebellion, did yet deny to stir out of their Quarters, unless they were fully paid; insomuch that before the Merchants could

could satisfie the Bills of exchange brought by the Cardinal, and that the Soldiers could be paid and regulated with that mony, much time of necessity must be spent; and therefore there could not be a body of an Army drawn together sufficient for that or any other enterprife. To this was added the crofsness of the season, by reason of raines and other incommodities so contrary, that before better weather it was impossible to think of stirring with men, Artillery, and other provisions which War requires; besides, to enter into an Enemies Country, nay, and to the very center of one of their Provinces, in a time, when not only the fields neither afforded sustenance for men, or horses, but even the crop of the late harvest was consumed by the ruinous War that had been there already, was not a thing to be thought on, by reason of the difficulty of feeding the Army, and for fear of being reduced to some sinister accident, by the diligence of the King of France; which considerations seemed greater to the Cardinal, not accustomed to the dangerous experiments of War; wherefore, after long consultation, it was determined in the Council, that *Nicolo Basti*, marching with part of the light-horse into *Picardy*, should attempt to put some quantity of victuals into *la Fere*, wherewith the besieged might subsist till the favourableness of the season, and the course of affairs in *Flanders* would afford means to give them full relief.

1595.

With these Counsels ended the Year Fifteen hundred ninety five, leaving many occasions of War and bloody encounters kindled for the revolution of the year following; in the beginning whereof, the first event was the recovery of *Marseilles*, a City and Haven of high consequence, standing in the County of *Provence*, upon the shoar of the Mediterranean Sea. The people of this City rich by Trafique of Merchandize, and numerous in inhabitants, hold many priviledges, and injoy many important immunities, obtained from the time that they were subject to the Counts of *Provence*; and amply confirm'd afterward, when they came under the Dominion of the Kingdom of *France*, among which the most principal is this, that the Citizens chuse a Consul of themselves, who, together with a Lieutenant named by him without other suffrage, governs the affairs of the Town, keeps the Keys of the Gates, and hath the care of the defence as well of the City as of the Haven; and this Prerogative, which looks rather like a kind of liberty, than an intire subjection, the *Marsilians* have alwayes conserv'd with that vivacity, that is proper to their nature and disposition, not admitting any kind of Garrison, and governing themselves with customs, fit for a Merchant and Seafaring life, of which two sorts of persons the inhabitants for the most part consist.

1596.

The City of *Marseilles* in the County of *Provence*, is govern'd by the election of a Consul and Lieutenant.

In the beginning, when the first originals of the League began to spring up, this City, by the authority of Monsieur *de Vins*, and by reason the Consul and Lieutenant had been gained, took part with that side; and though by perswasion of the Countess *de Saux*, it first received the Duke of *Savoy*, and then out of jealousy of their own liberty excluded him again, within a little while, and though the Count *de Carisy* and the Marquis *de Villars*, were often call'd for thither, for more security, yet it had ever preserved its own being, and kept free from all forraign subjection. True it is, that having from the beginning of the War elected *Charles Casant* their Consul, and he having nominated *Louis de Aix*, his Lieutenant, men of subtil natures, and of bold fierce dispositions, they agreed so well among themselves, and had so great authority with the people, that continuing in their Magistracy for many years, without permitting any successors to be chosen in their places, they had made themselves as it were Lords of the City, and rul'd it their own way; But after the declining of the affairs of the League put every one upon a necessity of thinking of himself, these men knowing themselves envied and ill-willed by the major part of the principal Citizens, and being in fear, by reason of their consciousness of many misdeeds, which they had committed, to keep themselves in their Government, thought of applying themselves to the Spanish party, and held Treaties in that Court, about putting that City into the hands of the Catholick King, which being of so high importance and conveniency to his Kingdoms, as its greatness, strength, richness, and situation shewed it to be, orders were given to *Carlo Doria*, that going from *Genova*, into that Port, with ten Gallies well arm'd, and mann'd, under pretence of sayling towards *Spain*, he should favour their power, and attempts; to the end that being back'd with his Forces, they might have the better means dexterously to draw the people to put themselves under the Spanish Signory, which *Doria* performing with infinite diligence, things went on in such a manner, that

Carlo Doria, by order from the Catholick King, goes with ten gallies to *Marseilles*, to foment the Consul and Lieutenant of that City.

1596. the Catholick King was not far from obtaining his intent ; and so much the rather, because this attempt was coloured over with many reasons, for which they pretended the Domjion of the County of *Provence* belonged to the *Infanta Isabella*, besides those other rights she had to the Crown of *France*.

The King of France makes complaint unto the Pope, concerning the attempts of the Spaniards.

The King of *France* being jealous, that the leavies of *Spain* and *Italy*, and the great preparation of a Fleet which the Catholick King made, tended to this end, and that the stay which the Conde de *Fuentes* and the Duke of *Pastrana* (who were gone from *Flanders*) made at *Geneva*, was to oversee that business, was exceeding much troubled in minde, because he could not turn that way, and gave Commiſſion to Monsieur *d' Offat* to make complaint about it to the Pope, letting him know, that if he withstood not that design, he should be constrained by necessity to call the Turkish Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea for his relief ; which being effectually performed by *d' Offat*, the Pope stricken, and grown pale, either through fear or anger, made a grave discourse against it : and yet, the Kings Agent shewing, that if *Marseilles*, and the other Towns of *Provence*, should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, *Avignon* also, and other Towns of the Pope's would not be without danger ; he promised to use his indeavours to make that attempt be laid aside. But there being added to the Kings complaints, the interposition of the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, jealous, that a City and Haven of so great consequence, and that overlooks *Italy* so neerly, should fall to the augmentation of the Spanish Monarchy ; the Pope having often consulted about this business, and not finding any provision against it, which he thought fit, took it to be expedient, that the Cardinal of *Jyense*, who was returning into *France*, should pass by *Marseilles*, and in his name use convenient mediation to *Casaut*, and remove him from his design ; which, though it was diligently executed, produced but small effect ; for *Casaut*, a fierce man, and one more stout than prudent, did not withdraw himself for that, from his already established appointment ; so that the Venetian Senate, and the Grand Duke began to think of some more potent remedies to oppose that indeavour ; nor was the Pope altogether averse from their intention. But this stone of scandal was removed, either by the King's wonted fortune, or by the courage and diligence of his Ministers.

He had newly conferred the Government of that Province upon the Duke of *Guise*, and to advance matters towards their proper end, had also chosen Monsieur *de les Diguieres* his Lieutenant, who, though they agreed not very well together, by reason of the difference of their Religion, and of the antient diversity of their factions, were yet both ill-affected to the Duke of *Espernon*, who, contending that that Government was lawfully his, used all his indeavours and utmost industry, to put himself in the possession of it, and to drive out, no less those of the King's party, than those that yet held for the League ; wherefore the King, desirous that he should, by some means, be constrained to quit what he already possessed there, receiving other Governments in other parts of the Kingdom, had appointed the Duke of *Guise* as his old Emulator, and *les Diguieres* as an honest man, but his bitter enemy, to secure the affairs of *Provence*. This determination had also other ends, and more remote considerations ; for the Duke being newly come into the friendship and obedience of the King, with condition, to have that Government, to which the House of *Lorraine* had some pretensions, by the antient hereditary rights of *Anjou* ; the King thought it convenient to assure himself of him, by giving him a Lieutenant of such a condition, as not onely was faithful by antient experience, but also wary, and resolute to oppose whatsoever attempt the Duke (in so great a discord of mens minds, their old enmities not fully laid aside) might perchance contrive. To these, another important respect was added, that *les Diguieres*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, residing both in *Dauphine*, disagreed, and thwarted one another in the service, to the prejudice of common affairs ; wherefore the King thought to remove the occasion of that discord, by sending *les Diguieres* into *Provence*, and by electing Colonel *Alfonso* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conty*, who was newly declared Governor of *Dauphine*.

But though the Duke of *Guise* nourished sincere thoughts, and no indirect ends, yet being come into the Province, either not being well satisfied to have a Lieutenant of so great credit, and of another Religion ; or desiring that the businesses with the Duke of *Espernon* should pass under the name, and by the means of *les Diguieres*, not to put his own authority and name of Governor in doubt, he had given charge to his Lieutenant to put the Garrisons out of many Towns, which the Duke of *Espernon* held

Duke of *Espenon* held in them; and he himself going to *Aix*, applied his mind wholly to the recovery of *Marseilles*, as a thing of greater glory and importance, without allowing part in that to any body; and though many treaties, held by the means of men banished out of that City, proved vain and fruitless, yet at last he gained one Captain *Pietro Liberta*, of *Corsica* by extraction, but born and bred in *Marseilles*, who, with some certain Foot, guarded one of the Town-gates; wherefore, some of the Exiles being got unknown into the City, and having secretly stirred up the minds of many, who hated the tyranny of *Casaut*, and who feared the Dominion of the Spaniard, they resolved, that upon the eighteenth day of *February*, the Duke of *Guise* should, with a good number of Horse and Foot, be, about break of day, at a neighbouring Village, where, if certain signes were given him by them of the plot, he should draw near to the *Porte Royale*, (a Gate so called) to be received in with all his Forces; whereupon, having drawn the men together, which he had in that Province, except those of *les Dignietes*, (to whom he would not impart any thing of his design, that he might not share in the honor of it,) he made shew that he would go and besiege a Town within five Leagues of *Marseilles*; and whilst mens minds were amused on that side, he turning his Forces another way, the evening before the day appointed, advanced, with very great silence, toward the City; in which march, though in a very dark, and extremum rainy night, and through dirty uneven wayes, he made so much haste, that he came in the morning, according to appointment, to certain houses near unto the Church of *St. Julian*, to expect there till the countersigns were given him.

They that were of the plot, doubting that the strange ill weather might have stayed the Dukes journey, sent some of their soldiers forth of the gates, to the end, that discovering (according to the custom) if the coast were clear round about, they might come to know whether he were arrived or no; These returning back with exceeding great haste, and saying, they had discovered armed men, under *St. Julian's*, were the cause that *Louis d' Aix* (who was come to the gate a while before) after he had given the Consul notice of the discovery, went out himself, with twenty of his most trusty men, to see whether that were true which the Soldiers related. As soon as he was out of the gate, they of the design shut down all the Portcullices; nor was it long before the Consul came, who, while he was questioning his Soldiers, of what they had reported, was suddenly set upon by *Pietro Liberta*, and four of his companions, and being at first knock'd down with a great blow of a *Partesan*, was presently killed by them with their daggers; which being luckily effected, and the whole guard willingly following the will of their Captain, the Countersigns were given by fire to the Duke of *Guise*, who being advanced to draw near unto the Gate, met with *Aix* the Lieutenant-Governor, and without much dispute routed him so, that, being wounded, and in a very ill taking, he ran back; where, having found the gate shut, and possessed, he was constrained to save himself in the moat, and from thence scaling the Wall near unto the Haven, got into the utmost parts of the City. where, calling all his adherents into Arms, together with *Fabian Casaut* Son to the Consul, who was already slain, he marched up tumultuously with above Five hundred armed men, to recover the Gate; but in the mean time, it had been opened, and the Duke of *Guise* was entered with his Forces, and on the other side, the exiles calling the Citizens and common people to liberty, had rais'd the whole Town; wherefore, after that *Aix* and *Casaut* had fought for the space of half an hour at the entry of the street that led to the Port-Royal, the tumult still increasing every where of those that being in Arms cried out *Vive le Roy, et Les Fleurs-de-lis*, they fearing to be catch'd in the midst, retired into the Town-house, where, being fiercely press'd by the Duke of *Guise*, who, among the bullets, stones, pieces of wood, fire-works, which flew on every side, fought undauntedly at the head of his men, they being unable to resist, fled secretly from thence, and crossing the Haven in a Boat, got one of them into *St. Maries-Church*, and the other into the Convent of *St. Visoir*, and their men being left without help, were, in a very little time all cut in pieces.

The whole City was already run to the Duke of *Guise*, with white Scarfs; whereupon he not losing a minutes time, at the same instant assaulted, and with small resistance possessed himself of the Forts of *S. Jehan*, and of *Cape de More*, which are upon the Sea, and from thence began without delay to play his Artillery upon *Doria's Gallies*, which were gotten near the mouth of the Haven; great was the fright and tu-

1594

The Duke of *Guise* plots to get into *Marseilles*, by means of Captain *Liberta* of *Corsica*, who guarded a Port there.

1596. After a short fight the Duke of Guise makes himself master of the City and Ports of Marfeilles, and drives Carlo Doria's Gallies out of the Haven.

mult in the Gallies; but *Doria*, who had wisely kept himself far from the Forts, and in the beginning of the uproar had made all his Soldiers imbarck, got out happily without receiving any harm, and putting out to Sea made away from the City. The Duke of *Guise*, victorious every where, was busied all that day in taking care, that the Town might not be indamaged in the tumult, and having lodg'd his men in the most principal posts, made himself absolute Master of the City, with so much the greater facility, because with his courage in fighting, and prudence in appeasing the uproar, he had exceedingly won the affections of the *Marfilians*. *Louis d' Aix*, and *Fabian Casaut* yielded the next after, having artickled, that they might go freely to *Genova* with their Goods, and that none of their adherents should be proceeded against with more than banishment; the City, in this manner, remaining free from their usurped Dominion, and utterly reduced unto the Kings obedience. The gaining of this place was very seasonable, and of great consequence, being a principal Port of the Mediterranean Sea, and a proper landing place for the commerce of many Nations; and so much the more seasonable was it at that time, when the Spanish power had already got footing in it; for, if with the benefit of time, they had settled themselves there, it would have been wondrous difficult, by reason of the nearness of the Catholick Kings other States, to drive them out again.

In the mean time, while the re-union of the County of *Provence* is thus prosecuted, the besieged in *la Fere* were reduced to exceeding great want of victual; wherefore *Nicolo Basti*, who was destined to carry them relief, being come to *Doway*, was considering with himself, which way he should manage the business, to get some quantity of provisions into the Town; and every resolution seeming difficult, not only because the King's Cavalry, did with very great diligence obstruct all the wayes, but because the narrow passages that led to the Town were so much incumbered by the largeness of the Forts, that there was no hope of getting past them; and yet necessity urging, he gave *Alvaro Osorio* notice, that he should keep some little Boats ready to come forth of the Town, as soon as the sign was given him, and to draw near the Banks of the Fen, to receive the relief which he would attempt to bring unto that place; which intelligence being happily got into the Town, and the appointment made, he marched from *Doway* with Six hundred horse, and came by night to *Chasteler*, where he caused the Gates to be kept lock'd, to the end, that the French might not know any thing of his design: And having that day provided, that every one of his men should carry a Bag of Meal behind him, and a bundle of Match about his neck, (for they had also great want of that in *la Fere*) he set forth when it began to grow dark, and having past the River *Somme*, went upon the way of *St. Quentin*, and leaving that Town upon the right hand, marched with so much diligence, that upon the sixteenth day of *March* in the morning, he came near the quarters of the Kings Cavalry, who being advertised by the Sentinels shootings, took the Alarm, and got speedily to horse, believing that some relief of the enemy was near; but, a thick mist, which, by chance, rose by break of day, was so favourable to *Basti's* designs, that the Kings *Corps de Gardes*, betaking themselves to their arms on all sides, could not discover which way the Enemy came; and while they warily endeavoured to know and make discovery, *Basti*, without meeting any body, passing between the quarter of the *Reiters*, and that of the Duke of *Bouillon*, came to the bank of the Fen near the current of the River, and having found *Osorio* ready with his Boats to receive the relief, he made the Meal and Match be unladed with great celerity, faced about, and with the same speed, seeing the French and German Cavalry, who at last having notice of his arrival, had placed themselves upon the Road of *St. Quentin*, to hinder his retreat, he took a contrary way, and falling into that which leads to *Guise*, came back fortunately to *Cambray*, without meeting any opposition.

This relief (in which industry and fortune were equal sharers) gained *Basti* a wonderful reputation; yet gave but little help to the besieged; the Meal that was brought lasting them but a little while, by reason of their great number, and the King, who from day to day had new Forces came up to him, streightned the siege more closely, and stopt up all the wayes, which being cut off, and fortified with Banks and Trenches, and kept with strong guards of Horse, left no hope at all of thinking of new relief. But the siege being prolonged by the constancy of the Defendants, the King was perswaded by the reasons of some of his Engineers, to stop the course of the River which caused the Fen on the lower side, thinking to make it swell and rise in such manner, that the Defendants should be constrained either to yield or drown. This work was begun with

Nicolo Basti, under favor of a thick mist, passes through the Kings quarters, carries relief to the besieged of *la Fere*, and returns to *Cambray* without the least loss.

The King makes the Course of the River *Somme* to be stopt, with a design to make the water rise into *la Fere*, but after many difficulties, the effect answers not the intention.

an exceeding great number of Pioneers, drawn together from all the neighbouring places, but though they wrought at it with great art, and no less assiduity, yet the rains of the season, which from time to time increased the current of the River, which ordinarily was quiet and gentle, hindered the progress by breaking down the Banks, often carrying away the Piles, and in one hour frustrating the labours of many dayes; and yet the King being himself present at the work, it was at last brought to perfection. But it was no sooner finished, when it appeared, how deceitful the fancies of Engineers prove oftentimes; for the Town being much higher than the Fen, (a thing foreseen from the beginning by many, and constantly oppugned by the authors of the design,) the water rose not above a foot or two in the Town, and was so long making that increase, that the inhabitants had conveniency to remove their things into higher places, without receiving any damage; though the water falling within two dayes, by having broke through the lowest part of the Fen in many places, the Town remained full of dirt and mud, by the exhalation whereof the Air being corrupted, caused dangerous diseases in the Town, so that the besieged being endamaged onely by accident, and after the space of many days; the labors and endeavors of the Kings Army proved fruitless in their principal intent.

There yet remained the wonted hope of Famine, which, after so many moneths siege increased exceedingly, and was already become irreparable; nor did any thing make the Defendants hold out, but hope of relief. The Cardinal was intent with his utmost endeavors upon giving it to them; for having in great part quieted those that had mutined, and conveniently paid his men, he had set the Army in a readiness to attempt the effecting of it, but none of his Commanders (among which, the principal were the Duke of *Arescot*, the Marquis of *Ranry*, and *Francisco de Mendozza*, the Admiral of *Aragon*) counselled him to adventure his Camp upon that enterprize; and the reason was in a readiness, for not onely the King in the space of many moneths, had had full conveniency to fortifie his own quarters extraordinarily, but that which imported more, he had put strong Garrisons, and many Horse into *S. Quentin*, *Montreuil*, *Boulogne*, and all the other Towns that stand round *la Fere*, in such manner, that if the Spanish Camp should pass beyond them to raise the siege, they remaining at their backs, would cut off the wayes, and take away the concourse of Provisions; so that if the enterprize of making the King dislodge, should require many dayes, (as it was certainly to be doubted) the Army would be put in danger of some hard encounter; To this was added, that the King, having after the publication of the Agreement received the Duke of *Mayenne* with great demonstrations of honor, being come with his attendants to wait upon him in the Camp before *la Fere*, and the Constable *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the greater part of the Lords of all the Kingdom being come unto the Army, he had under his Colours Eighteen thousand Foot, and little less than Five thousand Horse; an Army so potent, especially by reason of the valour of the Cavalry, that it was necessary to proceed with great circumspection, in advancing so far into that Province, against so great Forces, and in the midst of so many of the Enemies Towns. The Cardinal likewise was not ignorant, that the States of *Holland*, desirous that the War should continue in *France*, had set forth a fleet of many Ships to land men at *Boulogne*, in relief of the King of *France*; and that the Queen of *England*, though the King consented not to all her demands, had yet, to uphold the common interests, sent out a Navie to his assistance, with Eight thousand Foot aboard it, which it was believed were to land in the same place; wherefore, the Commanders doubted, that these Forces uniting together, it would not onely be vain to attempt to relieve *la Fere*, but also very dangerous to make their retreat.

These causes fully debated in the Counsel made the Cardinal take a resolution to try to do it by way of diversion: for by encamping before some Place of importance belonging to the King, either he should constrain him to rise from *la Fere* with his whole Army, to succor the place so straightned, or if (persisting in the siege) he should not care to relieve it, he might easily get another place as good as *la Fere*. But there arose no less difficulties in chosing the place, that should be pitched upon; for *Guise*, *Hin*, *Guines*, and the other such like places that were nearest to *Flanders*, were not to be compared unto *la Fere*; and *S. Quentin*, *Montreuil*, and *Boulogne* were so well fortified, and mann'd, that it was impossible to think of attaining them; so that between the ambiguity of these considerations, the Cardinal would have been long unresolved, if Mon-

1596.

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1596. *sieur du Rosne* had not secretly perswaded him to a new enterprize, not foreseen by any other body.

Francis Duke of Guise recovered Calais from the English, Anno 1557. being thereunto invited by their negligence in guarding and maintaining it.

Monsieur du Rosne was, by long experience, versed in all the King of France his Fortresses, and the example of things past made him remember how easily *Calais* might be taken; for by how much more the strength of it by situation, and art, made it in appearance be counted impregnable, so much less carefull were the defendants to guard it with that diligence wherewith places of such high importance ought to be kept; wherefore, while that Town was under the Dominion of the Kings of England, the smallness of the Garrison they kept in it had invited *Francis Duke of Guise* to besiege it in the year 1557, which also had so happy an event, that, contrary to the Common expectation, he made himself Master of it only by that defect, which coming often into *du Rosne's* mind, he, as being curious and full of industry, had got certain information, that *Monsieur de Bidassun*, Governor of the place at that present, had not above Six hundred Foot in it, a Garrison no way sufficient to make it good: either private interest, or the general error of men, having perswaded him to trust more to the strength of his Works, than to the number and valour of the defendants; some add, that the King of France, having sent the *Sieur de la Noue*, and *de la Vallicre*, to view the condition of all the places standing upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, they not making their visitation with that secrecy, which ought to go along with such businesses, had, with the same French lightness discoursed very freely of the weak estate of those Frontiers, and the strength of *Calais* so magnified by fame, being objected to them, they inconsiderately answered, that whosoever should assault that Fortress in the place, and manner that was sitting, the taking of it would be but twelve dayes business; which words being told *du Rosne*, by one that he had imployed as a Spie, excited him to search out the place and manner which these discoverers had intimated. Thus being fallen into a thought, that he might obtain the Town, famous for its fortification, by reason of its standing upon the Sea, and the quality of the Haven opportune for the affairs of *Flanders*, and *England*, he, with his reasons, made the Cardinal Arch-Duke incline unto it, and so much the rather, because all other enterprizes were thwarted with exceeding great difficulties.

But having determined between themselves to apply their mindes to this attempt, without making any outward shew of it, they made all the other Commanders believe, they would assault *Montreuil*, a place standing upon the straight way that leads to *la Fere*, and less considerable than either *St. Quentin* or *Boulogne*; and with this pretence, having caused great provision to be made of Victual and Carriages to bring them to *Doway*, *Arras*, and the other confining places, the Cardinal having appointed *Valenciennes* for the general Rendezvous of his Forces, went thither personally upon the thirtieth of *March*, where, having mustred his Army, in which were Six thousand Spanish Foot, Six thousand Walloons, Two thousand Italians, and Four thousand Germans, Twelve hundred men at Arms, and Cuirassiers, and little less than Two thousand Light-horse, he divided his Forces into many parts, and made them march several wayes, to hold the Enemies in the greater suspence. He sent *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montreuil*, with part of the Light-horse, and with the Marquis of *Trevico's* Tertia; with the rest of the Light-horse *Basti* marched into the Territory of *Cambray*; *Agostino Messia* with a Tertia of Spaniards, and two of Walloons went towards *St Paul*, and the Count *de Bossa*, with the Flemish Troops, took towards *Arras* and *Bethune*; which outward shews, while they held those of their own side in suspence no less than the French, *Monsieur du Rosne*, with the Spanish Tertia's of *Ludovico Valasco*, and *Alonso Mendaxa*, and Four hundred Horse went out of *Valenciennes*, upon the fourth of *April* in the evening, and marched all the night to *St. Omer*, where, having joyned with Colonel *la Barlette*, and the Count *de Buquoy*, who stayed there for them with two Tertia's of Walloons, he took along with him three pieces of Cannon, and four of smaller Artillery, and advanced speedily towards *Calais*, where he arrived so much the more unexpectedly, because being a place out of the way, standing in the utmost point of a tongue of Land, which advances it self a great way into the Sea, neither the Spaniards nor the French had ever thought of defending or besieging it.

Monsieur du Rosne besieges Calais with the Spanish Army.

* The Author is mistaken, for it is but fifteen Leagues.

Calais stands upon the shore of the Ocean Sea, in the furthest parts of a Promontory, not above * Thirty Leagues from *England*, and hath a very large Haven, which sheltered on each side with great high banks of sand (which they commonly call *les Dunes*)

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is made secure and commodious for a very great number of Ships. The Town is environed almost quite round with low grounds where the Sea overflows, and drowns the Plain for many miles; and, being shut up within four banks by a very large moat, it is of a square form, having, at three of the angles (besides many great Towers, and Ravelines along the Courtine) as many Royal Bastions of modern structure, with their Cavaliers within them, and at the fourth angle which reaches from the West unto the North, stands the Castle, built likewise of a square form, but with great Towers of the old fashion, that flank it round about. The moats are very large and deep, for they receive the water on both sides, and the Town, which is little less than a League in circuit, is all fortified round with thick Ramparts, though (by reason of the carelessness of the Governors) in many places (by length of time) grown defective, and in some, decayed and fallen down. On the outside, along the Haven, there is a great Suburb full of Inhabitants, in regard of Traffick, and the conveniency of Marriners; and on that side a great Current of waters, which coming from the Fenny grounds, is straightned all into one Channel, and crossing through the Town, empties it self impetuously into the Sea. On the other side of the Haven, and in the point of the *Dunes*, which cover it on the North-side, there stands a great and exceeding strong Tower, called the *Risbane*, which shutting up the mouth of the Haven, is well stored with pieces of Cannon, and with great ease hinders any kind of Ships from entering into it. But on the side of the firm land (which, in respect of the moorish grounds that largely environ it, is very narrow) about a league from the City there stands a Bridge over a Water that runs into the Sea, which being fortified with Towers, doth totally shut up the passage which leads to the Town along a very narrow bank; this is called the *Fauxbourg de Nieuwet*.

1596.

The description of the situation of Calais.

Monsieur *du Rosne* knew, that all the hope of obtaining this Fortrefs, was placed in speedily possessing the Bridge of *Nieuwet* and the *Risbane*; for if he took not *Nieuwet*, it would be very hard to pass the water, and come under the Town; and if he possessed not himself of the *Risbane*, so that he might be Master of the mouth of the Haven, there would come such supplies into the Town by Sea, that there would no longer be any building upon the small number of the Defendants: wherefore, marching to Sr. *Omer* with admirable celerity, in regard of the Artillery he had along with him, he came upon the ninth of *April*, in the morning, by break of day, within sight of *Nieuwet*, and without giving the Defendants (who were not above forty) time, either to take courage, or to receive assistance, he made it be assailed on the one side by the Spanish, and on the other by the Walloon Foot, still playing with the four small pieces, not because they did any great harm, but to increase the terror of the Defendants; who being so few, ill provided, taken at unawares, and (which imported most) without any Commander, who, by his Authority, might keep them faithful, they basely quitted the defence, and retired flying to the Town.

Nieuwet being taken, *du Rosne* left four Companies of Walloons to guard that Post, and not losing a minutes time, advanced the same instant to assault the *Risbane*, and having planted his Artillery in exceeding great haste, began furiously to batter about noon; besides which, having drawn three of the smaller pieces to the brink of the Haven, with them and with the Walloon Muskettiers, he hindred more defendants from entering into it, so that they of the Suburb, that stands on the far side of the Haven, having often attempted to get in, were alwayes constrained to retire. There were but sixty men in the *Risbane*, and those also without any considerable head, insomuch, that though the place was strong, and might have been defended many dayes, yet they, as soon as they saw the assault was preparing against them, utterly losing courage, quitted it, and being slain upon and routed in the flight, scarce thirty of them, with the help of some small Boats, got safe into the Suburb; *du Rosne* not failing to prosecute so happy a beginning, entred into the *Risbane*; set the Artillery again in order, and lodged many Foot in it, to the end, that relief by Sea might more assuredly be hindred, and there was very great need of it; for the next morning, many Ships of the Holland Fleet, that was above *Boulogne*, appeared, and laboured with all possible industry to get into the Haven; but being driven back and bored through by the Artillery of the *Risbane*, they were at last made to tack about; and one Ship laden with Wine, being sunk by many Cannon shot in the mouth of the Port, the passage was so much the more stopped up, against whosoever should try to enter; and yet two little Barks of the Holland-

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1596

The Archduke Albert comes with the rest of the Army to the Camp before Calais.

The Defendants of Calais, without attempting any thing for their defence, suffer the Spaniards to prosecute the siege.

ers, with two Captains and eighty men, got in fortunately, and landing in the Suburb, staid there for the defence of it.

In the mean time the Cardinal of *Austria* having had notice of the prosperous progress of his Forces, turning all his Army that way, marched thither with the same celerity upon Maundy-Thursdai (being the eleventh of *April*) in the evening, and having designed the quarters of the Camp, between *Casal de Mer*, the Bridge of *Nienlet*, and the way that leads to *Gravelin*, he encamped in the Church of *St. Pierre*, half a League from the Walls. The Town being besieged, and their quarters, in respect of the situation (which was all Moorish grounds, and full of Ditches) easily fortified; *du Rosne*, well informed of the defect of the Wall on that side that stands towards the Suburb, resolved to plant a battery in the utmost part of the Haven; for, though the impediment of passing it, seemed in appearance exceeding great, yet he had observed, that at the ebbing of the Sea, the water fell in such manner, that the utmost part of the Haven remained dry, and the bottom was so firm and gravelly, that it afforded very convenient means of marching on to the assault; but that he might not leave the besieged without trouble on the other side, and to divide their weakness, he purposed to make another battery, over against the way to *Gravelin*; though the Wall on that side was extremely well lined with Earth, and defended by the Flanks of the two Royal Bastions. Both the Batteries were perfected upon the fourteenth day of the month, being *Easter* day, and upon Munday in the morning, as soon as it was light, they began to thunder furiously on both sides; nor did the Defendants (disheartned by the smallness of the number) make any attempt to hinder the enemy, and only the first day, while the Risbane was battered, they sallied, to bring in the Goods and Victuals; nor from that day forward, durst they attempt any other business.

In this state of Affairs, the King having had intelligence of the moving of the Spanish Camp, and not being able to discern, which way it would bend at last, left the Constable to Command the Army before *la Fere*, and marched with 600 Horse, and the Regiment of his Guard to *Abbeville*, and from thence sent forth the *Sieur de Montluc* with 2000 Foot to *Montrueil*, doubting (as some reported) that the Spanish Army would fall upon that Town; but having, upon the 13th day had notice, that the Camp was suddenly gone before *Calais*, he sent the same *Montluc*, the Count *de St. Paul*, Governor of the Province, and the Marquis *de Belin*, with great diligence, to imbarke at *St. Vallery*, and try to get into the Town; and though they boldly executed the orders they had received, yet being driven back by contrary winds, which blew impetuously all those dayes, they were constrained to return to the same place without fruit; wherefore the King, become impatient at the near danger of his Subjects, would needs go personally into that Port, and the cross weather still continuing, he went to *Boulogne*, the next day hoping (as the Seamen said) that it would not be so difficult to relieve the besieged from thence; but being come to *Boulogne*, and the same winds holding, the difficulties were the same, or perhaps greater; nor was there any thought of giving the besieged any succor by Land, as well the Bridge of *Nienlet*, as *Casal de Mer*, being strongly guarded, and the Enemies whole Army encamped on that side; wherefore the King, for a last resolution, having put some chosen Foot aboard certain ships, sent them forth to ride thereabout, and fight with the diversity of weather, that they might be ready, upon the first gale of a favourable wind, to get, by some means or other into the Haven; but neither was this course any way beneficial, for the Ships long tossed, and driven into several places, could never get near the Haven, and if they had, they would certainly have been beaten back by the Risbane.

At the same time the King dispatched many Shallops to the English Fleet, to hasten the coming of it, hoping, if those men could be landed time enough, to make some gallant attempt, and force the Cardinal to raise his Camp from before that Town; but it was all in vain, for the English Fleet gathered together in the Haven at *Dover*, and ready to set sail, was yet detained by the Queens different intention. The French Ambassadors, and particularly Monsieur *de Sancy*, (newly gone thither for that purpose) treating closely of the Conditions, upon which the men should land, about which the Parties being not able to agree, by reason of the variety of interests, the time ran on without coming to any conclusion.

But in the interim, the Spanish Artillery having plaid upon *Easter* Munday, from break of day till evening, and the opportunity of low water hapning at that time, the Spanish Foot advanced on both sides to give a resolute Assault. Fortune was not altogether

altogether so favourable to *du Rosne's* intentions in this as she had been before : For though the wind had sat right all that day for his Artillery, a thing of no small advantage to free him from the smoke, that he might play the faster ; yet in the evening, continuing, nay, blowing more stiffly every hour, it would not suffer the Tide to fall so low, as that the farther part of the Haven might be quite dry ; wherefore his Foot were fain to go above the knees in water, and in some places to the girdle, which retarding the Assault, proved no small impediment ; and yet having overcome that obstacle, and fought till Nine of the Clock at night, (the Moon shining brightly in the Full) the French having lost above an hundred of their men, and among them one of the Holland Captains, resolved to retire, and having fired the Suburb in all places, got safely into the Town. Upon *Tuesday*, *du Rosne* drew his Artillery into the Suburb which they had quitted, and there being no Flanks on that side that could hinder the Battery, he without any difficulty planted two and twenty pieces upon the edge of the Moat, with no other defence but single Gabions, and those not very high, and the next day began to batter the Wall with so great fury, that not being lined with Earth, it in a few hours gave a large conveniency of assaulting it : But while the Infantry, being Spaniards, Walloons, and Italians mixt together, prepare themselves to fall on, the Defendents (terrified at the wideness of the breach, and the smallness of the number they were reduced to) send forth a Drum to Parley, and the same evening capitulated to leave the Town, and retire into the Castle, which they promised to surrender into the Cardinals hands, if they were not relieved within six days.

The Defendents being few, when they saw the Spaniards ready to give the Assault, sent forth a Drum, and agree to surrender, if not relieved within six days.

The King, who was at *Boulogne*, quickly had notice of the composition of *Calais*, and of the Earl of *Effex* his answer, who was General of the English Land-forces, with whom Monsieur *de Sancy* having conferred, had entertained great hopes of getting the English to land, and that being re-inforced by them, the Castle might be relieved within the appointed time ; but the Earl was not so forward as he desired : for the King having often promised to give some place upon the Coasts of his Kingdom, for the conveniency and security of the English, and afterward with divers excuses deferred to do it, and his Ambassadors to Queen *Elizabeth* having at last (to get the Fleet to move for his relief) condescended to promise that it should be performed ; the Earl refused to put into any Haven, or land men, unless first the promise were effectually observed ; and though *Sancy* urging the exigency of the need, and the shortness of the time, desired the Earl to consider of what importance the conservation of *Calais* was to their common interests, yet was it not possible to move him from his determination : wherefore he was necessitated to write to the King to know his pleasure ; who highly incensed that his Confederates should make use of his adversity to constrain him to their own appetites, answered resolutely, That he would rather be robbed by his Enemies, than by his Friends ; and being minded to try what he could do by himself, he saw the fury of the wind which had been so contrary all those days past not at all abated, and therefore he sent the *Sieur de Matelet* Governour of *Foix* with three hundred Foot, backed with a good number of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Cavalry, to strive to pass thorow the Enemies Guards, and get in to relieve the Castle.

These coming by night close by the Quarter of the Italians, commanded by the Marquis of *Trevico*, found such slack and careless Guards, that without being perceived, they got all into the Castle, where the *Sieur de Matelet* having encouraged the Governour no less then the Inhabitants and Souldiers that were in it, after the time of truce was expired, they not only refused to surrender, but protested they would defend themselves to the last man ; wherefore the Cardinal being assured that some relief was got in unknown to him, gave order to Monsieur *du Rosne* valiantly to prosecute the assault, who having planted his Cannon against the great Towers, or (as we may call them) Bulwarks of the Castle, battered them with so much diligence, that upon the six and twentieth day it was in a fit condition to be stormed. All the Italian Foot fell on the next morning, who being desirous to cancel the reproach of having so carelessly suffered relief to pass in, fought desperately, and being seconded first by the Walloons, and then by the Spaniards ; after a most bloody fight of six hours, the Governour *Bidossan* being slain, and above four hundred Souldiers cut in pieces, they at last entred the Castle, where the Italians put all the rest to the Sword, except Monsieur *de Campagniole* and some few others, who having taken refuge in a Church, were received upon discretion. Above two hundred of the Spanish Army were killed, among

Monsieur *de Matelet* with 300 Foot gets into the Castle of *Calais* : whereupon, the six days being expired, the Defendents refuse to surrender.

The Spaniards storm the Castle of *Calais*, kill the Governour, and put all to the sword.

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1595. which Count *Gnidubaldo Pacciotto* an Engineer of high esteem, and about one hundred wounded; a loss very inconsiderable for the taking of a place accounted impregnable, and one of the principal ones of all *France*, in so few days: but it had always been alike ill-defended by the carelessness of those within, the effects being no way correspondent to the fame of the place.

But the so easie and so sudden loss of *Calais* did not only much perplex the King, but also put him in a necessity of agreeing with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; for *la Fere* being not yet given up, he thought it very hard to rise from that siege, and lose the expences and labours of so many months, to the no small decrease of his reputation; and on the other side, if he did not speedily receive Supplies from both places, he was not able to draw another body of an Army together, wherewith he might resist the victorious force of the Enemy; so that all other places in the Province would be given over, with little hope that they should defend themselves more constantly than *Calais* had done, a place excellently fortified by art and nature. Being moved with this consideration, and judging that the authority of the Duke of *Bouillon* would be very prevalent to work upon the Queen, whose determination he was certain would be followed by the *Hollanders*, he dispatched him into *England* with resolute orders, to the end that concluding a reciprocal Confederacy, the Fleet might set sail with all speed, to land men in the Port of *Boulogne*.

But the difficulties were great, and the Queen had no inclination to it; partly, because she intended to make use of the Kings necessity, to get a Port in his Kingdom; for which end, before *Calais* was lost, she had been backward to relieve it, that she might constrain the French to put it into her hand; partly, because seeing the King reconciled to the Catholick Religion, she thought it was in the King of *Spain's* power to conclude a Peace whensoever he would resolve no longer to molest the Kingdom of *France*: and therefore she difficultly inclined to put her self to new expences, which it was in the will of her Enemies to frustrate and make ineffectual; wherfore having stilly denied for many days to hearken to any Treaty of new Obligations, she only proffered to give those assistances for the time to come, which she could without such great inconvenience to her self as she had done in times past: and because the French pressed very earnestly to have the Earl of *Essex* come to *Picardy* with the Fleet; the English answered, That it was for the most part composed of ships and men that were Voluntiers, who had put themselves together under the conduct of the Earl, to make prize upon the Coasts of *Spain*, from which design the Queen had not power to take them off, having granted them licence for that purpose; and that nevertheless they would be of great advantage to the King of *France* his affairs; for the damage the Kingdom of *Spain* would receive thereby, would divert the Catholick Kings Forces from the War of *Picardy*. But these hopes and remedies were very far off, and the Duke of *Bouillon* offering to consideration the interests of their common Religion, if the prosperity of the Spaniards should still increase, excited both the principal Ministers, and the Queen her self to imploy her utmost Forces in so urgent and so near an occurrence: and he moved much with his authority, eloquence, and reasons, but most of all by being of the same Religion; for he seemed to be principally zealous for the common interests, and for the conservation of the Hugonot party in *France*, to the end the King might not be constrained to come to such an Agreement with the Spaniards as might be prejudicial to the States of *Holland*, to the quiet of *England*, and to the Liberty of Conscience in his own Kingdom: and yet the business went on so slowly, and with such weighty difficulties, that though the Confederacy with *England* was at last concluded, differing little from the other contracted with King *Charles* the Ninth, and without obligation to consign any Place, (for shame made the English to desist from that demand;) and though the Duke of *Bouillon* went with an Ambassador from the Queen into *Holland*, where the same Confederacy was established; yet the time was so far spent, that the affairs of *Picardy* were no way relieved by it, and the Earl of *Essex* his Fleet having scoured the Coasts of *Spain*, was dissolved without having done any thing considerable.

A League concluded between Henry the Fourth and the Queen of *England*, little different from that which had been made by the English with *Charles* the Ninth.

While this League was treated of in *England*, the Cardinal Archduke not depending upon any body but himself, after he had spent ten days in making up the breaches at *Calais*; *Guines* and *Han* having surrendered at the bare summons of a Trumpet, he determined to set upon *Ardes*, a place of a good circuit, excellently fortified, and standing but three leagues from *Calais*, by the taking whereof he thought he should abso-

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lutely secure what he had gotten : and though the situation of it seemed very difficult, because, standing on the top of an Hill, it (as a Cavalier) commands all the Plain below it, which extends it self a little more than Cannon-shot, and from the Plain there are Mountains and Woods as unfit to encamp in, as opportune for the Ambushes of an Enemy ; yet the Cardinal encouraged by his prosperous successes, sided with the opinion of Monsieur *du Rosne*, who hoped to carry it before the King could be disintangled from *la Fere*, and able to relieve it.

There were in *Ardres* the Marquis *de Belin* Lieutenant of the Province, Monsieur *d'Annebourg* Governour of the Town, and the Sieur *de Monluc*, who was come in to re-inforce it, and they had with them little less than Two thousand Foot, an Hundred and fifty Horse, and convenient provisions of Artillery, Ammunition, and other things necessary for defence. And because the Siege had been foreseen by the Commanders, they had laboured with all possible diligence not only to better the Fortification of the Town, but also to repair those of the Suburbs that stands towards *Boulogne* ; for that being the side on which Batteries might most easily be raised, they determined by defending the Suburb to keep the Enemy as far as was possible from the Wall. The Author of this counsel was the Governour of the Town, a Souldier not only of much valour, but also of great experience, whose design was to defend the ground span by span, to give the King so much time, that *la Fere* falling, he might come to succour that place before the last extremities : but the Marquis *de Belin* was of another mind, and thought it a pernicious counsel to lose men in defending useless places, and such as were not tenable ; wherefore he would have had them only engage themselves in maintaining those Posts, which for their quality might be long made good ; and yet all the other Commanders being of opinion, that the holding of the Suburb would be a benefit of great importance, the Governours advice carried it ; and there was a convenient guard put in there to keep it. Another difference of opinion there was among the Commanders ; for the Marquis would have had the Enemy molested, and their works hindred by smart Counterbatteries, without sparing Ammunition ; and on the other side, the Governour judging their store but small, in respect of so great waste, desired it might be husbanded to prolong the defence, that they might not want a thing so necessary in their greatest exigency ; and because the Marquisses Authority was above his, he kept part of the Ammunition hid, to the end they might make use of it opportunely when the other was spent.

With these discords (which to the great prejudice of mens own affairs, do commonly reign where more than one commands) they in the Town prepared themselves for the defence ; but the Cardinal Archduke having left *Juan de Rivas* in the Government of *Calais*, upon the sixth of *May* moved with the whole Army, and made his first quarters at *Guines* ; the next day he marched to the Walls of *Ardres*, so early, that in that day and the next, their quarters were perfected and fortified, which being made (as far as they could possibly) out of reach of the Cannon of the Town, were not yet very near to the Hills and Woods ; but between the Hills and their Works, there remained so much space, that the Squadrons as well of Foot as Horse, might commodiously spread themselves in Battalia ; and upon all the ways that through the Woods come down the Hills, strong *Corps de Guards* were placed with double Trenches, and double Works before them, or, to say better, behind them, in those places that stood toward *Boulogne*, *Montrueil*, and the other of the King of *France* his Towns. The Army being encamped and secured with wondrous diligence, upon *Thursday* the ninth of *May*, *Agostino Messia's* Spanish Foot, and Colonel *la Berlotte's* Walloons advanced to make their approaches, that they might get under the Works of the Suburb ; but the Sieur *de Monluc*, whose fierceness passed by no occasion of troubling the Enemy, sallied out so briskly to skirmish, that their Works were foreflowed for a long time, and after that another Tertia of Infantry under *Jago Tesseda*, and Colonel *Coquels* Walloons came to re-inforce the besiegers, and that *Monluc* was constrained to retire ; the Marquis began such a furious Counterbattery, that they were necessitated to intermit their work, and stay till night ; but it being very clear and light, the Artillery ceased not to play with great damage to the besiegers, who nevertheless constantly overcoming all obstacles, got to the Counter-scarp of the Suburb, and the next morning planted some pieces of Cannon to facilitate their entry ; but because *Monluc* ceased not to sally every hour, and to keep those that wrought in great perplexity, they made no greater progress till he being taken with a Cannon-shot, was miserably torn in pieces ; for after his death, there being no Commanders

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The Archduke
marches with
his Army to
besiege *Ardres*

Monsieur *de*
Monluc killed
with a Can-
non shot.

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so valiant, or so diligent, the besiegers began to batter the Works of the Suburb, which by reason of their weakness, being easily beaten down, they made an assault with so much violence, that the Defendants were constrained to quit it with the loss of above forty men; but while the Spaniards and Walloons enter pel-mel, Monsieur *de Montant*, a Colonel of French Infantry, fell upon them so sharply, that after a bloody conflict of two hours he recovered the Suburb, having impetuously driven out the Enemy with the loss of three hundred of the stoutest Souldiers of the Army; and yet the next day the Cannon having plaid from morning till noon, the Foot stormed it in four several places, in each of which, fighting gallantly, Colonel *la Berlotte* was sore wounded, *Agostino Messia* struck upon the head with a stone, and the Suburb was defended till the evening; but the assault being renewed on all sides, the next morning the Marquis considering the weakness of the place, gave the Defendants order to retire, that he might not lose so great a number of valiant Souldiers: And yet the Enemies pursuing closely, and they that were at the Town-Gate, fearing lest they should get in pel-mel with their own men, let the Portcullis fall so soon, that above two hundred of them were shut out and cut in pieces.

The Foot covered themselves diligently in the Suburb, and Monsieur *du Rosne* having determined to play upon that side, caused two batteries to be raised, one of which was plyed by the Spaniards with nineteen pieces of Cannon, and the other by the Walloons with seventeen pieces of several sizes, the works of which being not yet finished, the Counter-battery of the Town did a great deal of mischief on all sides; but after the Batteries were sufficiently covered, and that the Artillery began to thunder against the Flanks of the Bastions, the Marquis either out of meanness of courage, (as the general opinion of men would have it) or, because he thought it impossible to defend that place, and had a desire to save himself, and so many other valiant Defendants, for a better occasion; called the principal Officers to Council, and strove to persuade them to surrender: But the Governour opposing, and likewise *Charles Sieur de Rambours*, a man of great note in that Province, the Officers answered, that they would defend themselves to the utmost; and the Marquis replying, that all the Ammunition was already spent, and that he had no longer wherewithal to defend themselves; the Governour made known that he had hid and preserved so much, as being discreetly disposed of, would be sufficient for many days, and that in the mean time they might be relieved by the King, to whom he believed *la Fere* would yield at last. To which words the Marquis replied angrily, That he deserved to be punished for having concealed the true quantity of Ammunition from his superiour Officer, and that two days more or two days less imported little, for he knew that the King would not take *la Fere* so easily; and going incensed from the Council, though many protested against it, he presently sent out a Captain, and articked to march forth with their Arms and Baggage, their Colours flying, and Drums beating, and that the Townsmen might be free to stay or go as they pleased; but those that staid were to acknowledge the King of *Spain* to be their Supream Lord. Thus to the wonder of all men, and the great murmuring of his Souldiers, the Marquis marched forth with all his men in Arms upon the twenty third of *May* towards *la Fere*; but Captain *Mainferme*, one of the Captains of the Garison, having the guard of a Bastion towards the Spanish quarters, would by no means consent to the Agreement; and though the Enemies were Masters of all the rest of the Town, he intrenched himself within the circuit of his Bastion, and defended himself undauntedly, till the Artillery being planted, and all his defences beaten down, he thought he might honourably march away.

The day before this, the besieged in *la Fere* being reduced to extream necessity, and knowing by the effects the Cardinals intention, that being intent to divert and take new places, he had no hope to relieve them any other way, at last yielded to the Kings power, having by their constancy afforded time and conveniency to make so great and so important successes; the King desirous to disengage himself, that he might think of relieving *Ardras*, granted them the conditions they demanded; for it was agreed without contradiction, that the Seneschal *de Montelimar* avouched Count of *la Fere*, and *Alvaro Oforio* Governour of the Garison, should march forth with all their Souldiers, Foot and Horse, with their Arms, offensive and defensive; all their Baggage, Cornets, and Colours flying, Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, lighted Match, and Bullet in mouth, and should be convoyed safely as far as *Castelet*; that they might take along with them one piece of Cannon which had not the Arms of *France* upon it, and

The Marquis *de Belin* having called a Council of War, proposes to give up the place; the Governour with the other Officers opposes it; but he sending forth a Captain, capitulates with the Enemy.

and Ammunition for ten shots; that the Seneschal should be acquitted of all the Payments, Rents and Contributions received, and that there might be no Inquest made for any past action, or crime either against him, or any others of the Garison, nor any of them molested for the debts they had contracted; that the Inhabitants taking an Oath of Allegiance, should be used as good Subjects, and pardoned all past offences, and whosoever would go forth with the Garison, might have liberty to depart.

With those Articles *la Fere* yielded it self unto the King upon the two and twentieth day, and the next morning he impatient of delay, moved with all his Cavalry towards *Ardres*, leaving the Constable to follow him with all the rest of the Army, intending to draw near by the way of the Woods, and by all means to try his fortune; but he had not marched above two miles when the news came of the Marquisses composition, which seemed so much the more bitter to him, by how much the more lively the hopes were he had entertained of relieving that place. Being struck with a most piercing grief, and no less kindled with a most just disdain, seeing the course of all his designs cut off, by the pusillanimity of one man, he would not suffer the Marquiss to come into his presence, either judging him unworthy of his sight, or doubting he should not be able to contain his indignation: But having caused his process to be made by the Mareschal *la Chastre*, he was often times minded to take away his life ignominiously; yet Madam *Gabriele* interposing effectually, and begging for him, the sentence published after many days delay, contained nothing but that he should be deprived of all his Offices, and confined perpetually to his own lands.

Ardres being taken on the one side, and *la Fere* on the other, the common opinion was, that the Armies would meet, and that the King, desirous to make up his losses, and being grown strong by the concurrence of all the Nobility of his Kingdom, was resolved not to pass by any occasion which might opportunely invite him to a Battel; But the Cardinal Archduke more intent to keep what he had gotten, than forward to adventure his Army to new dangers, and being re-called by the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, left *Villeverde* a Spanish Commander with a good Garison in *Ardres*, and in three days march retired into the Territory of *St. Omer*, and from thence having had notice that the Cavalry left behind to guard the Provinces of *Flanders*, had had been routed by the Garisons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which freely over-ran all that Country, he marched further to oppose their incursions, and to turn the violence of his Arms against the States, who during the War in *France*, got daily greater footing.

The King stood long doubtful whether he should apply himself that year to the recovery of some of those places that were lost: but finding his Infantry (the principal instrument for the taking in of strong Towns) much out of case, by their long lying before *la Fere*: for, besides the continual watchings and toils of so many months, the illness of the Air in low moorish places, had bred many diseases among his men; who having spent the Winter in much hardship, began now to feel the effects of their sufferings. Besides this, he wanted the most important sinew of War: for many Provinces being newly returned to his obedience, and the rest that had been for him before, being undone by the War, the whole revenue of the Kingdom was, by long troubles and infinite disorders, quite out of frame; insomuch that being utterly without money, he was not able to maintain his Army in *Picardy*, which Province by the last two years Wars, was in great part destroyed and desolate. To these two weighty difficulties, was added the ill success the King had had in managing the War by his Commanders; wherefore being constrained to return to *Paris*, to receive the Pope's Legat, who was come to confirm, and make those things be performed, which had been promised by his Intercessors, in the act of the Benediction; he thought he should reap but small fruit by his Army, in which he could not be present in person.

For all these reasons, after long doubtfulness in the Council, he determined to dismiss the Nobility, that he might have them again more fresh for future occurrences, and to distribute the rest of his Forces into the Garisons of the most important places, so that he might not fear the Enemies unexpected return, and to go himself (as soon as he had received and satisfied the Legat) into some convenient City in the centre of his Kingdom, where having made an Assembly of the principal Magistrates from all the several Provinces, he might apply himself with diligence to set his revenues

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La Fere yielded to the King, who desirous to relieve *Ardres*, grants the besieged very large Conditions.

The Cardinal Archduke leaving the Fortresses he had taken well provided, retires into *Flanders*.

The King seeing his Army tired out with sufferings, divides it into Garisons, and goes to *Paris* to receive the Pope's Legat.

1596. nues in order, and regulate the domestick affairs of his Court, and to make fitting provisions, that upon a solid foundation he might set himself the next year to recover the places he had lost in *Picardy*. In the mean time he hoped the League with the Queen of *England* and the States, would be concluded; so that uniting all his Forces, he intended to march so strong into the field, that the Enemy should not be able to forbid him the recovery of his own.

Having taken this resolution, he left the Marechal *de Byron* with Three thousand Foot and Six hundred Horse upon the Banks of the *Somme*, to the end that coasting along the River side, he might be ready upon any occasion that should happen in the Country. He left *Peronne*, *Bologn*, *Montrucil*, *Abbeville*, and *St. Quentin*, well guarded; and the Count *de St. Paul* in *Amiens*, though that City, great and populous, alledging its ancient Priviledges, refused to receive a Garison, being confident it should defend it self, as it had formerly done in the revolutions of so many Wars.

Cardinal *Alessandro de Medici*, who after was Pope *Leo II.* now Legat from the Pope, is received with great demonstrations of honour, by Monsieur *de Les Dignieres*, though a Hugonot.

The King goes post to *Montl'bery* to meet the Popes Legat.

The Cardinal *de Medici's* solemn entry into *Paris*.

In this interim, *Alessandro de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*, and Legat from the Pope, was come into *France*; with mutual satisfaction as well of the King, who desired wholly to gain the Pope, as of the Pope himself, who could not perfectly quiet his mind, unless he established the ancient obedience and respect which was wont to be held by the Crown of *France* unto the Apostolick See. Wherefore being arrived upon the confines of *Dauphine*, he was received with great pomp, and with the Army drawn up in Battalia, by Monsieur *de Les Dignieres*; who though averse from the Catholick Religion, omitted not any terms of duty and honour, as well in receiving him, as in waiting upon him to *Lyons*, where having stayed a few days, he hastened his journey, and went to *Montlins*; from whence though, in regard of the Plague, which was very hot in many places, he took a much longer way, yet he came upon the nineteenth of *July* to *Montl'bery*, ten leagues from the City of *Paris*. Thither the King (not with publick pomp, but as in a familiar visit) coming from *Picardy*, posted with a hundred in his train to meet him; shewing, by his impatiency to be with him, and his familiarity in meeting him, his affection towards the Pope, and his particular confidence in his person, which, besides nobleness of birth, and maturity of years, had an exceeding great fame for wisdom, and ancient inclination to the affairs of the Crown. The principal Lords of the Court attended the King in this visit, but particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, to let the Legat see the sincere reconciliation that was between them, and how much the Heads of the Catholick party were esteemed and honoured. As the King in this first Interview omitted not any exquisite demonstration of reverence toward the majesty of the Pope, and toward the person of the Legat; so did not the Cardinal fail to shew himself so moderate, and so well disposed toward the interests of the King and of the Crown, that the good expectation formerly conceived of him, was turned into a very great affection.

The King returned the next morning to *Paris*; and the Cardinal going on his journey, was met first a league from the Fauxbourgs by the young Prince of *Condé*, to the end that he might know how diligently he had endeavoured the Popes satisfaction, in getting him out of the Hugonots hands: and at the Gate of the Fauxbourgs he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, all the Princes, and all the Court, with such a throng of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Espernon*, alighting from their horses, had not with Swords drawn made room among the people, there was some danger that the vehemence of those who crowded inconsiderately to honour him, might have stifled him in the heat and tumult. Thus being brought into the City with great joy and contentment of every one, he performed the wonted Ceremonies in the Cathedral of *Notre-Dame*; and being conducted to his lodging furnished with the Kings stuff, he with infinite courtesie received the visits of the Parliament, the first President *Harlay* speaking for all; and then successively the other Magistrates of the City, and of many particular persons; every one rejoicing to see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the reconciliation as well of the King as Crown unto the Apostolick See.

In the Parliament they accepted and published the Commissions, or (as they call it) the power of the Legat: and though some of the Counsellors were of opinion that certain clauses should be added to the publication, which had been wont to be used in former times, to limit and circumscribe the Authority of Legats within the Priviledges of the *Gallique Church*; yet the King would have them freely published

as they were, without making mention of any such thing, to take away all scruple that might be had of the sincerity of his mind: a thing which redounding to the full satisfaction of the Pope, and the glory of his Papacy, not to find that opposition which the other Popes before were wont to meet, was exceedingly well recompensed by the moderation of the Legat, whose dexterity well instructed by prudent Orders from *Rome*, still declined those occasions which might bring his Authority, the Privileges of the Clergy, or the Jurisdictions of the Crown into controverſie; the true and only way to avoid the ſo hateful contentions of Jurisdiction, and a temper very proper as well to eſtabliſh the received obedience, as to ſerve the difficult condition of the times. This, beſides the Pope's prudence, and the Legat's moderation, was the counſel of *Giovanni Deſſino* the Venetian Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and who afterward was alſo Cardinal; who well verſed in the affairs of *France*, advertiſed both the Pope and the Legat, that they ſhould not take particular notice of the exceſſes formerly committed in the Eccleſiaſtical affairs of *France*, while it was in a manner ſeparate from the Church before the Abſolution; but that feigning not to ſee many things that were paſt, they ſhould content themſelves with great patience and dexterity to regulate the future: which counſel greedily received, as from a perſon that was well verſed, and very prudent, gave a rule to govern themſelves by, in many difficult buſineſſes that happened afterward.

The Legat had his firſt publick audience at *St. Maur*, without the City, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, in which the King ratified all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators in the Abſolution at *Rome*: By which ready demonſtration having ſatiſfied the Pope in all points exactly; he afterward received thoſe Diſpenſations which the preſent conjuncture perſwaded. From theſe things, appertaining to the Majeſty of Religion, and of the Pope, the Cardinal-Legat paſſed to treat of thoſe which concerned the quiet of the Kingdom, and the peace of Chriſtians: For the Pope knowing, how afflicted, and how bloodleſs the Kingdom of *France* was, having been tormented with the ſo long Civil Wars, and how much need it had of eaſe and tranquillity to recover its ancient vigour; and on the other ſide, conſidering how exhausted the King of *Spain's* Coffers were, and how much oppreſſed and ruined his people, he ſaw the Crown of *France*, by continuing the War, was in great danger to be diminiſhed, and the moſt Chriſtian King neceſſitated ſtill to keep near correſpondencies and intereſſed friendships with Princes that were averſe from the Catholick Church: And he believed on the other ſide, that King *Philip* being ill able to ſupply two ſo potent Wars, though near, by keeping up the reputation of his Arms in *Picardy*, came to loſe much of his own in *Flanders*, to the increaſe of the States of *Holland*, and the diminution of the Faith; wherefore he was reſolved to mediate Peace between thoſe two Crowns, well perceiving that neither of them would ever incline to demand it, if he, as a common Father, and independent Mediator, ſhould not interpoſe. To this was added, the conſideration of the War with the Turk, which was extream fierce and hot in *Hungary*; which the Pope deſiring the Chriſtian Princes ſhould vigorously concur in, that the Forces of the common Enemy might not increaſe any more, he thought it chiefly neceſſary to make an Agreement between thoſe Crowns, to the end, that both together, or at leaſt the King of *Spain*, for the common intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, might be able to lend his aſſiſtance. He therefore had given ſtrict Commiſſion to the Legat, that as ſoon as the Kings Abſolution was ratified, he ſhould preſently begin to introduce this buſineſs, which he accounted not only neceſſary for the ſecurity and repoſe of Chriſtendom, but alſo highly glorious to the memory of his Papacy.

Neither was the Cardinal (being a man of a mild peaceable nature, and full of experience in the affairs of the world) leſs ready to procure the general good, and his own particular honour, than the Pope was careful to incite him to it, ſo that in the firſt meetings after the publick audience at *St. Maur*, he deferred not to ſound the Kings inclination, who no leſs quick-ſighted than others in diſcovering the wounds of his Kingdom, and agreeing with the general opinion of all men, that peace was the only remedy to cure them, was inclined to imbrace any kind of peace wherein his reputation might not ſuffer. The difficulties which his Ambaſſadors found in treating the League with *England*, perſwaded him the ſame; for he perceived very well, that the Queen aimed without regard to get ſome place in his Kingdom, that ſhe might have means to keep him bound, and to procure greater matters as occaſion ſhould ſerve;

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The King gives the firſt publick audience to the Legat at *St. Maur*, and ratifies all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators at *Rome*.

The point of Religion being ſetled, the Cardinal Legat begins to promote a Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns.

Emergents that perſwade the King to deſire peace with *Spain*.

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serve; and it was not unknown to him, that she, by reason of the Irish commotions which were then in their height, was so much taken up, that though she had a desire to it, she was not able to spare many forces to his assistance. To this was added, the condition of the Hollanders, who though they endeavoured to have the War continue in France, that the Spanish Forces might be diverted and divided, yet had they not any ability to lend supplies unto their Neighbours, whilst the War was so hot in all places at their own home. Neither were the Protestant Princes of Germany (whose minds were now bent upon the urgent necessity of the Turkish War) either able or willing to trouble themselves about the Kingdom of France; which they thought powerful enough of it self, to make head against the Arms of Spain: Inasmuch, that the King being able to promise himself little of the Foreign Aids of his Confederates, was fain to make his whole foundation upon the Forces of his own Kingdom.

But these were hindred and debilitated by many weighty accidents: For the Royal Revenues by the ruines of Civil Wars, and the multiplicity of abuses introduced, were subverted, and little less than brought to nothing, and the profit that was wont to rise from Imposts and Gabels in the Merchant Towns of the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas, was extreemly diminished by interruption of the commerce with Spain, the West Indies and the Catholick Kings other Territories: Nor did the trading in English and Dutch-bottoms help much; for navigation being interrupted, the business was reduced rather to a kind of Piracy than Traffick. To this want of money (the vital substance of the War) were added other perturbations. The Duke of Mercœur yet in Arms, and potent in Bretagne, who with his forces over-running and disquieting the Country, sometimes toward Normandy, sometimes towards Poitou and Xaintonge, kept those Provinces in continual commotion: Provence and Dauphine not yet well reduced to obedience, and fiercely molested by the Duke of Savoy, so that it was necessary to keep two Armies there continually employed; and, which imported most of all, the Hugonots, either incensed, or grown jealous at the so near conjunction between the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in Arms, and (asking liberty to meet together to take some course about their own affairs) shewed designs of new Insurrections: Whereupon there was great danger, that before the Peace was totally established with the Catholicks, it would be necessary to begin a War with the Hugonots.

The Hugonots
jealous of the
Kings conjun-
ction with the
Pope, begin to
plot new trou-
bles.

These causes moved the King to wish for Peace; but the spur of reputation, which had ever been very sharp in his mind, did make him in appearance desire War: Wherefore in the first Treaties with the Legat, he told him resolutely, that he would not accept of any kind of Peace, unless first all the places taken were restored, and all the losses of the Crown repaired; adding such lively ardent speeches, as shewed he would not lend an ear to a negotiation of Peace, till first by his Arms he had set his reputation up again in War; and yet the Legat gathering the Kings secret intention from the state of affairs, which were very well known to him, being upon the place; and judging it by all means necessary to break the Ice first, though there appeared no glimpse of hope, he dispatched Father Bonaventura Calatagirone, General of the Order of St. Francis, to the Court of Spain, to sound how mens minds corresponded on that side.

But the diligence the Legat shewed for Peace, hindred not the King of France from being intent upon Provisions of Arms, and preparations for the year following; wherefore having called a Congregation of all the Officers of the Crown, principal Magistrates, and Treasurers of his Kingdom in the City of Rouen, where besides regulating many disorders and abuses, he intended to establish and settle his Revenues, and to persuade the Heads of the Provinces, and the chief of the Clergy and common people to assist him in such manner, that he might be able to uphold the weight of the War by himself, which he accounted not difficult, as well by reason of the urgent necessity well known to them all, as of the good condition many rich and fertile Provinces were getting into, since Civil Wars had ceased in them, if necessary rule and order were added to the benefit of quiet; and he thought every one would run willingly to contribute to that expence, which was not made as in former times, either to satiate the Kings appetites, or to move domestick Arms against those of the same Blood, but to maintain a War against strangers, and to defend the Crown, assaulted and invaded by its ancient Emulators and inveterate Enemies.

The King calls
a Congregation
of all the
Officers of his
Crown at Rou-
en, to settle the
disorders of
his Kingdom,
and to de-
mand Supplies
for the War.

And

And because from the year before, there had been a Truce (though an uncertain one, and from time to time violated and interrupted) with the Duke of *Mercœur* to treat in the interim, and find some temper of Agreement with him, the King at this time deputed the Count of *Schomberg*, and *Président de Thou*, who were to go to the Queen Dowager of *France* to treat in her presence with the Dukes Deputies: But this Treaty was not only doubtful, but also various and unsettled; for the Duke, a subtil man, of a deep reach, and one not easie to be withdrawn from his designs, held several practices both in *Spain* and *France*, promising himself yet, that he should dismember the Dutchy of *Bretagne* from the Crown (which had been united no longer than since the times of *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *Francis* the First) to establish it to his Posterity; or, if he could not do so much in favour of himself, at least, to keep up that State in the name of the *Infanta Isabella*, who pretended to succeed unto it, as next Heir of the House of *Valois*, since women were not excluded from the inheritance of *Bretagne*. For this purpose he had sent *Lorenzo Tornabony* to the Court of *Spain*, and still held practices within the Province, to draw many of the principal men to be of his mind; hoping he should obtain much larger conditions from the *Infanta*, than he could do from the King of *France*. But because the adversity of the affairs of the League crossed his designs, and the agreement of the other Princes of his House, and particularly of the Duke of *Mayenne*, held his mind in suspense; He still kept the Treaty of Accommodation alive, and still prorogued the Truce with short additions, making use sometimes of force, sometimes of art, to obtain some convenient place, and to keep the Provinces confining upon *Bretagne* in commotion.

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The *Infanta Isabella's* pretensions upon the Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

Following this his design, he about this time set on *Charles Gondi* Marquis of *Belisle*, Son to the Marechal de *Retz*, to seize upon *Fongeres*, a Town of much importance upon the Confines of *Normandy*; and from that place he had held a Treaty, that the same Marquis might be let in to *Mont S. Michel*, a wonderful strong place upon the shore of the Ocean, to which one cannot go by Land, except for the space of two short hours by day and by night when the Tyde is low, which Treaty having gone on so far, that the Marquis was already certain to be let in, he departed secretly by night from *Fongeres* with an hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, and came to *St. Michel* just at low water; there having given and received the appointed signs, he was invited by the Governour of the Castle to come in with half a dozen in his company to possess the first Gate, and bring in his men; at which invitation the Marquis, a young man, more fierce than circumspect, refused not to enter, but seeing the Gate that led into the first Raveline was presently shut at his back, he turned about with an angry countenance to the Captain that shut it, and commanded him to keep it open; which command being so less haughtily answered, they of the Castle took occasion to fall to their Arms, and having killed the Marquis with his six Companions, they began to fire their Artillery against his party, which being already certain of their Commanders misfortune, retired unpursued to *Fongeres*.

This accident slackened not the designs of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who having had the success to get the Fortrefs of *Tifange* in *Poitou*, and to make other progresses in divers parts, continued to treat of peace ambiguously, being minded to govern himself according to the variety of affairs, sometimes moderating his demands in the Kings prosperity, sometimes enlarging them in his adversity, being himself no less uncertain of the event than others. Nor did the King, to whom the cause of these alterations were known, withdraw himself from his purpose of treating, being disposed to grant him advantageous conditions, to exclude the Spaniards from *Bretagne*, and re-unite unto himself so important a part of the Crown; wherefore to that effect he had newly destined the * Count and the President, whose wisdom he thought sufficient to deal with the Dukes arts and inconstancy.

* *Schomberg* and *de Thou*.

He likewise sent the *Sieur d' Emery*, and *Godefroy Calignon* Chancellor of *Navarre* to the Hugonots, who absenting themselves from the Court, and being retired to

The Hugonots absenting themselves from Court, and appeale them.

retire to places near *Rochel*; and drawing Souldiers together, the King sends to treat with them and

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the Towns near *Rochell*, had drawn some number of armed men together, continuing to make their Conventicles and Assemblies to the great jealousy of the King, and great indignation of his Council: But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though formerly an Enemy to that party, yet having moved the rest of the Council to consider how pernicious it was to provoke a new Civil War at a time when the whole State was afflicted, and that the Arms of the Spaniards insulted with many successful proceedings, they determined to send those two persons of very great esteem to treat, to shew them that nothing prejudicial to Conscience was intended nor thought of: for though the conditions imposed by the Pope were such as every one knew, yet that clause was added, that they should be executed without danger of War or perturbation; with which condition at the same time the Popes obedience and the security of the Hugonots was preserved; since the conjuncture of the times was manifestly such, that the King could not constrain their Liberty, not only without commotion of War, but also not without great danger of the Crown. These two Deputies being come to the places of the Hugonots, treated many times with the Heads of that party, and the rest that were come to *Chastellault*, and assuring them, that the Edicts made in favour of their Religion should be observed, stayed the breaking out of new troubles which were already contriving; but they could not obtain that the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Duke of *la Tremouille* should (as the King desired) march with the Forces of that party into *Picardy*; for the coming of the Legat, and the near correspondence that past, had made them so suspicious, that they would not stir from the places of their own security.

The Mareschal de Byron making great incursions into the County of *Artois*, the Spaniards attempt to oppose him; they fight, the Spaniards are routed, and the Marquis of *Varambone* their Commander in chief, and the Count de *Montecucoli* taken prisoners.

While they were negotiating on this side, Arms were not altogether quiet upon the Confines of *Picardy*: for the number of Garisons on both sides did with frequent encounters keep matters in commotion, and the Mareschal de *Byron* not failing to molest the Enemy in all places, made incursions into the Catholick Kings Provinces in such sort, that in the month of *September* being entered with his Horse into the County of *Artois*, he put the whole Country in a very great tumult: wherefore the Marquis of *Varambone* Governour thereof, having sent for Count *Giovann Giacopo Belgiojoso*, and the Count de *Montecucoli*, resolved to meet him with Eight hundred Horse to put a stop to those mischiefs which he did on all sides; but the Mareschal informed of his coming, having staid the whole day to rest himself at *St. André*, within the Jurisdiction of *St. Omer*, set forward in the dusk of the evening with his men fresh, and purposed to fall unexpectedly upon the Marquis, who thought him a great many miles from thence: nor did he fail of his design; for having marched easily all the night, in the morning at Sun rise he light upon the Enemies Vanguard led by *Montecucoli*, and without much considering they charged courageously on both sides.

In the beginning the French had the worst; for their first Troops were beaten back half in disorder to the main Body; but a while after the Mareschal advancing in person, charged *Montecucoli* so furiously, that he was forced to turn his back full speed; it not being possible to stay his men, who fell foul upon the Marquis his Battel and disordered it, so that he being forsaken, was taken prisoner with *Montecucoli*, still fighting valiantly. *Belgiojoso* advanced with the Reer, and for some time gallantly withstood the fury of the Conquerours; but the other Bodies being routed, and he himself wounded with two Pistol-shots in the Arm, was at last constrained to save himself by flight, leaving the Field free to the Mareschal de *Byron*, and free power to go where he would: so that he would have done more harm to the Country, and perchance have made greater progress, if the Rains of Autumn, which that year fell much before the usual time, had not put a hindrance to his incursions.

There grows a quarrel in the Kings Ante-chamber between the Sieur de *Coqueinvillier* and Monsieur de *Bonivet*, so that the first gives the other a box on the ear

About this time there happened an accident at Court, which as it gave private men an example of that moderation wherewith they ought to curb their passions, so did it advertise Princes how far they ought to bear those terms of necessity in their Subjects to which Honour constrains them; for a Controversie in words arising in the Kings Ante-chamber, between the Sieur de *Coqueinvillier* one of his Gentlemen-Waiters, but a man of approved Valour, and Monsieur de *Bonivet*, a Cavalier of ancient Nobility and great note; *Coqueinvillier* forgetting the place where he was, struck *Bonivet* a Box on the Ear, who restraining his own fury, in respect of the place, they

they went both out of the Court, and being separated by their Friends into several places, *Bonivet* sent to challenge his Enemy, that he might be revenged of the affront he had received: but he (acknowledging his errour, in having wronged him in a place where it was not lawful for him to draw his Sword to right himself) refused to meet him in the field, and offered to ask him pardon, which all men knew was not for want of courage, whereof he had given proofs in other Duels, but out of remorse of Conscience; yet *Bonivet*, notwithstanding the common opinion, reiterated his challenge oftentimes, which not only was answered with the same moderation, but *Coqueinvillier* kept within doors for some time to avoid the occasion of fighting, and yet the other urging him with injurious Letters and Messages, and not accepting the offer he made, to refer himself to his discretion, he was at last constrained to meet him in a private place hand to hand, where having made his former profers, and protested that he acknowledged himself much to blame; he was constrained by *Bonivet's* fierceness to draw his Sword, wherewith having wounded him with a thrust in the first bout, retiring back, he would have ended the business at the first blood; but *Bonivet* furiously insulting, and making many thrusts at him, he being so hard pressed, ran him thorow the body, and laid him dead upon the ground. The news being come to the Kings ear, who knew all that had passed very well, and bearing not only with the necessity that had forced *Coqueinvillier* to fight, but for his Valours sake forgiving also the offence he had committed in striking in the Court, said publicly, That since one of them was lost, it was not good to lose the other too, and granting him his pardon, he commanded the Magistrates not to proceed against him.

Bonivet challenges Coqueinvillier to a duel; they fight, and he is slain.

In the mean time the Deputies were met together at *Rouen*, whither the King came upon the eighteenth of *October*, (accompanied with the Cardinal-Legat, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Governour of that Province, the High Constable *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Espernon*, the Prince of *Jainville*, the Marshalls of *Retz* and *Matignon*, the Admiral *d'Anville*, the Cardinals of *Guiry* and *Gondy*, and a select number of the principal Lords of the Kingdom;) and being received with a very solemn pomp, he spoke to the Assembly the fourth day of *November*, showing them how much need the affairs of the Kingdom had of a Reformation, and the urgency of Supplies to maintain the War upon the Confines: Which things after they were more at large unfolded by the High Chancellor, every one set himself with great desire to think upon those remedies which they judged might prove convenient. But the infirmities of that Body afflicted with so long distempers, were such as could not be so easily cured, and every one perceived how necessary a general Peace was to introduce and establish a wholsom permanent Reformation, since that, amidst the necessities of War, new disorders still spring up; nor can the strictness of Reformation be observed, where Military exigencies continually extort licentious dispensations. Nor was there any body who thought not, that the proper means to obtain peace was to have a great strength for the War, to the end, that recovering their reputation, and the places that were lost, the two Crowns might agree in peace with equal honour. But as the remedy was known, so was the means of attaining it very difficult; for the whole Kingdom was so exhausted and weakned, that the people could confer but little to the Kings assistance; who, to maintain the Armies in *Dauphine* and *Bretagne*, and to raise a greater one in *Picardy*, was forced to think of great preparations of Men, Money, and Ammunition, which was gotten out of *England* and *Holland* at a very great charge; and though it was hoped, that some Provinces which had not been so much divided, might (with good order taken) afford some considerable supply, yet that required length of time, which the Exigency and the War would not allow. But nevertheless, not being able to forbear doing all that was possible, every one applied himself heartily, as well to reform, as to make preparations.

With the consultation of these affairs, ended the year 1596. And though the Assembly continued in the beginning of the year following, yet the Reformation was but very weak; for the matter was not disposed to receive it, and the times were unreasonable for the rigours of a resolute course; only the expence of the Kings Household was lessened, some supernumerary Offices were taken away, and the Pensions of particular men were restrained, but not in such manner, that the Treasury was

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much

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A weak Reformation is made, Provisions are ordained for the Kings wants, and the Congregation is dismissed.

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much eased by it. The provisions made for the King, were something more considerable; for the payment of the debts of the Crown were suspended for the two next years, but without prejudice to the Creditors; an increase was granted in the peoples name upon the Gabelle of Salt, one of the chief Revenues of the Crown; all Usurpers of Confiscations were by a severe Edict constrained not only to restore the Land, but the profits so usurped, from which business there resulted no small benefit: And finally, many of the Treasurers, and of the Clergy, voluntarily obliged themselves to contribute a certain sum of money, though no very great one.

But the King having ended the Assembly at *Rouen*, and being come into the quarters about *Paris*, to take Phylick for some private indisposition, to the end, that being freed from it, he might more freely apply himself with the first season to the toil of Arms, a new important accident gave beginning to Actions of War before the time. *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, a man, who in a very small stature of body, contained a lively sprightly courage, was Governour of *Dowrlans*: This man having in the whole course of the War, given great proof of no less sagacity than valour, stood watchful upon all occasions that offered themselves to achieve something. He having begun to court a very rich Widow, who, according to the use of the French, dwelt in the Country, was fallen into a desire of getting her for his Wife; but having often discovered his intent, she still answered him, That she being subject to the King of *France*, and he to the King of *Spain*, who made War against one another, it was not fit to satisfy him; but that she would dispose her self to do it, when either he had put *Dowrlans* under the Kings obedience, or drawn *Amiens* (in which City she was born) under the subjection of the King of *Spain*. These words moved the spirit of *Portocarrero*, who (besides his natural desire to serve his Prince; spurred on by love, and the hope of obtaining so rich a Dowry) began to think how he might make himself Master of the City of *Amiens*; and having had some discourse about it with one * *Dameline*, a man that was banished out of the Town, he heard that the City had refused to receive a Garison of Souldiers, and that the Townsmen kept their Guards diligently by night, but carelessly by day, whereupon he entered into good hopes of getting unexpectedly within the Walls, and by his sudden arrival, easily to make himself Master of it; but having heard afterwards, that there were fifteen thousand men in the City; well provided with Arms, and ready to run together upon the stir of any accident, he stood long in suspense, and doubtful in himself, whether he should attempt the enterprize, notwithstanding that so great difficulty. He was much more out of hope, when he understood that three thousand Swissers sent to the King to convoy great store of Artillery and Ammunition into the City for the provisions of the future War, staid to take up quarters in the neighbouring Villages. But he took up his design again, when he heard that the Count *de St. Paul*, to satisfy the obstinate importunities of the Citizens, had made them draw away; nay, he was excited so much the more out of a desire to get all the preparations that were brought into that City; wherefore he gave order to a Serjeant named *Francisco del Arco*, (a man whom he had tried in many occurrences) to go into the City in disguise, and diligently to observe the quality of the Citizens, and the manner of their Guards. The relation was very favourable to his design; for the Citizens employed themselves by day, in following their businesses, and those few that remained to guard the Ports, (being invited to it by the season) shut themselves up in a room to enjoy the benefit of the fire, and the Gate was for the most part left alone, except one Sentinel that stood at the Turn-pike; whereupon being confirmed in his design, he dispatched the same Serjeant to the Cardinal Archduke to obtain leave and supplies of men, that he might set himself upon the enterprize. The Archduke consented, that he should venture upon a business of so great hopes; and gave order to the Garisons of *Cambray*, *Calais*, *Bapaume*, and *Castelet*, that upon the day appointed, they should send aid of men into the quarters of *Dowrlans*, to obey and be commanded by *Portocarrero*.

He having well fitted all things, called the help that was prepared, and gave order, that upon the Tenth day of *March*, they should be toward the evening, at a Village called *Orville*, a League from *Dowrlans*; whereupon there met from several parts six hundred Horse led by *Girolamo Caraffa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, and two thousand Foot of divers Nations, commanded by old Spanish, Italian, and Walloon Officers,

Hernando Telles Portocarrero being by the Cardinal Archduke (left Governour of *Dowrlans*, contrives how to surprize *Amiens*.
* The French says, *Du Moulin*.

to whom *Portocarrero* communicating nothing else, but that they were to go upon *Amiens*, marched all night; the * *Cadet Panure*, a Walloon, and *Inigo d' Ollava*, a Spaniard, who were privy to the whole design, leading the first Troops, who arriving in the morning before day, laid themselves in ambush behind certain Bushes not far from the City, and after them the same did Captain *Fernando Dixza* with an hundred Spanish Foot, and Captain *Bojtoc*, with as many Irish. *Portocarrero*, who had made an halt with the main Body, near the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, above half a Mile from the Town; after that the *Cadet* climbing to the Top of a Tree, had given him a sign, that the Gate was open, and that the stir of those that went in, and came out, was over, he sent forth *Giovan Battista Dugnano*, a Milanese, and the same Serjeant *del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed of between them.

1597.
* Or younger
Brother.

They, with Twelve in their company, disguised like Country-fellows, after the fashion of that Country, wore certain long Cassocks, some of Cloth, some of Canvas, under which each had a Case of short Pistols, and a Dagger. Four of them drove a Cart with three Horses fastned to the Draught-Tree in such manner, that by pulling out an Iron, they might be loosened from the Cart, which being laden with thick pieces of Wood covered with Straw, was sent before to stop under the Portcullis, and hinder it from shutting down. Behind the Cart followed other four, who upon their Shoulders had Sacks full of Apples and Nuts, and after them came the other six stragling, and last of all Serjeant *Dugnano*, the Captains Brother, with a great Pole.

It was already Sermon-time, (for by reason it was *Lent*, there was Preaching in many Churches) and the people being gone several ways, had left few to guard the Ports; when the first entred with the Cart at the Turn-pike, and went on under the Gate to do the effect already designed, and one of the second company making shew to let his Apples and Nuts fall by chance scattered upon the ground, many of those that were upon the Guard ran to catch them up, and the rest laughing and mocking, took no heed to the Cart, which being got under the Portcullis, the Horses were presently loosened, left being frightened with that stir they should have dragged it too far; and so that impediment remained in the midst of the passage, that it could not be shut down. The last came unto the Turn-pike, and at the very first killed the Sentinel, then presently the rest discovering their Weapons, fell upon them that were catching up the Apples, and fighting fiercely killed some of them, and drove the rest into a room where the fire was, shutting them up in such manner, that the first Companies of Foot had time to come unto the Gate. In this interim the Sentinel that was above in the Gate-house, having heard the noise, speedily cut the Ropes by which the Portcullis hung, which being made of several Bars and not all of a piece, two of the Bars broke through the bottom of the Cart, but the other three were kept up, leaving space enough open for two Souldiers to enter abreast. Through that passage the Commanders and Officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred Souldiers, before any aid came from the City; and yet the people coming up on all sides, they would at last have defeated the Assailants, (among whom *Dugnano* was killed with a great wound on the head) if the Bars of the Portcullis being broken, and all impediments taken away, the *Cadet* had not come in seasonably with the Walloons, and Captain *Bojtock* with the Irish; by which the people who ran stragling thither without order or without Commander, being beaten back and put to flight, and above eighty of the Citizens killed, there was no body that made resistance any longer; for the Count *de S. Paul*, who was in the Town without any Garison, at the first notice of the business, got out of the *Forte de Beauvais* and sav'd himself by flight. *Fernando Dixza* entred presently after the first, and last of all *Portocarrero* with the main Body, keeping the Souldiers from running about to plunder, as well for fear of the people, (a very great number in respect of them) as because he doubted the Kings Forces that were not far off, might strive to recover the Town in the first heat. But the people too bold before the urgency of the danger, and too fearful in the act, dejected in so sudden an accident, laid down their Arms, and the Kings Cavalry advancing to the very Wall, having met the Marquis *de Montenegro*, and seen that they could not effect any thing, returned without further attempt into their own Quarters.

One of the
Gates of *Amiens* is possess'd
by twelve
Spanish Souldiers
disguised
like Country-
fellows, who
bringing a
Cart under
the Portcullis,
and scattering
fruit upon the
ground, de-
ceive the
Guards, who
were very
negligent.

1597.

The King for the loss of *Amiens* breaks off the course of Physick he had begun, and goes into *Picardy* to assist the affairs of War in person.

They are much troubled in *Paris* for the loss of *Amiens*, and murmur against the King.

The news of this loss struck the King so deeply, that despising his own health, and breaking off the course of Physick he had begun, he posted speedily into *Picardy*, accompanied with none but those that were then about him, being confirmed more than ever in his old conceit, That where he was not himself in person, businesses went on either carelessly, or unfortunately; and passing with great hazard in those places where the Enemy roved about victoriously, he came to *Corbie*, where the *Marschal de Byron* was, being resolved, or rather excited by despair, to begin the War again, happen what would; and to encounter any danger whatsoever to attempt some enterprize, though without hope to effect it. For he thought nothing more contrary to his success than ease, and nothing more beneficial than action.

But this accident struck the adjacent Provinces no less than him, and particularly the City of *Paris*; between which and *Amiens* there not being above eight and twenty Leagues of open way, not hindered by any strong place, there entered a great terror into the people, fearing lest the Spaniards now victorious should advance to spoil the Country, and interrupt the concourse of victual, while the King had no Army wherewith he could withstand their progress; and the fresh sufferings which were lately passed, did by the yet bitter memory of them, make dangers seem more grievous, and more near than was fitting; the whole people therefore was in an uproar; the Country frightened, the Nobility stirred up, and many murmured against the King, as one who accustomed only to conquer in Civil Wars, yielded in all places to the discipline, policy, valour, and diligence of Foreigners; and others going yet farther, spoke against his manner of life, as if having given himself a prey to the love of *Madam Gabriele*, he had retired to pass his time idly with her, while the Enemy solicitous and vigilant, insulted furiously against the principal Cities of the Kingdom: and that which these men said, was not without probable appearance; for the King having made great show of the love he bore this Lady, even to the having caused the Baptism of a Daughter born of her, to be celebrated with Royal pomp, in the face of the Assembly at *Rouen*, was afterwards retired in her company to the solitariness of *St. Germain*, *St. Maure*, and the other places of pleasure near the City, in so much that those who knew not the necessity he had to take Physick, attributed all to the desire of ease, and to the appetite of womanish delights.

Nor was the King himself ignorant of the popular rumours; whereupon exceedingly vexed, he ceased not with words and letters to clear himself, attributing the loss of *Amiens* to the obstinacy of the Citizens, who never would receive a Garrison, to which he would not constrain them, because that City being newly come unto his devotion, he was unwilling the people should believe that he sought to violate the Privileges of their Corporation, and fail of his Promises. He shewed likewise that not the pleasure of the Court, but his need of Physick, which would admit no delay, had constrained him to enter into a course, though the season were yet extremely cold, to the end that after the space of a few days he might be able with perfect strength to undergo the burthen of the War himself in person. And to that which was said of his being only skilled in Civil Wars: He objected the two several times he had met the Duke of *Parma*, and what he had done the year before against the Constable of *Castile's* Army; in which enterprizes (contrary to what his Detractors said of him) He had shewn as much circumspection and discipline as the custom of the French Nobility, and the quality of times and occasions would allow.

The King excuses against the accusations and murmurings of the French.

The King besieges *Amiens*, being desirous to recover it.

To these words joining actions suitable, though he had not above Four thousand Foot and Two thousand Horse, he determined to draw near *Amiens* to begin the siege; for he was resolved to set his utmost endeavours to recover that City; considering that it was best to begin betimes to straighten it by what means soever he could; to the end that those within might not have conveniency to provide themselves of things necessary to feed that abundance of people that dwelt continually in the Town. Wherefore being departed from *Corbie*, and past over to the far side of the River *Somme*, he caused his men to encamp in the midst between *Amiens* and *Dourlaux*, to the end he might interrupt the commerce and mutual assistance of those two places, and having left charge with *Marschal de Byron* to advance the siege according as new supplies of men came up daily to the Camp, He giving no rest un-

to himself, went up and down to convenient places, drawing Horse and Foot out of the Garisons to increase his Army the most he could, and at last returned to Paris, to hasten such provisions as were necessary, and to raise a sum of money, sufficient to go through with the siege, which at that time was the utmost scope of all his thoughts.

1597.

The City of *Amiens* stands upon the River *Somme*, which being divided into many streams, runs through the midst of the Town, and encompasses, and washes the Wall in many places. On the one side it hath the great Castle of *Pequigny*, and *Corbie* on the other; the Castle four Leagues, and the Town seven Leagues distant from it. The City is invironed with thiek and well-contrived Walls, flanked with their Bulwarks and Ravelines, in some places more, in some less, according as it is washed more or less by the River; and though in all parts it be more excellently fortified, yet it is much stronger, and built with greater industry on the side beyond the River towards *Flanders*. On this side the King had given order, that siege should be laid, not only to hinder the commerce of *Dourlans*, but also because he intended to fortifie the quarters of his Army in such manner, and to environ the Town so closely with Trenches and Forts, that the Cardinal Archduke, though he came strong into the field, should not have power to relieve it, finding it wholly shut up on the right way. But the Marechal *de Byron* not having strength enough to begin the Trenches, had quartered himself with the Vanguard in the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, and spread himself with the rest of his Forces upon the rode to *Dourlans*, breaking the ways with the Cavalry, and hindring victual or relief from getting into the City.

On the other side, *Portocarrero*, though besieged much sooner than he had at first imagined, having sent Serjeant *del' Arco* to *Brussels*, as well to give notice of it, as to require new supplies, applied himself with his usual diligence to repair the Fortifications, and to provide against all other wants; and after he saw the French encamp so near, he resolved while they were weak, to trouble them so with sallies, that they should be fain to get further off; wherefore upon the thirtieth of *March* in the morning, he gave order, that the Marquis *de Montenegro* should march forth to fall upon the quarter of the Vanguard, which was at the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, who having sent fifty Walloon Horse before to assault the first *Corps de Garde*, kept by twenty Souldiers, he himself followed so furiously with two hundred other Horse, that having beaten the *Corps de Garde*, and taken some prisoners, he advanced unexpectedly to the quarter of the French, and yet four hundred Horse coming forth to receive the charge, they skirmished long without advantage, till the Marquis feigned to give back, that he might draw the Enemy into an Ambuscado, where Captain *Inigo d' Ollava* lay among certain bushes with two hundred Spanish Foot. But the *Sieur de Montigny*, who commanded the French, having pursued them gallantly at the heels as far as the bushes, made a stop, out of a doubt, that some ambush might be laid in so fit a place; whereupon the skirmish ending, both parts retired without doing any thing of moment.

The Marquis sallied again the next day with three hundred Light-horse, followed by an hundred Lanciers; but the skirmish growing hot on all sides by their mutual Fire-arms, neither would the French advance into the hollow places, which are near the Walls; nor durst the Spaniards draw near the Post of *Mary Magdalens* Abbey, both the Commanders doubting they might be caught in some trap. *Portocarrero* then took another course to free himself from being so nearly molested by the Vanguard of the French, and began to batter the Abbey with many Culverines, whereof he had found store in the City, and continued to play upon it so obstinately, that there was no staying in that Post, and the Vanguard was fain to retire to a Village further back, from whence though they obstructed the ways with no less facility, yet they within had more means to provide themselves of Earth, Bavins, and other things necessary to raise new defences.

In this interim, the Cardinal Archduke had given careful order, that before the French Army grew stronger, new supplies might be put into the Town; wherefore *Juan de Gusman* going from the Territory of *Cambray* with four Companies of Firelocks, but all mounted, and three hundred Light-horse, took his way by night, that he might come betimes in the morning to the Gates of the City, which having prosperously done, as well because the Air was cloudy and dark, as because the

Juan de Gusman goes to put relief into *Amiens*, but being discovered by the French, he hath much ado to save himself

French

1597. French advertised of his coming, expected him not till night; yet he destroying the benefit of Fortune by an unseasonable Vanity, as soon as he saw himself near the City, caused his Trumpets to sound, and a great Volley of Shot to be given in token of joy; at which noise the French who were prepared, ran so courageously to charge them, that the Troops being instantly mingled pel-mel, the Artillery of the Town had no longer any means to defend their own men; who being constrained to yield to the greater number, had retreated still fighting to the covered way, and there would have been routed and defeated, if *Fernando Dezza* who defended it with two hundred Spanish Foot, giving fire without distinction at them all, had not made the French retire. In the mean time, the Firelocks that came with the relief, leaping from their Horses, saved themselves almost all in the Moat, and the Marquis of *Montenegro* sallying with his Horse, after the French were separated, valiantly beat them back as far as the Abbey. The relief got in with the loss of under forty men, yet was it great, because *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left Leg, and *Fernando Dezza* slain with a Musket-shot in the head. There entered together with the relief, *Federico Pacciotte*, (Brother to *Guidobaldo*, who was killed at the assault of *Calais*) an Engineer of very great fame, of whom the Commanders had exceeding great need for the making of works, and together with divers sorts of necessary matters, there got in also a good sum of money.

The Marechal de Byron gives a Scalado to *Dowlans*; but the Ladders being very much too short, the enterprise succeeds not.

Whilst with frequent bloody skirmishes, and with minds wholly intent upon the business, they fight thus under the Walls of *Amiens*, the Marechal de *Byron* watching all occasions of advantage, resolves to give a sudden Scalado to *Dowlans*; and having caused many Ladders to be prepared, he gave order that the *Sieur de Montigny* who commanded the Light-horse, should lead the Foot of the Recerguard upon that enterprise, and he himself after having been forth in the evening, and made divers skirmishes under the Walls of the City, to the end, the Enemy might not perceive the lessening of his Camp, marched with sixty Cuirassiers, and his own Life-guard of Horse the same way, to give courage to his men. It was two hours before day, when the *Sieur de Flaffen* on the one side, and the *Sieur de Fouquieroles* on the other, both Captains of the Regiment of *Piccardy*, seconded by two hundred Switzers, clapt the Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of *Dowlans*, which being found extremely much too short, the attempt proved vain without any other danger, and the Assailants returned the next day to lie before *Amiens* in their old quarters.

The Marechal de Byron stirred up by some words of the Kings, labours unweariedly in the siege of *Amiens*; that his actions might answer the Kings stinging words.

But the Marechal de *Byron* exceedingly vexed at this unprosperous success, having received four thousand English, (at last, after many delays, sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Kings assistance, in performance of the League lately made) and many other Troops of Horse, and Companies of Foot, who made great haste from several parts, being come up, he resolved to encamp just under the City, and fortifying his quarters, to shut up all the Avenues of the Town on the far side of the River at the same time. His Army amounted to the number of Twelve thousand fighting men; but he with his diligence, courage, and vigilancy, made it appear much greater, gallant in fight, careful in action, unwearied in labour, rigorous in exacting that from others which he himself did in his own person: Which qualities being naturally his, were now redoubled by a Spur which he received from the Kings words, who could not contain himself from saying openly, That where he was not himself in person, things went on either with little fortune, or much negligence; wherefore, the Marechal who attributed a great part of the past Victories, to his own fortune and personal courage, seeing now that glory called in question, which he accounted to be certainly his, as a man of infinite pride and insupportable haughtiness, was wholly kindled with an incredible indignation, and strove with his utmost spirits to do something that might plainly shew the effects of his Valour without the Kings assistance or command; wherefore though the fierceness and number of the Defendants were such, that a great Body of an Army was necessary to straighten and besiege them, yet was he resolved to attempt it with those forces he had.

The first thing that was begun, was a Bridge over the *Somme*, in a Village called *Longpre*, about a League above the Town, and it was fortified with a Half-Moon on each side the River, as well that they might have free passage, both above and below the City, as to hinder the Enemies from passing the River in that place, where the

the streams divide themselves, and relieving the City on that side that was not besieged. Besides this Fortification, a Trench was drawn, which beginning within a quarter of a League of the Town, near the Bank of the River came in the form of a Half-moon encompassing all the Plain, and ended at the other Bank of the River, about the same distance below the City; and this Trench was divided into seven parts, by seven Royal Forts, which furnished with small Artillery, scoured and flanked the Trench, utterly shutting up all the passage of the field. Such another Trench, though of much greater circuit, and as many Forts, closed up the outward part toward *Dourlans*, and the other wayes that led into the Territory of *Cambray*, and into *Flanders*, and on that side the Trenches were much deeper, and the Works much higher to defend them on the back from the attempts of the Spanish Armies. The whole Army was employed about this work, and a very great number of Pioneers, who being drawn together from the Country round about, by *Biron's* imperious severity, wrought day and night at an exceeding cheap rate.

The courage of the Defendents was no less fierce and resolute, who being careful not to pass by any opportunity of interrupting the Works, sallied every hour, sometimes on horse-back, sometimes on foot, and making the whole Camp stand to their Arms, did, by very long skirmishes, keep the Works at a stay, and do mischief, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. The skirmish was very sharp and bloody, which hapned upon the twenty fourth of May, which day the Marquis and *Portocarrero* sallied out several ways, each with Three hundred Horse and as many Foot; and while *Portocarrero* gave a hot alarm on the lower side, the Marquis taking towards *Longpre*; and passing by the side of the Trench, not yet finished, put them that guarded it in a very great confusion, and would have destroyed the Half-moon, and nailed three pieces of Cannon that were in it, if the *Sieur de Montigny* had not hastened thither with the Light-horse, with which, while he skirmished courageously, the *Mareschal de Biron* thought to possess the Pass between his Trench and the River, and so cut off the enemies retreat; but being advanced at a good round pace that way with many Troops of Horse, he found, that *Diego Durando*, *Francesco del Arco*, and Captain *Falme*, an Irish-man; had taken that Pass, to keep the retreat free and open for their own men; so that the fight began there again more furiously than before; for the Infantry making use of the hollow places and bushes, which in that place were very many, did much harm to the French Cavalry, and the Marquis having faced about, charged the *Mareschal's* Troop in the flank and in the rear, in such manner, that being caught as it were in the midst, it was in very great danger of being defeated, if the rest of the Cavalry, led by the *Commendatory de Chastes* had not run speedily to disengage it, at whose arrival the Spanish Foot giving back on the one side, and the *Mareschal* retiring on the other, each marched off free, it being already almost Sun-set, and there remained many, as well French as Spaniards dead upon the place.

The King came to the Army upon the seventh of June, to the *Mareschal de Biron's* great displeasure, who desired to finish his line of circumvallation before his arrival; so that seeing *Madam Gabriele* was come with him to the Camp, he cryed out publicly, that she was the prosperity and good fortune the King brought along with him; nor would he so easily have been quieted, if the King, visiting the Trenches, had not highly commended his diligence and industry, and given order, that he should command the Forces, and all military matters, as he did before his coming. The King, invironed with many Princes, took up his Post in the ruins of the Abby, among which there were yet some Arches standing entire, nor would he stir from thence, though the Spaniards ceased not to make many Cannon shot that way. The Constable, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Prince of *Fainville* quartered in the Forts, and the *Mareschal de Biron* got into an Hermitage within musket-shot of the Counterscarp, intending to begin his approaches on that side, as soon as the Works of his Camp were brought to perfection; in which they made huts of boards to shelter themselves from the Rain, and other ill-weather, since the King, in the Council of War, had determined to approach by sapping, though it were the longest way, that he might not endanger the lives of his Soldiers in assaults, the War having swallowed up so great a number of them, that it was necessary to proceed very sparingly, the whole Kingdom being extremely exhausted of men, and the Nobility more than moderately diminished.

1597.

The Defendents of *Ambres* sally to skirmish, and *Portocarrero* himself being present, the fight is very hot and bloody.

The King comes to the Camp before *Ambres*, and leaves the Command to the *Mareschal de Biron*.

1597.

The pay of the Army (many of the old Officers being removed) passed through the hands of Monsieur d' *Inquerville* Superintendent of the Finances, with the assiduous unwearied assistance of Secretary *Villeroy*, who, having in great part laid other businesses aside, applied himself particularly to that, as well to the end the fraud of the Commanders might not, by deceits, increase the scarcity of Money, which was exceeding great, as that the decrease or increase of the Army might be known from day to day, and that the number might not differ in effect from what appeared in their muster-Books; nor ever was there so exact diligence used in times past; for formerly the Soldiers maintained themselves more upon free quarter and plunder than upon their pay; but now the Country being every where destroyed and empty, and the Foot particularly being fain to work daily at the Fortifications, and keep continually in the Trenches, it was necessary they should be paid, in which, and the other occasions of the siege, it is manifest there were spent above Three Millions of Ducates.

The Artillery was commanded by Monsieur *de S. Luc*, who, excited by his own genius, and the emulation of Monsieur *de la Gniche* his predecessor, busied himself with infinite industry in all occasions, in which the Swissers and the English were alwayes more ready and more diligent than all the rest; for the French Infantry, except the Regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navar*, was all made up of new men, and such as were not accustomed to toyles and labours, and to lie in the field; and yet the healthfulness of that year was so great, assisted by the excellent Government of the Commanders, and by the conveniences that were in the Camp, that almost none died, and but very few were sick. The light-Horse commanded by the *Sieur de Montigny* were quartered at the back of the Army, and making large excursions, convoy'd in provisions, and infested all the Country to the very Gates of *Dourlans*, into which Town *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* being entred with ten Troops of Horse, there happened frequent skirmishes, and bloody encounters between both parties.

A Cannon-shot lights in the Kings Lodgings, whereby the King himself is all covered with dust.

Nor were the besieged less ready to interrupt the Fortifications, and molest the Camp continually, though the French Army was increased to the number of Eighteen thousand fighting men; and though in the Town, whatsoever the occasions were, many diseases rained, which, as the weather grew hotter, became also contagious and pestilential; but the courage of the soldiers, and the valour of the Commanders overcame all, insomuch, that their sallies slackened not, and with their Artillery they did much harm; one shot having hit into the Arch under which the King himself lay, and filled the place with so much dust and fubbish, that if the building of the Wall had not been very strong, he had been in great danger of being buried in the ruines with his attendants.

A Treaty of giving one of the Gates of Amiens to the Enemy is discovered, many of the accomplices are hanged, and many Augustine Friars imprisoned.

To the valour of Armies were added also Treaties with some of the besieged; so that a *Bourguignon* Captain being got into the Town in the habit of an Augustine Frier, not onely induced those Fathers to receive some others with offensive Armes into their Monastery, but also got certain Walloon soldiers to consent to open a Gate that was furthest from the work, as soon as it should come to their turn to guard it: but while they still treated to draw many others into their company, notice of it came unto the Governor, who, having caused nine of the accomplices to be hanged; made most part of the Friars be put in Prison, and set strict guards upon the Monastery. From this accident there arose another trouble to the besieged; for not confiding in the people, among which they thought there were many partakers of the Intelligence discovered, they were fain, when they made any sallies, to go round the streets of the City at the same time with strong guards, to the end that none might rise within; and when an alarm was given, they were necessitated to man the heart of the Town no less than the Bulwarks. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, they omitted not any occasion of sallying; judging that the most powerful remedy to foreflow the Kings works, and give the Cardinal Arch-Duke time to draw an Army together and bring them relief.

On the other side, the Marechal *de Biron*, whilest all were intent, either to make, or hinder the Works, thought to attempt some unexpected surprize; wherefore, upon the one and twentieth day of *June* at night, which proved dark and cloudy, he caused two Captains to advance silently with some Foot, and to get down secretly into the Moat, where having cast many Saucissons into the skip-gates, and the hol-

low

low places of the *Cassamattes*, they gave fire to them without delay, and with some affright to those within; but not having been able to aim them right, and they not taking fire equally, made more noise than they did harm, having only beaten down some of the facing of the Wall, and some loop-holes for small shot, and kill'd only three sentinels, so that the Captains not seeing any breach at which they could make an attempt, and great store of fire-works raining on all sides into the moat, they retired, leaving many *Saucissons*, which, in regard of the Powder, were of great help to the besieged: *Saucissons* are long sakes of Leather, which, filled with Powder, and fired at a certain time, do a like effect (though much weaker) to a pettard or mine.

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This danger excited the defendants to man the Counterscarp more carefully, so that they lodged two Companies of Spaniards there, and two others of Walloons, who, after that, staid there day and night, and all the *Cassamattes* of the Moat, were, with equal diligence, plentifully guarded, insomuch, that the Colonel of the Regiment of *Navar* going to make another trial of the attempt of the *Saucissons*, near the Raveline of the Gate that looks toward *Long-pre*, was, at the entry of the Counterscarpe forced to return back with some loss.

In the mean time Marechal *de Biron* fortified the Hermitage, to begin two Trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquis of *Montenegro* being resolved to hinder that as much as he could, sallied upon the nine and twentieth day of the Month with Four hundred Horse, back'd by two hundred Irish and Italian Foot, and advancing straight as far as the Hermitage, began so fierce a fight with those that were at work, that the Marechal himself was fain to fall in with his Troop; nor would that have been sufficient to repulse him, if the Count of *Anvergne* had not come up with a strong Troop of Horse, at whose arrival the Marquis retiring still fighting, the Foot came in courageously to the encounter, and being placed in the hollow of the field, did so much mischief to the French Cavalry, that they were fain to retire without much resistance. Above Two hundred of the Camp were slain, and of the besieged not above Ten.

The night following the Marechal laid an Ambush of Two hundred French Foot in the ruins of *St John's Church*, which, together with the Suburbs had been pull'd down by the Defendants from the beginning, and in the morning stood with his Horse in order, expecting their wonted sally, to which the Marquis coming forth, with a number equal to that of the day before, and having fallen at unawares into the ambush, lost not courage for that, but rallying his Troop close, and wheeling, would have turned back. But the Marechal coming out of his quarter, overtook him in the Rere, and made him face about again: Whereupon, there was so close an encounter, that the Marquis overpowred by the greater number, and charged in the flank and front, would have been cut off with all his men, if the Governor with the rest of the Horse had not sallied forth to disengage him; who having for that purpose sent on two Troops of Cuirassiers, and one of Lances to the skirmish, the service was so hot, that for a long space they fought desperately; but in the end, the English Tertia coming up, the Spaniards were repulsed, and driven full speed to the Counterscarp. There were slain that day seventy of the besieged, and among the rest *Juan de Gusman*, a Cavalier of great birth, who had lately brought the relief.

Yet did they not forbear for this to sally the next day, and charging the Foot that wrought at the Hermitage, killed many Soldiers and Pioneers; but seeing four Troops of Horse, and the Battalion of the English come toward them, they turned back without doing any thing else. The Sallies continued so frequent the following dayes, that the Works proceeded very slowly; but upon the fifth day of *July* the Marechal having laid two Ambushes in the field, caught those that sallied between in such manner, that *Diego Benavides* his company was quite defeated, and he himself having lost his *Alferes*, and his Serjeant, had much ado to save himself: And *Ruggiero Taccone*, who followed him with the Cavalry, being furiously repulsed and pursued at the heels, could hardly retire safe under the shelter of the Covered-way.

By this misfortune, and the diseases which increased, the ardor of the Defendants was something cooled, insomuch, that *Biron* had conveniency to plant eleven great Pieces of Battery in the Hermitage, which scouring the field, hindred them from sallying out of the Counterscarp, and sheltered those that began to work at the Trenches,

1597. which going on apace, the Defendants thought to disturb them, by making so strong a Sally, that part of what was done might be thrown down, *Biron's* Artillery nailed, and that they might not be able to annoy them for some dayes. Wherefore the Governor gave order, that Captain *Diego Durando*, and *Francesco del Arco* (who had also got a Company) should stand ready in the Covered-way; the first with Two hundred Spanish Foot, the other with as many Italians and Walloons; and that after them, two Irish Captains should be ready to sally with Three hundred Foot of that Nation; and for the Rere-guard, *Carlo de Sangro*, with eighty Men at Armes, who marching on Foot should carry Halbards. He gave direction, that Captain *Ruggiero Taccone*, and Captain *Francesco Fonte*, should sally out at the Gate that was approached to, each with an Hundred Horse to back the Infantry, and that Captain *Simone Latre*, with other Two hundred Horse sallying at the *Porte de Beauvais*, should give an alarm on the contrary side, and then crossing through the Field, should come to reinforce his own party. It was the seventeenth day of *July*, upon the point of noon, when the Governor, by a Cannon-shot, gave sign to fall on; at which, all sallying courageously, *Diego Durando* ran into the right hand Trench, and *Francesco del Arco* into that on the left, and fell in with so much violence, that having routed and beaten off the first Guards, they assailed the Regiment of *Picardy* that kept them, before it had time to get into order to receive the charge; so that having killed the first that advanced to fight, and having laid *Fleffan, la Vieste*, and *Fouquerolles*, all Captains dead upon the place, they routed and dissipated the whole Tertia, which they chased flying to the very Redouts of the Hermitage; in which place, both the Fugitives and the Enemies fell so impetuously into the Regiment of *Champagne* that was upon the guard, that it also being disordered, plainly took flight, running to get themselves in order in the Alarm-place that was at their back. In so great a tumult and flight, the Spanish Commanders, valiantly followed by their men, having filled the Trenches with slaughter, came up to the mouth of the Redouts of the Hermitage, which would have been quitted, and by consequence lost, if the *Mareschal de Biron*, with four Gentlemen of his own, and with Captain *Francesco Benzi* a Florentine, with some few other Soldiers that followed him, taking up Pikes, had not exposed himself to the violence of the Enemy; but still fighting desperately, though the passage of the Redouts was narrow; those few could not hold out long, and withstand the fury of so many, neither did any relief come up, for Captain *Simone* scouring the Field, and behind him the *Marquiss of Montenegro* and *Ruggiero Taccone*, and *Francesco Fonte* on the other side, put every one in a necessity of defending his own post: Wherefore the Battery of the Hermitage, and the *Marschals* life were in desperate danger; if the Prince of *Jainville*, who was in the nearest Fort, knowing in how great trouble they were, had not resolved to run with One hundred men into those Redouts; at whose arrival *Sangro's* men at Arms came valiantly into the fight, who better enduring the blows that were given them, because they were armed, gave the French such a shock, that they already were retired (though fighting) as far as the Artillery. The *Mareschal de Biron* all in sweat and blood, with the right side of his hair all burnt, still caused many signs to be given of his danger. Wherefore the King himself not having a more ready remedy, alighted from his horse, and taking a Pike in his hand, with those Gentlemen that were about him, ran desperately to defend his Cannon; after whom the Count *d'Anvers*, and the Count *de St. Paul*, hasting up one after another, with a great number of the Nobility, who were come out of *Mary Magdalens* Abby, there grew so hot a conflict as had the appearance of a very great Battel. They fought obstinately above two hours, the King himself being at the head of his men; but at last the number of the French encreasing, and the Spanish men at Arms finding their strength fail them, by reason of the weight of their Arms in the greatest heat of the day, began (though softly) to retire, being still driven and charged home by the Prince of *Jainville*, who, with a courage equal to his birth, fought very gallantly. At the coming out of the Trenches, the Battel was reinforced, the Spanish Cavalry being come up to succor their party, which charging in upon the Flank, separated the Prince of *Jainville* and his company, from those of the King, and of the *Mareschal de Biron*; in such manner, that the conflict being divided into two parts, one not being able to know any thing of the other, they fought desperately with extream danger and wondrous great contention; but the Duke of *Mayenne* came up seasonably with Five or six hundred Horse, who, notwithstanding that the Cannon of the Town fired without

The *Mareschal de Biron* being in very great danger by a sally which the Spaniards made out of *Amiens*, the King alighted from his horse, and taking a Pike, ran to help him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* coming in the heat of the fight with five hundred Horse to help his own side, causes the Spaniards, who were already weary, to retire into *Amiens*.

without intermission, had passed through the Field between the Quarters and the Moat, whither the Spaniards, being tired and wearied out, took a resolution to retire, being pursued and followed at the heels to the very Counterscarp. It was a great while before the Prince of *Jainville* was seen, and the King staying at the mouth of the Trench, called out aloud, enquiring earnestly after him, and every one already suspected he was slain, when, with some few in his company, he appeared all smeared with blood, and bruised with blows, which put joy into the sadness of the Army, of which there were killed that day above Nine hundred men, and of the Spaniards there remained above Ninety dead upon the place. The wounded were many, and those of the most remarkable of the French Army, besides many private Gentlemen, among which also *Henrico Davila*, who wrote this History, was hurt with a Partesfan in the right knee.

From that day, both by reason of the number that had been slain in so many other sallies, and by diseases which still increased more and more, malignant Fevers being apparently turned into the Plague, their sallies slackned; and in stead of them, Captain *Palme*, an Irish-man, and *Francesco del Arco*, set up Pallisadoes round about the Covered way, to keep the enemies so much longer imployed, and at a distance, that they might not come to offend the Counterscarp, which was defended till the last day of *July*. But, upon the first of *August*, the Trenches being already in a condition to be opened, the Defendants fastned two Petards unto them, and breaking through them before the time, assaulted them, and did some harm; and yet the same day towards the evening, the French opened them, and got upon the Counterscarp, and the Spaniards at the same time springing a Fougade, which they had made there, sent above forty of them into the air. The mouthes of the Trenches were fortified that night, and the second day they began to raise a great Cavalier, close by the right hand Trench, which should batter the Defences and Flanks of the Bulwarks; and the following dayes they strove with Fougades, Saucissons, Fireworks, and other instruments to take or destroy the Cassamats; in which action they fought no less by night than day with a continued assault; but so great was the industry, and constancy of the Defendants, that in many dayes they could scarce get a few spans of ground. But having gone as far as was possible by sapping, the Galleries were already brought just under the Walls; wherefore Monsieur de *S. Luc* raised a Battery of eight pieces of Cannon, to gain the Raveline that stood to defend the Bridge and the Gate. The Artillery batter'd till the four and twentieth day, upon which the English and the French severally gave the assault, and took the Raveline; but not having covered themselves sufficiently, by reason of their weariness, and of the shortness of the night, the next day at the beating of the *Rivelle*, Captain *Durando* assaulted them so fiercely, that a great number of Fire-works being thrown from the Wall; and Captain *Olava's* Musketers playing upon their Flank, they were constrained to forsake that Post, which nevertheless being all beaten in pieces by the Artillery, and the Cavalier (brought to a just height) already battering, it was recovered again the same night, and the Regiment of *Cambray* entrencht it self in it.

But the Governor knowing the Wall was lost, caused a little half-Moon to be made upon the edge of the Rampart, for the raising whereof they carried the earth in scuttles and baskets; and at the same time, to anticipate the cutting off the retreatments, the Marquis of *Montenegro* caused a great Trench to be made along the bank of an arm of the River, which runs on that side near the Walls, that the first Works being lost, the enemy might find opposition at the second.

In the mean time, they without endeaoured to make themselves Masters of the great Tower of the Gate, which being soundly battered, was stormed upon the eight and twentieth day, and at the same time a Mine was sprung that had been made between the Tower and the Wall, which having made a very great breach, filled the entrance of the Tower in such manner, that it was separated from the City, and deprived of relief; and yet Captain *Olava* with one *Alferez*, who had that Guard, made it good courageously; nor did the Marquis and the Governor labour less busily to cause the rubbish to be taken away, that some relief might be given them; so that working on all sides, the business was drawn on till night, when the passage being already opened, Four-score Irish, and as many Italians, entered to defend the great Tower, those that had made it good before, retiring weary, and in an ill condition; and yet the Sap overcame what men could not, and four days after, not only the Tower,

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but the adjoining Wall was taken by the French; nor was it long before they got also upon the Rampart; where, beside the first half-moon made by *Gagliengo*, *Federico Pacciotto* had also in the mean time made two others, by which the Assailants were hindered from getting further in, and in the front of them new *Casemates*, and a new Trench were made.

In this interim the King having had intelligence that Commissary *Conerrea*, with many other Commanders, being departed from *Daway*, came to discover the wayes and quarters of his Army, left the care of the Camp to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and upon the nine and twentieth of *August* in the evening, went in person with the *Mareschal de Biron* and Six hundred Horse to meet them, leaving the Count of *Auvergne* to follow the day after with Eight hundred Horse more. He himself marched before with a Hundred Gentlemen, and the *Sieur de Montigny* followed him with all the rest of the Horse; in which manner marching, upon the last day of the month in the morning, about eight of the clock, and being come to the top of an Hill, he found himself suddenly in the front of the Enemy, who came out of a Wood. The space between them was but short, and there was no thought of retiring; wherefore, it was necessary to shew a good heart in the inequality of Forces, and having suddenly shut down their Beavers, the King trotted on to charge the Enemy.

Nor was this boldness without its due effect; for the Spaniards, astonished at that unexpected assault, and judging, that the courage of the French grew, from having strong Squadrons behind them, faced about without making resistance, and were pursued by the King fighting a great way, till being come to a little River, which running from *Miramon*, falls into the *Somme* near *Corbie*, they passed over it precipitately, and being dissipated several wayes, saved themselves with much adoe at *Bapaulme*. Yet there were but eleven soldiers killed with one Captain of Horse, and some few others remained prisoners: But the King obtained not all his intent; for on the other side, Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojosa* and *Emanuello de Vega* not being met nor heeded, because they carried but few with them, got so near unto the Camp, that they had conveniency to discover all things, and returned well informed to the Cardinal Arch-Duke.

The King being returned to the Army, and believing that relief would presently come, caused the works to be so hastened, that upon the fourth of *September* his men attempted to gain the Half-Moons, which, though it succeeded not the besieged received a greater loss; for the Governor *Portocarrero*, while he advanced to succor the *Raveline*, being taken with a Musket-shot in the left-side under his Arms, fell presently dead upon the ground; which accident, as most sad to the Defendants, so was it, by reason of his courage, no less deplored by the enemies.

The Marquis of *Montenegro* succeeded him in the command, who, with equal valour and constancy assumed the charge of the defence; for the continuance whereof *Afonso Ribera*, and Captain *Durando* entered into the Half-Moons; and on the other side, Monsieur de *St. Luc*, with the Regiment of *Navar*, and the *Mareschal de Biron* with the English Tertia, drew two Trenches in the midst of the Rampart, to take away the defences on both sides, and to come to the work that was before them, at which the Marquis and *Federico Pacciotto* were continually present: and because the Infantry was in a manner consumed by toil and hardship, and many of them lay sick, the *Men-at-Arms*, *Cuirassiers*, and *Light-Horse*, refused not to do the same duties, working with spades and shovels, and fighting with Pikes and Muskets. While these Trenches were making, Monsieur de *St. Luc*, upon the eighth of *September*, being entered to hasten the Works, was hit with a Musket-bullet in the head, and was carried dead into the Camp, to the exceeding great grief of the King, who was very affectionate to his valour and dexterity; for, being beside Military experience adorned with learning, and endowed by nature with a most noble aspect, he did, in action, consultation, conversation and discourse accomplish all the degrees of perfection. The works that were before the Trenches were storm'd upon the twelfth day; but though the assault lasted from Sun-rising till two of the Clock in the afternoon, yet did not the assailants get any advantage at all; and while in the following dayes they thought to redouble the assaults, and break the constancy of the Defendants, the arrival of the Spanish Camp diverted their mindes from the Siege to more dangerous thoughts.

Bernardo Tellez Portocarrero killed with a Musket-shot, to the extreme loss of the besieged, his valour making his very enemies sorry for his death.

Monsieur de *St. Luc*, a man of very great note, hastning the Works, is killed with a Musket-shot, to the Kings great grief.

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The Cardinal Arch-Duke had found many difficulties in drawing an Army together ; for the Spanish Ministers having overlooked the accounts of those who had lent Money to the King, and having used much rigour unseasonably, the Merchants withheld their hands, and afterward money could not be provided time enough for the payment of his Forces ; whereupon, those that came out of *Italy*, under the command of *Alfonso d' Avalos* moved late ; and those that were raised in *Germany* had been slowly gathered together ; and yet the Cardinal overcoming all impediments with industry and diligence, had made a general Rendezvous of his Army in the end of *August* at *Doway*, being Twenty thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse ; and though the States of *Holland* insulted in many places, and made great progresses in *Friesland* and the County of *Brabant*, yet he either having such Commission from *Spain*, or being more inclined to defend and keep what had been gotten in the time of his command ; resolved to lay aside all other interests, and advance to relieve *Amiens* ; being desirous to preserve so many good Soldiers as were besieged in it, and judging that he should obtain exceeding great glory, if he could make the King of *France* retire, who was at that siege with all the Forces of his Kingdom united.

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With this determination departing from *Doway* in the beginning of *September*, with a great Train of Artillery, and great preparations of Bridges, Carriages, and Ammunition, he came to *Arras*, where, having the informations of *Belgioso* and *Vega*, he propounded in the Council of War, what course was to be taken to put relief into *Amiens*, or to make the French Army rise. Some Counsellors to pass the River below *Corbie*, and bring his Army on that side, which standing toward *France*, was not besieged by the King ; for putting strong relief into the City without resistance, there would be no necessity of hazarding the danger of a Battle, and the Kings attempts receiving a new and powerful opposition from new supplies, would, with the help of Winter, which was coming on, prove vain of themselves. But the greater part of the Commanders considered, that to pass the River, and march into a Country quite destroyed, desolate, and encompassed with so many of the enemies Towns, was a besieging of themselves ; for, if the King, who had all the passes upon the River, should hinder them from going back, they would be constrained, either to die for hunger, or to take many strange and dangerous resolutions ; which difficulty was the principal cause, that it was determined to go the straight way by *Dourlans* to the French Camp ; believing, that if the King moved to meet them, he should afford them some opportunity to put relief into the Town ; wherefore the Arch-Duke went to *Dourlans* upon the twelfth of *September*, and there having made provision of victual, as well to feed his Army, as to put into the City, if he could make passage to it ; upon the fourteenth day he marched betimes in the morning towards the Enemy.

The Cardinal Arch-duke marches with a great Army towards *Amiens*.

The first Troops of Horse were led by *Lodovico Melzi*, *Ambrogio Landriano*, between whom marched the flying Squadron of Four thousand Foot, Spaniards and Italians, under the command of *Diego Pimentello* : And in the Front of it, were above Two hundred Captains armed with Pikes and Corsets. Next followed three Squadrons of Infantry, two of Spaniards, led by *Carlo Colombo* and *Lodovico Velasco* ; and the third, which marched in the midst, was of Walloons, led by the Count *de Boucquoy*. After these was the Battle, in which were the Duke of *Aumale*, the Count *de Sore*, and the Prince of *Orange* ; and the Squadron of *Alonso Mendezza*, in which were two Spanish Tertia's, brought up the Rere. The Artillery were guarded by the three first Squadrons, and on both sides of the Army were the Carriages of Baggage chained together, as the Duke of *Parma's* custom had taught them. The charge of Camp-Master General was executed by Count *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfelt*, an old man of venerable gray hairs, who not being able to ride on horseback was carried in an open Litter, and had taken that weight upon him, because Monsieur *du Rosne*, besieging *Hulst*, a few Months before, had been killed with a Cannon shot. The Archduke likewise was carried in a Litter, and had near him the Duke of *Arescot*, and the *Almirante* of *Aragon* for Counsellors.

Monsieur *de Rosne* killed with a Cannon shot at the siege of *Hulst*.

But the King, whose Army, by the coming up of the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier*, was so increased, that he had Eighteen or Twenty thousand Foot, and more than Eight thousand Horse, having strongly garrisoned *Corbie* and *Pequigny*, to make difficult the passage of the River, had an intention (being so advised by the *Marschal de Biron*) to go and meet the enemy in the Field with all his Cavalry ; for judging himself

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The King being counselled by the Marechal de Birou to go meet the enemy with all his Horse, the Duke of Mayenne counsels him to stay and expect them: The King imbraces this counsel, and gives the charge of the Camp to the Duke.

self much superior in number and quality of Horse, he thought it good to keep the enemy far from his Infantry, in which he had little confidence; but while he was getting ready to take Horse, the Duke of Mayenne came in, who having asked and understood the Kings design, said so loud, that he was heard by many, *That those that gave His Majesty such Counsel, did not well know the quality of the Enemy; and that venturing himself with onely his Horse, against a potent old Army, he put himself in certain danger of encountering some sinister accident; whereby afterward his Infantry remaining alone, the men would be lost, the quarters lost, and so many toils and labours undergone to fortifie them, all lost; and his Kingdom set upon one single point of a Dye.* To which the King replying, *What then was to be done?* The Duke answered, *That they were come to take Amiens, and that they ought to mind that end; wherefore, keeping the Army in the security of their Forts, they ought to leave the thought of assaulting them, and driving from thence unto the Arch-Duke:* And the King adding, *That the enemy would pass the River, and relieve the besieged.* The Duke answered again, *Let your Majesty set your heart at rest, for the enemy neither will pass the River, nor can force these Trenches.* So the Marechal de Birou fretting, who was alwayes inclined to precipitate resolutions, the King concluded to stay, and let the Duke of Mayenne manage the business of the Camp, who having caused Fifteen hundred Foot to pass on the far side of the River, under the command of Monsieur de Vic, presently made a Church to be taken and entrenched, which stood upon the further Bank, little more than a mile from the Town; and having set many Corps de Garde along the side of the River, went personally to Longpre to fortifie it better. The Foot were placed in the Forts and Trenches, and the Cavalry spread it self in Battalia under the defence of the Works.

The Archduke lay with his whole Army that night at the Abby of Betricourt, and caused all his Cannon to be shot off, to give the City notice that relief was near. Monsieur de Montigny, who, with the French Light-horse had still scoured the wayes within sight of the Enemy, came into the Camp about midnight, and having given the King notice where the Spaniards were, and that they would appear the next day, was sent to quarters, to refresh his Horse, tired with the two last dayes duty. The next day, which was the fifteenth of September, the first Troops of the Archdukes Army appeared about one of the clock in the afternoon, which having passed a Water that was fordable two Leagues above Amiens, and left Pequigny upon the right hand, bending their course toward the left, made shew as if they would march straight to Longpre, whereupon the rabble of Suttlers and Freebooters, with many other persons who lay there for greater conveniency, taking flight precipitately, ran to save themselves in the Camp, by which hurry, the Foot being affrighted (who believed it had been Monsieur de Montigny, that fled routed from the Enemy (for his return by night was known but to a few) forsook the Trenches so hastily, that neither the Constable, nor the Duke of Espernon could stop their flight, but with a full carriere they ran with their Ensigns (who fled more than the rest) toward the River, on that side that leads to Abbeville.

In the mean time the Spaniards Flying-squadron was come within sight of the Trenches, and the experienced Captains that were in the Front, knowing the disorder and flight of the Colours, cryed out aloud, *Victory, Victory, and Bataille, Bataille.* But the Archduke hearing the tumult, and their voices, though he inclined to give way that the Trenches should be stormed, yet being perswaded by the *Almirante* and the Duke of Arescot, not to credit the precipitancy of the Soldiers, who were still desirous to fight without consideration, but rather to proceed warily, and first to discover the condition of the French, resolved at last to make a halt.

In this interim, The Dukes of Nevers and Montpensier spreading the Cavalry of the Vanguard in Battalia, hindred the Enemy from seeing the Trenches, and the Cannoneers gave fire without intermission, to the end, the smoak might hide the disorder that was there, giving them time to recover themselves; for, the Marechal de Birou running full speed, made the Infantry know their error, and pointing with his finger to shew, that the Enemy had made a halt in the midst of the field, perswaded them all within a while to return unto their Posts. In this manner, the Archduke, by the too much wariness of his Counsellors, lost so certain an occasion of so glorious and so great a victory, which, at the first arrival, had been very well observed by the experience of private Captains.

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A disorder among the French, gives the Spaniards an evident assurance of victory; but the Archduke being uncertain of the accident, making an Halt, loses so remarkable an occasion.

The Marquis of *Montenegro* knew the advantage no less than they, and would have sallied upon the Trenches of the French which were in the Moat, and upon the Rampart over against his Retrenchments; but he found, that the Regiment of *Navarre* that guarded them was not moved, and that the Switzers who were encamped something lower, stood likewise firm in their Battalia.

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The rest of the day was spent in divers skirmishes in the field, which the King caused purposely to be made hot and furious, to keep the Enemy in play, the Archduke still having a thought to assault the Kings Fortifications; but the Commanders shewed, that it was necessary first to fight with so great a strength of Horse drawn up without the works, and defended by so many pieces of Artillery, that the conquering of them was not to be thought on; and shewed the Trenches and Forts so high, that a stronger quarter had not been seen of many years: Wherefore it being resolved at night to attempt some other way, upon the sixteenth day in the morning, the Count *de Buquoy* with his Squadron, and many Boats carried upon Carts, drew near the River to attempt to pass it; but the Guards the Duke of *Mayenne* had placed there, resisted stoutly, and though they fought with such wondrous fury in many places, and that sometimes it was likely the Walloons would obtain their intent, yet after having laboured all day they retired without fruit.

In the mean time, they had skirmished fiercely on the other side, both with Horse and Cannon; for the King having caused seven Culverins to be drawn to a higher ground that was behind the Vanguard, made them play from thence, and so prosperously, that twice they light upon the Mules that carried the Cardinals Litter; whereupon he was constrained to get on horse-back, and the Enemies Cavalry received much harm by them on all sides. The Spanish Cannon fired no less hotly; but because they were in a higher place, they shot so under mettle, that they did but little execution. But in the variety of the skirmishes that were continually made in the field, many observed, that while the business passed between Cuirassiers and Cuirassiers, or between Carabines and Carabines, the French for the most part had the better; but where the Flemish and Bourguignon Men at Arms came in, the French Cavalry were fain to yield to the violence of the Lances: to hinder which encounter, which happened to the loss and trouble of the Nobility, the King himself advanced to the head of his Squadrons, gave order that as the Cuirassiers skirmished they should not join so close together, but leave a good space between one another, which having been often done, they found that the shock of the Lances not meeting a firm opposition proved for the most part vain; which was of very great advantage, as well because they skirmished with small Troops in the wide field, where it was easie to them to open, as because the Spanish Lanciers were very few in respect of the great number of French Cavalry.

Toward the evening a Trench was finished, with which the Duke of *Mayenne* labouring all that day, had shut up the way to *Longpré*; wherefore the Count *de Boncquoi*'s attempt being frustrated, and there being no more hope of getting the Pass over the River, since that neither *Longpré* had been attacked, nor the Kings quarters assaulted the first day, the Commanders of the Spanish Army (according to whose opinion the Cardinal Archduke governed himself) determined to retire the same way they came, and make their retreat, before the victual which they had brought with them being spent, the Army should begin to suffer; for, as for the Country, it was so wasted, that for fifteen Leagues round about, there was nothing to be found that could be useful either to horse or man.

The Cardinal Archduke retires with his Army for want of victuals, the King follows him, but seeing their excellent order forbears

The sign of their departure appeared the next morning by their Baggage and the Free-booters that covered all the way towards *Dourlens*; whereupon the King desirous not to let the Enemy draw off without some trouble, commanded two Squadrons of Horse flanked with two others of Carabines to fall upon them in the Reers; but the Sun being many hours high when the Army departed, they saw them retreat in such a marvellous order, that their main proposition being chiefly to prosecute the siege of *Amiens*, the King himself thought best, and all the rest of the Commanders concurred with him, not to attempt any thing. The Spanish Army had faced about, so that *Alonso de Mendonza* led the Vanguard, (if the first divisions that retire can be called a Vanguard) and the flying Squadron now was left in the Rear-guard to make the retreat. This, being Pikes in the midst, with two great wings of Muskettiers on each side, make a crooked form, and an appearance something like a

A a a a

Half-

1597. Half-Moon, so that whosoever advanced to charge it, fell first into a thick storm of Musket-Bullets, after which they found a firm Battalion before them, which fiercely shaking their Pikes, made a terrible shew of a valiant opposition; and if any Body of Horse made as if they would assail the Wings of the Squadron, presently *Melzi's* and *Landriano's* Squadrons advanced, which with two Bodies of Lances flanked with Carabines withstood the shock, till the Muskettiers charging and setting themselves in order, came furiously up to give fire again. In this order the Pike-men with their Pikes upon the left shoulder, retired step by step, and facing instantly about at every little touch of the Drum, retreated so quietly, and with so slow a pace, that in two long hours they were drawn off little more than half a mile; in which space the Kings Light-horse ceased not to make many attempts, and to give many charges, but still with great loss; for they were too fiercely answered by the ranks of the flying Squadron; and at last *Monsieur de Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmish in many several places, the Spanish Squadron made a halt, pouring out such an abundance of small-shot, that the Light-horse were forced to wheel about, and being at the same time furiously charged by the Carabines who came out of each flank, they were driven back even to the Kings Squadrons, which advancing gently more for reputation than any thing else, followed on the way the Enemy retired. Above forty of the Light-horse were slain, and many more wounded, among which the *Sieur de Coqueinvillier* received a Musket-shot in the left Arm. But after this last charge of the Light-horse, the Kings Squadrons made a stand a while, and the Spaniards continued retiring a great deal faster; and after they were gotten off as far as Cannon-shot, shouldering their Pikes and Muskets, they marched on their way without troubling themselves any further. But being come to the water, which of necessity they were to pass, the King advanced with all his Cavalry to see if that impediment would give him any opportunity to disorder the Enemy; but the flying Squadron instantly facing about, made a stand in the midst of the way, till the rest of the Army was past over; and then observing the same order, past thorow the water up to their knees without disordering their ranks at all, or making the least discernable stop: which marvellous form of retreating, while so great and so numerous Squadrons of the Enemies Horse covered the field on all sides, drew from the Kings own mouth, *That no other Souldiers in the World could do so much; and that if he had had that Infantry joined with his Cavalry, he would dare to undertake a War against all the World.* When they were past the water, the French forbore to follow any further; for the King would needs send back part of his Horse to defend the Camp, and towards the evening he, with the Duke of *Nevers* and *Montpensier*, and with the *Mareschal de Byron*, followed the retreat of the Spaniards. The Archduke lay that night in the Abbey of *Betricourt* again, and the next day passing near *Dourlans*, marched strait to *Arras*, with a design, since he had not been able to relieve the besieged, to apply himself to the affairs of *Flanders*.

The Kings Light-horse attempt by skirmishes to do some harm to the Spanish Army; but they still come off with the worst.

The Kings praise of the Spanish Infantry.

After the Cardinals departure, the King sends an Herald to *Caraffa* Marquis of *Montenegro*, to persuade him to surrender.

The Marquis sends Captain *Paccioto* with the Kings passport to the Cardinal for leave to surrender.

The Articles of Composition.

The King being returned to the Camp, sent an Herald to tell the Marquis of *Montenegro*, that having seen the issue of the relief he expected, it was time now to think of yielding; and that, because he desired not the destruction of so many gallant Souldiers, he would grant him honourable conditions. The Marquis (who in a note brought him by a Boy, had already had leave from the Archduke to capitulate, would yet hear the opinions of the Commanders, who having unanimously concluded, that by reason of the contagious mortality, of their want of Match, of the small number of men to which they were reduced, and because the Enemies were now Masters of the Rampart, there was no thought of holding out) answered the King, That he desired Safe-conduct to send a Captain to the Archduke, that he might know the certainty of his Command, which being courteously granted, he sent *Federico Paccioto*, who brought express leave to make Composition: whereupon having treated a while, they agreed to surrender upon these Conditions:

That the Monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, and of all other Commanders slain in the siege, should not be stirred, nor their Inscriptions cancelled, it being nevertheless lawful for the Spaniards to take away their Bodies when they pleased. That all the Souldiers that were in the City should march out in Battalia, with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, and Trumpets sounding, and should be

be furnished by the King with Carts to carry away their Goods and their Sick as far as *Doullans*: That if any sick or wounded person should remain in the City, he should receive good usage, and have liberty to go away at his pleasure: That the Souldiers should be exempt from paying for any Physick or Surgery they had had in the City, and likewise for Two thousand pound weight of Musket-Bullet which they had taken up from particular men and made use of: That Prisoners on both sides should be set free without Ransom: That the Towns-men might stay without being oppressed, and be used as good Subjects, renewing their Oath of Allegiance to the King of *France*; but those that would march out with the Souldiers might have free liberty so to do: That there should be a Truce for the six next ensuing days, within the term of which, if they were not relieved with at least Two thousand men, they should deliver up the City; and that in the mean time they should give Hostages for security, a Spanish Commander, an Italian, and a Walloon.

The Serjeant Major carried the Capitulations to the Archduke, who having ratified them, the Defendents of *Amiens*, marched forth upon the Five and twentieth of September, being Eighteen hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse; the Marquiss of *Montenegro* being at the head of them in a Souldier-like gallantry, upon a brave Horse, with a Truncheon in his hand; and being come to the place where the King and the whole Army in Battalia expected him, laying aside his Truncheon, alighted and kissed the Kings knee, and said, (so loud that he was heard by the by-standers) *That he delivered up that place into the hands of a Souldier-King, since it had not pleased the King his Master, to cause it to be relieved by Souldier-Commanders; which words moved every one to consider, that if the Spanish Army had either taken the way beyond the River, or laid hold of the occasion which fortune had presented them at the disorder in the Trenches, the siege had certainly been raised. The King answered, That it ought to satisfy him, that he had defended the place like a Souldier, and now restored it into the hand of the lawful King with the honour of a Souldier. To these words he added many other favourable demonstrations, as well toward him as the other Commanders, whom he desired to know by name, one by one; and being dismissed with the praise of the whole Army, they were convoyed safe to Doullans.*

There entered into *Amiens*, the Constable, who received the place, the Marechal de Byron, and the Duke of Mombason, and after them the King himself; who having visited the Cathedral Church, gave the Government of the Town to Monsieur de Vie, and went forth without making any stay, as well out of a suspicion of the Plague, as out of a desire to march after the Archduke; who having staid only two days upon the Pass of the River *Auts*, was in this interim gotten within the Walls of *Arras*.

Upon the six and twentieth day, there hapned an accident, which if it had fallen out before, would have discomposed all things, but at this time it proved rather a matter of sport than trouble; for there brake out suddenly so great a Fire in the Kings quarters, (the cause thereof not being at all known) that in a short space all the Huts were burned, which was no way harmful, either to Men or Baggage, because the Camp was already raised, and marching away. The whole Army rejoiced, calling it a Bonfire; and many from thence took a good Omen of future quiet, which was confirmed by the event; for the General of the Cordeliers being returned from the Court of *Spain*, and come with Letters to the Archduke about the same time, caused an interview upon the Confines which divide *Picardy* from the County of *Artois*, between Secretary *Villeroy*, on the Kings part, and President *Riccardato*, for the Archduke, who determined that at *Vervins*, a place upon the same Confines, famous for the Peaces that had formerly been treated there; the Cardinal-Legat, Father *Francisco Gonzaga*, Bishop of *Mantua*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Deputies on both parts, should meet together to apply themselves to a Treaty of Peace.

That which moved King *Philip* to an inclination to Peace, was the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, which by reason they had been abandoned for two years together, were extremely much gone down the wind; so that the necessity of his own affairs, constrained him not to think of getting that which was anothers. To this was added, the exceeding great scarcity of money, for which he had been slain this very year, to suspend all payments, to the disreputation of his greatness, and the undoing of those Merchants that were wont to have dealings with the Crown. Nor was the

1597.

Upon the 25 of September, 1597, the Marquiss of Montenegro marches with his forces out of Amiens.

A saying of the Marquiss to the King of France.

The Kings Answer.

The General of the Franciscans returns from Spain, and it is agreed, that the Deputies of both parties shall meet at Vervins to treat of Peace.

1597.

The King of Spain being now grown old, sets his thoughts to establish the Succession of his young Son.

The Cardinal Archduke being to marry the Infanta Isabella, and to have the Dominion of the Low countries with her, desires also to settle himself in the peaceful possession of them.

The Duke of Savoy desirous to keep the Marquessate of Saluzzo to himself, crosses the Treaty of Peace.

respect of establishing the Succession upon his Son last in his consideration, for being now far in years, and knowing that his death drew near, he desired that his Successor, who was very young, might not be engaged in a great and troublesome War, against a King of manly age and strength, full of experience, and upheld by the manifest favour of Fortune. His dependents add, that being in the latter end of his life careful to satisfy his Conscience, he desired to end his days with the Peace of Christendom, and the restitution of that which was not his own; yet it is most clear, that the loss of *Amiens* gave great force to his first disposition, and persuaded even the Cardinal Archduke, who being to marry the Infanta Isabella, and with her to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries, endeavoured not to have so powerful and so troublesome a War as that with the King of France.

Secretary *Villeroy* returned with the resolved appointment, and found that the King with his Army following the prosperity of Fortune, was incamped before *Dourlans*; for having made an incursion, even to the very Walls of *Arras*, filling the whole Country with retrour, he perceived afterward that the places of *Picardy* were left behind with very great danger, and therefore was come to besiege *Dourlans* as the nearest place, the taking whereof would be of wondrous advantage to his Country. But already the Rains of Autumn did very much incommode and annoy him; and his Army which had been healthful till then, began now to be troubled with the Bloody Flux, and the Plague; in such manner, that the Treasurers putting him in mind, that all means of paying his Foot was utterly gone, the King resolved to disband his Army, and to apply himself heartily to the Treaty of Peace, which now, being high in reputation and honour, and having satisfied himself and the expectation of his people, he desired more boldly and openly than before.

This reciprocal desire of both Kings, facilitated the Treaty of Peace; but the Duke of Savoy's interests kept all things in difficulty: For though the War these two last years had been various, and with hot encounters, and bloody assaults, rather disadvantageous than otherwise; and though Monsieur de *Lesdiguieres* having taken *St. Jehan de Morienne*, and all that valley in the Alps, was gone down into *Piedmont*, to the ruine and spoiling of the Country; yet he being resolved to retain the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, either crossed the Peace, or cared not to have it concluded.

But yet the meeting at *Vervins* held, whither Monsieur de *Bellicourt*, and President *Sillery*, came from the King of France; and President *Riccardotto*, *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Ludovico Verichen*, Auditor of *Brabant* for the King of Spain. The French Deputies were brought by the Popes Nuncio, and the Spanish by the General of the *Cordeliers*; and the Cardinal-Legat came to the same place, by whose Authority all difficulties of precedency being removed, they entered upon the Treaty of the business; but not before the beginning of the month of February in the year 1598, a year destined by Divine Providence to close up the grievous wounds of forty years past.

1598.

Great was the desire of Peace on both sides, and great likewise the Authority of the Legat with each party, nor were the demands very different: For the Spaniards proffered without difficulty to restore *Ardes*, *Dourlans*, *la Cappelle*, *Castelet*, and *Montauslin* in *Picardy*, and the Port of *Blancet* in *Bretagne*, and desired only to retain *Calais* as long as the War with the Hollanders lasted, and to give the King of France an equivalent exchange in the mean time: And the French stood to have *Calais* restored freely; they likewise demanded *Cambray*, and renewed some old pretensions upon the Confines of *Flanders*. The Spaniards shewed, that all old pretensions were terminated in the Peace concluded between the two Crowns at *Chateau Cambresis* in the year 1559, and that *Cambray* was not of the King of France his Jurisdiction, but a City of the Archbishops, usurped a few years before by the Duke of *Alencon's* Forces, and that therefore being a free Town, the King could not pretend any right unto it, but that the Master of the Low-Countries had the ancient protection of it; and yet not a direct Dominion, but one established by reason. Upon these Answers the French easily gave off their old pretensions, and the demand of *Cambray*; and with as much facility did the Spaniards lay aside the demand of retaining *Calais*: Whereupon all the difficulty was reduced to this point, That the King of France would have had *Blancet* in the condition it then was, with all the Artillery, Shot, and Ammunition of War; and the Spaniards stood totally to demolish the Fort they had built,

The pretensions of the French, and of the Spaniards, stood upon in the Treaty of Peace.

built; and to carry away the Artillery, and other things which they had brought thither of their own; but this difficulty also was easily taken away; for the Treaty being managed with great sincerity, the French satisfied themselves, knowing that the Spaniard had reason on their side.

1598.

All other matters were of small importance, so that nothing remained, save to treat about the interests of their adherents: for the King of *France* desired there might be an Agreement made with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; and the King of *Spain* would have had the Duke of *Savoy* and the Duke of *Mercœur* comprehended in the Peace. About this there arose a sharp contention; for the French having said that they would not include the Duke of *Mercœur*, as being the Kings Subject; the Spaniards answered, That also the States of *Holland* were the King of *Spains* Subjects; and here mutually upbraiding one another that they fomented Rebels, they grew extremely angry, and broke forth into words of indignation; and yet the Cardinal-Legat interposing, they agreed to make their Princes acquainted with the business, and expect their resolute orders. But within a few days these difficulties were removed; for the King having left the Constable with reasonable Forces in *Picardy*, was gone personally to *Angiers* to draw his Army together, and march with all his Forces into *Bretagne*. Wherefore the Duke of *Mercœur* seeing his designs ruined, and not being willing to hold out till the last necessities, which he was not able to resist, condescended to the Agreement; by which, marrying his only Daughter to *Cesar* the Kings Bastard Son, and receiving other recompences of Pensions and Moneys, he delivered up that part of *Bretagne* that was in his possession unto the Kings obedience; whereupon the occasion ceased for which the Catholick King endeavoured to include him in the Peace.

The Duke of *Mercœur* Brother-in-law to *Henry* the III. being reduced almost to extremity, agrees with the King giving his only Daughter to *Cesar* of *Bourbon*, Bastard Son to *Hen. 4.* and gave up what he held in *Bretagne* unto the Kings obedience.

Nor was there any need to contend long for the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; for those Princes, after they had done all that was possible to hinder the Treaty of Peace, shewing themselves ill satisfied with the King, because in the League of the year before he had promised not to agree without them, declared that they would not be comprehended as Adherents, and that they would have no Peace with the King of *Spain*.

There remained only the point concerning the Duke of *Savoy*, which was like to have interrupted the whole agreement when it was brought to perfection: for the Marquis de *Lullin* the Dukes Ambassadour, being introduced into the Conference, said, That President *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there present, had from the year before treated an accommodation with the Duke, and that the King was then contented he should hold the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown. The President answered, That it was true, the King was so contented, but at a time when the state of his affairs perswaded him by all means to divide the Duke from the King of *Spain*, and that to that condition the Marquis knew well there were others joined, which he would not mention, lest he should set discord among Friends; by which words he meant to infer that the Duke to retain the Marquessate had proffered to make War against the State of *Milan*. Many contentions there were about it, and the whole Treaty seemed to be discomposed; but the General of the Cordeliers going to the King, and *Juan Baptista Tassis* to the Archduke, they returned within a few days, and concluded, that the Duke and the King should retain what they possessed at that present, and that the difference about the Marquessate should be referred to the Pope, who was to give judgment within the space of one year, and then what each held of the others would mutually be restored. But the Marquis refused that the King should retain the Valley of *Morienne*, and would not ratifie it without advising the Duke, and this by reason of his nature, would have been a difficult impediment, if good fortune had not removed the obstacle; for the Duke about this time recovered *Morienne* with a great slaughter of *Les Dignieres* his Forces; and on the other side, *Les Dignieres* took a Fort which the Duke had built near *Grenoble*, and having put the Garrison to the Sword, demolished it to the very ground: wherefore there remaining nothing but *Berre* in *Provence* in the Dukes possession, they agreed that he should restore that Town in present, and that the business of the Marquessate should be decided by the Pope.

The Duke of *Savoy*'s Ambassador being present in the meeting at *Viviers*, said, That he had a promise the Duke should retain the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in fee.

The differences about the Marquessate are referred to the Pope, who is to give judgment within a year.

The

1598.
The Peace is
concluded and
published.

The Peace was concluded and subscribed by the Deputies upon the second day of *May*, with express condition that it should not be published till a month after; for the King of *France* desired that the English and Holland Ambassadors should first be gone from Court, that the Peace might not be published in their presence; and the Cardinal Archduke desired space to receive the Counter-sign of *Blancet* from *Spain*. The Peace was published upon the seventh day of *June* in *Paris*, and the same day at *Amiens*, in the presence of the Legat, and the Kings Deputies, as by agreement it was likewise done at *Bruxels*; all men generally rejoycing, that after so long and so calamitous Wars, the Kingdom of *France* distracted into so many Factions, was at last re-united in the entire obedience of a Catholick French King, to enjoy the fruits and blessings of Peace for the future, in recompence of so many past miseries and afflictions.

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